

A RAMBLE

ROUND THE WORLD

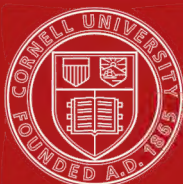


By

BARON DE HÜBNER







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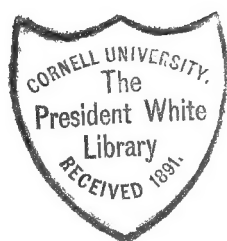
BY
M. LE BARON DE HÜBNER,
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TRANSLATED BY
LADY HERBERT.

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1874.

D.



PREFACE.

To behold, beyond the Rocky Mountains, in the virgin forests of the Sierra Nevada, civilization in its struggle with savage nature; to behold, in the Empire of the Rising Sun, the efforts of certain remarkable men to launch their country abruptly in the path of progress; to behold, in the Celestial Empire, the silent, constant, and generally passive—but always obstinate—resistance which the spirit of the Chinese opposes to the moral, political, and commercial invasions of Europe:—these are the objects of the journey, or rather of the wanderings, which I purpose making round the globe. I shall not visit India: my time is too short. I reserve to a future occasion, if God give me life and health, the examination of the results produced in the course of a century by the contact of a great Christian nation with the millions of Hindoos and Mussulmans subject to her dominion.

On my road, I mean to amuse myself; that is, to see all I can which is curious and, to me, new: and every evening I shall note down in my journal what I have seen, and what has been told me during the day.

This being clearly understood, let us close our trunks and start.

CORVILLE HOUSE, TIPPERARY,

May 13, 1871.

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PART I.
AMERICA.

A RAMBLE ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

FROM QUEENSTOWN TO NEW YORK.—FROM THE 14th TO THE 24th MAY.

Departure.—Sabbath day's rest at Queenstown.—The Emigrants on board the *China*.—Inconvenience of the Navigation to the North of the 41st Parallel.—Disembarkation at New York.

May 14th.—Queenstown, the port of Cork, and the point of departure for the great steamers which keep up almost daily communications with Europe and the New World, never seemed to me more attractive than at the moment when I was about to leave its shores. The weather was delicious, the sky hazy, but without clouds and almost blue; the air soft, damp, and redolent of the sweet scents of early spring. The vegetation, save for the absence of orange-trees, and the climate, except from the want of the deep, clear blue sky of the south, reminded me of Portugal. When, this morning, I climbed up to the church which crowns the heights behind the town, I walked through a perfect garden of wild flowers, under the shade of fine old laurels and sweet-smelling shrubs, and through hedges loaded with roses and jessamine—to say nothing of that of which neither Cintra, nor Tapada, nor any

of the Lisbon gardens can boast—the beautiful soft, thick, velvety, emerald-green grass of Old England. The peace and stillness of Sunday reigned over the town. The villas, enbowered in trees and perched on the green sides of the hill, were reflected in the blue glassy sea of the vast bay. All the ships in the roadstead were dressed with flags in honour of the day. The neighbouring hills, clothed with magnificent trees and parks, interspersed with comfortable-looking country houses, formed, as it were, the frame of the picture. Looking towards the sea, one narrow passage seemed the only outlet towards the vast Atlantic, of which only a little bit was visible. There, two miles off, our great Cunard steamer is waiting for us. She left Liverpool yesterday, and has touched at Queenstown to pick up the mails and the rest of her complement of passengers. The smoke from her funnel, and the activity of the little boats round the great leviathan, tell us that the hour of departure is at hand.

In front of the houses facing the water there is quite a crowd of loungers: officers in uniform, gentlemen, fishermen in their Sunday best, and peasant women wrapped in their black cloaks, with bare heads and large brown eyes, which look at you with a soft and melancholy curiosity. They have all just come from church, and are watching the embarkation of the *China's* passengers. The emigrants come first: a group of relations and friends gather round them. Hands are clasped, tears are shed—for they are life-long partings—and then they drown their sorrow in a last glass of whisky. A small steamer plies backwards and forwards between the quay and the great ship outside. Accompanied by some members of the Cork Yacht Club, the oldest in Great Britain,¹ the Austrian Consul and the Rector of Queenstown or his curates, I had often before witnessed these sad scenes, in which nevertheless there is sometimes a comic element. Now it was my turn. The moment of embarkation on a long and distant voyage has always something solemn about it. Even the hearty good wishes of your friends for a safe passage reminds you of the caprices of that treacherous element to which you are about to commit yourself. At three o'clock I was on board the *China*; at four, the anchor was weighed and we were fairly off.

¹ This Yacht Club was founded in 1727.

May 17th.—The weather is perfect. The sky clear, the air fresh and elastic, that crisp, clear, ocean air which gives you a good appetite, and rocks you to sleep, and makes you look upon everything on the bright side. We are making every day 320 to 340 miles. On board, the Caledonian element prevails. The captain, the officers, the waiters, and a large portion of the passengers are Scotch. In the first-class saloon cabin we are not very numerous. My neighbour at dinner is General K——, of the United States army, who is travelling with his daughter. He has seen service in the virgin forests of California, of Idaho, and of Arizona, hunting with the redskins or being hunted by them, according to the various circumstances and changeable policy of his government. What a pity that one cannot stenograph his descriptions, so full of vivid interest, stamped with truth, and related with all the simplicity and modesty of a man who has himself passed through it all!

To jump with one bound from the deserts of America to China, I have only to begin to talk with the young man in front of me, with his distinguished air, careful toilet, and high-bred manners. He is one of the merchant princes of the great English factory of Shanghai. With wonderful clearness he puts before me a perfect picture of the commercial position in China, especially as regards British interests. His way of judging of and estimating things is that of more than one European resident in the East. The Chinese Empire is to be forced to accept the blessings of civilization at the cannon's mouth; they must kill a good many Chinamen, especially the mandarins and men of letters, and then exact a large war indemnity.

But now to come to Mexico. Here is my man—a little brown animal, half Spaniard, half Indian. His complexion and his linen would be equally the better for a change. He is a merchant of Monterey on the Rio Grande. He has the gift of the gab, and he certainly does not neglect it. If you are to believe him, there is nothing in the wide world so picturesque as the rice-fields of Texas, and nothing so civilized as the life of the solitary "ranchos" in the Paso-del-Norte. Chihuahua, his home, is a second Paris. In fact, in many ways, it is superior to it. As to the yellow fever, it has never penetrated into those favoured regions. Besides, even this fever is maligned: if you don't die of it, it purifies the blood. Those

who escape are fresh and vigorous ; it gives them a new lease of life. But in spite of all this poetical licence (the effect of an Andalusian imagination joined to a fiery patriotism), his is a practical turn of mind, and he has a thorough knowledge of men and things in his own country. He is quick of understanding, and his stories, though perhaps somewhat vulgar, are full of raciness and fun. When he speaks of the Emperor Maximilian, his little eyes kindle and his very language becomes ennobled. This unfortunate prince, a martyr to his cause, has, by his heroic and tragic death, acquired an aureola of glory which will last as long as the world. He is already become in that land which he hoped to regenerate, and which sacrificed him in return, one of those legendary figures which grow with time and are perpetuated from generation to generation. The Empress, likewise, is not forgotten. Her philanthropic works still exist, and the "Children's Homes" which she founded and placed under the care of the Sisters of Charity, have survived the terrible crime of Queretaro.

There are also half a dozen young Yankees on board. They are men of business, and all of the same stamp : tall, straight, narrow-shouldered, flat-chested, with sharp, anxious, inquiring yet intelligent eyes, thin lips and sarcastic expressions. They seem to scent money in possession or in the future, to be obtained no matter at what cost or with what effort.

As the weather is beautiful the after-deck is swarming with emigrants—men, women and children sitting, squatting or stretched full length on the bare deck. If they were from the south, or peasants from the Latin hills, what studies they would make ! But these groups have nothing picturesque about them. Except the black mantillas of some of the Irish girls, everyone is dressed in commonplace workmen's clothes. The greater part of the faces wear a look of indifference or resignation, the result of over-work or misery. Now and then, however, they make feeble attempts at gaiety. The young men sing in parts or make love to the young girls, who are generally busy knitting. Some Alsatian workmen, who have left their homes not to become incorporated with the Germans, come to ask my advice as to the choice of their future residence. Shall they go North ? or South ? or to the Far West ? What trade shall they take up ? How are they to escape dying of hunger on landing in the

streets of New York? Of the geography of their new country they know little or nothing; of the way of living, or of getting work, they are absolutely ignorant. What marvellous indifference! Yet, it seems that the majority of the emigrants are in the same case. They are unhappy at home, and they say, "Let's go to America!" And so they start, having sold their goods to pay for the passage, confident that they will light on their feet somehow or somewhere in the New World.

An old man of eighty, the very type of a patriarch, leaning on the arm of a fine young fellow of one-and-twenty, has just crossed the deck. His manners are respectful and yet with a certain amount of dignity. He is an English peasant; a Somersetshire man. "Sir," he says to me, "it's late in the day for me to emigrate, but I leave nothing but misery in England, and hope to find at least bread to eat in the New Country. Here are my two grandsons," showing me two lads by his side with a touching expression of tenderness and honest pride: "their father and my granddaughter have stayed behind in our old village, and I shall never see them again." He gave a short cough; I looked another way, and he took advantage of it to brush his arm across his moistened eyes.

There is a very good library on board—English classics, histories, reviews, and Watter Scott's novels. But to me the most amusing books to study are my fellow-travellers, coming as they do from every quarter of the globe and belonging to all classes of society. The mornings pass only too quickly. As for the meals, they are excellent as regards the quality of the food, but as to the cooking and the waiting, it is Old England before the Reform Bill. I don't complain. I only state the fact. The Directors of the Cunard Company are essentially Conservative. The least agreeable part of the day is the evening. It is difficult to read by the uncertain light of a candle, of which the wick is half blown out by a draught of air from the North Pole, sharp enough to give you the rheumatism, although not enough to carry off the exhalations of the supper. As to your cabin, in these latitudes in the month of May, you may make up your mind to find the climate of an ice-house.

May 20th.—During these two last days we have had strong

winds from W.S.W. The English call this a "double-top reef-breeze." A little later on, this so-called "breeze" will come to a "half-gale." As long as the white foam from the crests of the waves falls like a cataract over the sides, it's a "top-reef-breeze," but when the foam is driven by the wind horizontally, then it is a "gale." All this lore our amiable captain had just been explaining to me with a smile. Neither wind nor waves disturb his mind in the least ; but the fogs and the ice, which at this season are sure to be found on the "Banks." Yesterday evening, however, we had fine weather again. We saw a beautiful *aurora borealis*, and this morning, what was still more striking, a huge iceberg. It was sailing along about a mile ahead of us. Brilliantly white, with greenish rents here and there, and ending in two sharp peaks, this great mass of ice rolled heavily in the swell, while the waves beat furiously against its steep, shining sides. A sort of dull rumbling sound like low thunder is heard in spite of all the noise of the engines. The cold, pale sun of the Arctic regions throws a sinister light over the scene. It is all very fine and very grand, but not reassuring. We are in the midst of the Banks of Newfoundland. This evening we shall double Cape Race. By a lucky chance, the weather is quite clear. But if we had come in for a fog, which is the rule at this season, and had then struck against this floating mass of ice which took so little trouble to get out of our way, what then? "Oh," answers the captain, "in two minutes we should have gone down"—and that is the unpleasant side of these voyages. This is the third time that I have crossed the Atlantic in the space of ten months, and almost invariably the sky has been as leaden as the fog was thick. In consequence, it is impossible to take the meridian ; for there is neither sun nor horizon. But such is the experience of these captains, that they steer by "dead reckoning ;" that is, they ascertain by minute and constant calculations the result of the speed of the boats on the variable action of the currents. If, instead of going so far north, by way of shortening the voyage, they were to follow a more southerly course, they would meet with far less ice and no fogs, and the danger would be ever so much lessened ; there would be no risk of striking against icebergs, nor of disappearing altogether, nor of sinking the fishermen's boats, which are

so numerous on those Banks. In vain the alarm-whistle, that useful but aggravating little instrument, blows its hoarse and lugubrious sound minute after minute ; it cannot prevent every accident ; and they are far more numerous than people imagine. If they succeed in saving a man belonging to the ship, or in finding out the number of the unhappy boat which has sunk, the captain sends in his report, and the Company pays an indemnity. But if the accident should happen in the dead of night, and every soul on board has gone down with the boat, it is impossible to verify the name of the owners : the great leviathan has simply passed over it and all is said and done. Companies are bad philanthropists : besides, they have to race one another in speed. Each departure from Queenstown or New York is registered in the newspapers with the utmost exactness ; and the same with the arrivals. Hence this frantic race to arrive first. In England, public opinion has more than once exclaimed against this system, and the *Times* has not disdained to give publicity to these complaints with all the weight of its authority. If they would follow a more southerly course (to the south of the 42nd degree), the passage would certainly be slower by two or three days, but the security would be doubled. The loss of time would be more than compensated by the comparative absence of danger. To effect such a change, however, all the Companies must agree (which unfortunately they have not yet done) to give up the Northern Route. It is, in fact, mainly owing to their rivalry that accidents happen. Cunard's Company, it is true, have never lost a ship or a passenger ; and the steamers of the two German Companies are equally perfect in their arrangements ; first-rate captains, officers chosen with the utmost care, one and all thoroughly acquainted with this part of the Atlantic, the ships' crews consisting of picked men, with perfect machinery, which is carefully examined, and taken to pieces after every voyage—in fact every human guarantee of safety. And yet, accidents (rare indeed when we consider the enormous risk run, but still fearful accidents) are far more frequent in comparison with the number of steamers employed in the service, and with other lines, this one being the most difficult and perilous of all the regular and periodical navigations on the face of the globe. The winter is dreaded on account of the gales. But March, April, and May, really

constitute the bad season, for at these times the currents drift the icebergs from the Banks of Newfoundland towards the Mexican Gulf Stream, and these, meeting with a certain amount of resistance, accumulate on the borders of the hot and cold waters, the contact with which produces the fogs. Later in the year, that is, in June and July, the icebergs of the previous year come down from the North Pole. Far larger than the fragments from the Banks and consequently drawing more water, they advance very slowly, but easily cross the Gulf Stream, proving its small depth, and also the existence of other submarine currents. Sometimes they are stranded on the shores of Newfoundland and form huge rocks, not marked on any chart, which remain there for weeks; but those which have veered towards the south melt quickly. The seventh and eighth days of departure from Europe are the most perilous for the American steamboats. They then cross the great canal open towards the North Pole, between Iceland and the shores of Labrador. This is, above all others, the region of north winds, thick fogs, and icebergs. Hardly had we left the shores of Ireland, when the sailors began to discuss these seventh and eighth days, just as doctors talk of critical days in serious illnesses. Until then, "it's all plain sailing;" afterwards, "there's nothing to fear from the floating ice;" but those two days!

Last year, during the month of July, I was on board the *Scotia*, one of Cunard's finest ships. Although we were in the height of summer, we had only seen the sun once, and that for a few seconds, from Cape Clear to Sandy Hook. An impenetrable fog shrouded the Banks of Newfoundland. In the middle of the day it was almost as dark as night. Even standing on the middle of the deck it was almost impossible to distinguish the four watchmen on the look-out. Every moment, as the air seemed to thicken, the thermometer pointed to a sudden increase of cold in the temperature of the sea. Evidently there were icebergs ahead. But where? That was the question. What surprised me was, that the speed was not slackened. But they told me that the ship would obey the helm only in proportion to her speed. To avoid the iceberg, it is not enough to see it; but to see it in time to tack about, which supposes a certain docility in the ship, depending on her speed. Thus, as

in many other circumstances of life, by braving a danger, you run the best chance of safety.

I tried to reach the prow, which was not easy. We were shipping a good deal of sea, and the speed at which we were going added to the force of the wind, which was dead against us; we were going at fifteen knots an hour. I tried to crawl along, struggling with the elements, nearly blown down by the wind and lashed by the spray. One of the officers gave me a helping hand. "Look," he exclaimed, "at that yellow curtain before us. If there's an iceberg behind, and those lynx-eyed fellows find it out at half a mile off—that is, two minutes before we should run against it—we shall just have time to tack, and then *all will be right*." I wished him joy of the position! But I could not help admiring his coolness and quiet scientific calculations, while all the time regretting the latitude given to our chances of safety. By degrees, I make my way on to the four sailors on the look-out, who seem to me to hold our fate in their hands, or rather in their eyes. They were fine specimens of the Anglo-Saxon race, square-shouldered, big men, with complexions which once may have been white and pink, but which now were reddened and bronzed by wind and sun, with aquiline noses, and reddish hair, of which some locks, furiously blown about by the wind, escaped from the flattened brim of their south-westerns. They stood like statues nailed to the deck, their arms crossed on their breasts. The laws of gravitation did not seem to exist for these fellows. All the powers of their minds seemed to be concentrated in those keen, eager, piercing looks fixed on that yellow curtain which hid the unknown. The immobility of those four great bodies contrasted with the slight emotion of their faces and the violent agitation of all nature around them. They were the very image of health, strength, discipline, and the habit of facing danger.

Sunday, May 21st.—We have arrived on the coast of Nova Scotia. The day is magnificent. The ocean rolls along in huge flat waves unmolested by the wind. They reflect the brilliant sun and the sky, which, by its opaque blue, points to the near vicinity of the great continent. Sea, sky, air, all nature and man himself, breathe a Sabbath day's calm. The passengers,

gathered in the great cabin, are having a service of some sort read by the doctor in the absence of a clergyman. Then they sing a hymn. Seated on the poop, I listen from a distance. The harsh Scotch voices and the nasal tones of the Yankees fall on my ear, softened by the deck between us and by the open air. There is a sort of sweetness and solemnity in the sound in keeping with the day and the hour.

In the afternoon the scene changes. The fog is come back again. It seems to fall upon us suddenly like a curtain of black crape. The sky darkens as rapidly as in a drop-scene. The sun, which was so brilliant in the morning, now looks like a little red ball of fire on the point of being extinguished. Very soon it disappears altogether. The wind blows furiously, and the deck is covered with snow-flakes and ice. Here there are no icebergs or Bank ice to fear, but we are on the high road to New York. There are few fishermen's boats, but heaps of sailing-vessels going towards and returning from that great port. True, we have still 500 miles to run before reaching the mouth of the Hudson ; but as everyone follows the same course, which is the straightest and shortest, the ocean, so vast in theory, is thus reduced in practice to a long street of 3,000 miles, but not half wide enough for the passers-by. On this line, at this very moment, there are five huge steamers, each of which left New York yesterday in the day. Fortunately they are still at some little distance off. But the sailing-ships ! Shivering with cold, we are gathered on the hatchway, a little passage on the deck where the sailors get their rations of punch ; and which, on board the Cunard steamers, is used by the passengers as a smoking saloon. There we discuss our good or bad chances. The captain comes in for a moment, the water is trickling down his oil-skin jacket, and his beard is an icicle. He lights his cheroot and gives himself the innocent consolation of swearing at the weather. He is in the position of a man who is running with all his might in a dark lobby without knowing if there be any steps or not, and with a certainty that some one else is running in a contrary sense. I never in my life, in any country, saw the air so thick as this evening, and yet we are running at the rate of thirteen knots and a half. These are terrible moments for the commanders of these ships ! If there be a collision, the proprietors of the damaged or lost boats go to

law. Should the result of the lawsuit be unfavourable to the Company, heavy indemnities must be paid, and the directors revenge themselves on the captain. At sea he risks his life, on land his credit and his fortune are at stake. What a hard lot, and what a horrible nuisance these fogs are! But this evening Captain Macaulay reassures his passengers. "We are the strongest," he says; "no sailing-ship could make head against the *China*; if any boat founders to-night, it won't be ours."

This comfortable assurance restores the good spirits of the company. Everyone goes to his cabin with the cool consciousness of his strength and of his impunity, and equally resolved to destroy without remorse the unhappy vessels which may cross his path. It is with these laudable sentiments that we lay our heads on our pillows and find, in spite of the continual screams of the alarm-whistle, the sleep of the just.

May 23rd.—The fog and the whistle have pursued us unrelentingly for thirty-six hours. This morning for the first time we have once more seen the earth and the sun. Now (eight o'clock in the evening), the *China* is at anchor at the quarantine station. It is still light. But, with a striking analogy to their European brothers, the doctor and the officer who are to give us a clean bill of health are supping comfortably in the bosom of their families and decline to be disturbed. We must wait patiently till to-morrow, therefore, before we can land on American soil. We have also been warned that these gentlemen will not come on board till after their breakfast; that the formalities of the Customhouse will take at least three hours, and that therefore we shall not be allowed to go on shore till after midday.

The last time I arrived, after a similar voyage, my patience was put to the same test. Thus fourteen to eighteen hours are added to the length of the crossing. It was certainly well worth while to make us run all the risks of ice and fogs at a speed of fourteen knots an hour! But it appears that red-tapism is the same in both hemispheres. My patriotism found some consolation in the fact that this country is so little ahead of us in the matter of progress.

CHAPTER II.

NEW YORK.—FROM THE 24th TO THE 26th MAY.

Broadway.—Wall Street.—Fifth Avenue.—Influence of New York on the destinies of North America.

AT New York everything is interesting. I do not say that I am delighted with everything. But it is impossible to weary of the extraordinary, feverish activity which pervades Broadway and Wall Street early in the morning ; or of the social elegance which towards evening is displayed in the beautiful Fifth Avenue, the resort of hundreds of loungers of both sexes and multitudes of carriages. The excessive luxury of these vehicles with their great coats-of-arms emblazoned on every panel, the over-smart liveries, the heavy, almost priceless carriage horses, and the somewhat extravagant dresses of the ladies, whom nature has been kinder to than their dressmakers, all combine to arrest the attention and interest of the spectator, even should they fail to satisfy his fastidious taste. One tries to discover the moral link between all this ostentatious display, which, though on a republican soil, is not afraid to show its face, and that thirst for equality which is the motive-power, as it is the spur, the end, the reward, and also the punishment of a democratic society like the American. There is no doubt that this fashionable world is only tolerated by the working man, who elbows them roughly enough in the streets, and by what are emphatically called in Europe "the people ;" but their toleration is accounted for by the hope which each one entertains, and which in this country is not a chimera, of arriving himself some day at the same state of prosperity, of seeing his wife, who, to-day is at the wash-tub, or rinsing bottles in a gin palace, indolently stretched on the morrow in

her own luxurious landau ; or of driving himself in his gig with a fast trotter, which shall have cost at least five thousand dollars ; of surrounding himself, in fact, with all those material enjoyments of which the sight excites his longing and admiration, even more than his envy, until his own turn comes. This is what makes the real distinction between the American democrat and the democrat of Europe. This last, in despair of attaining to a higher position, strives to drag down everyone else to his level. Envy and jealousy are his strongest motive-powers, and the result is the wish to lower and destroy. The American, on the other hand, wishes to enjoy : to obtain this, he must work to produce the money, which in this new country is always possible, and often easy. Having done this, he feels honestly that he is on a level with the best of them. His object, therefore, is to rise. He seeks for equality in a higher sphere than that in which he was born and bred, and he finds it. The European democrat reckons on arriving at equality by lowering everyone else to his own level. Of the two democracies, I infinitely prefer the American.

But it would seem as if, here below, in America as in our hemisphere, real equality is only to be found in theory. Nowhere has this struck me more forcibly than in the United States. Let us come back to our man in a "blouse," who is lounging in the Fifth Avenue between five and six o'clock in the evening. The sights which are unrolled before his eyes fascinate without irritating him. He watches it all with real and joyous emotion. He hopes some day that all this will be within his own reach. But in most cases this hope can only be partially realized. It will be quite possible for him to make a large and even princely fortune, to rival in luxury the millionaires of Wall Street, but it will be difficult, if not impossible, to penetrate into certain social regions. In his rare relations with those men who do belong to them, he cannot fail to feel his own inferiority. His son or his grandson will penetrate into those charmed circles some day, but he himself will be excluded. But as he forms the majority he is not discouraged. By dint of struggling, secretly, openly, even brutally now and then, he pursues, without ever fully attaining, his ideal of intellectual and social equality.

The result is this : men of cultivated minds and of refined

manners, with a taste for historical traditions, and in consequence for all things of European interest, withdraw themselves to a great extent from public life, make a little world of their own, and escape, as far as they possibly can, from all contact with that real life, and those great schemes which draw forth the riches of this extraordinary country, and create the wonders which fill us with surprise and admiration. It is allowable to exhibit a fearful amount of luxury, for material riches are accessible to all. But they carefully screen from the vulgar eyes of the multitude, who feel they can never attain to such heights, those refinements of mind and manners in which consist the real enjoyments of life. These treasures are as jealously guarded as the Jews in the Middle Ages, or the Orientals in our own day, conceal their riches behind squalid walls and poor-looking dwellings.

This being the case, one meets in the United States far more vulgar and pretentious people than real gentlemen. Hence the erroneous opinion so current in Europe, that an American does not know how to behave. The truth is, that these *parvenus*, but *parvenus* thanks to their courage, their intelligence and their activity—that these remarkable, self-made men, who have had the time to make colossal fortunes, but who could not, at the same time, educate themselves beyond a certain point, who feel their own value, and resent in consequence the feeling that they are excluded from any real intimacy with their superiors in education, habits, and manners—the truth is, that these men are always thrusting themselves forward ; while the real gentlemen and ladies lead a comparatively retired life, protesting by their absence against their supposed equality ; and form among themselves in the great towns of the east, especially at Boston and Philadelphia, a more exclusive society than the most inaccessible *coteries* of the courts and capitals of Europe.

New York, in its outward aspect, reflects in a very remarkable manner the characteristics of the great territory of the Union. One would say that the intellectual, moral, and commercial life of the American people was here condensed, to spread its rays afterwards across the immense tracts which are called the United States.

Broadway is the representative and the model of those great arteries which bind together the different portions of this great continent from ocean to ocean. The great thoroughfares of London, the Boulevards of Paris, the Ringstrasse, and other great streets of Vienna, are as busy and as animated perhaps as the Broadway; but their animation springs from the wants and the commerce of their respective cities; while this great artery of the American metropolis is more than a street—it is a high road—a royal road leading to everything. Besides the crowds of men and merchandise crossing your path right and left, there are the equally filled railway cars. The persons who throng them are travellers more than passers-by. Their look is anxious as well as business-like. One would fancy that every man was afraid of missing his train. Certainly New York is a great capital in the European sense of the word, like London, or Paris, or Vienna. But it is more than this, it is at the same time an enormous railway station, a *dépôt*, to use an American term, both of travellers and goods; where one meets a floating population large enough to give the impression of that agitation and preoccupation and that provisional state of things which is the characteristic of all the great American cities. To sum up in one word, Broadway represents the principle of mobility.

Let us pass on to Wall Street. This is the centre of all the great financial operations. Here the resemblance with the City of London is incontestable. The buildings, which are nearly all Banks, the crowds who jostle one another in the streets, the very air one breathes smells of money and of millions! Yet even here the analogy with Europe is not complete. Of a thousand little indications of difference, I will quote but one: your banker will not pay you the sum you ask, at once, however small it may be. He sets the telegraph to work; and after a few minutes the money is brought to you from the public bank where the funds of this particular house are deposited. Nothing can be more praiseworthy than this practice; for these banks are real fortresses which would make any attempt at breaking into them impossible; and which in case of any rising of the mob (if such risings are ever again to be dreaded in New York, which I doubt) would afford the best guarantees for the security of the deposits. But money is

a coward. We must own, however, that there is wisdom in the system which provides for its own safety, as everyone does in America, from the *Backwoodsman* who, whenever transporting his household goods to the utmost limits of the civilization of which he is the pioneer, begins by building a *blockhouse*; down to the officer sent to keep the red-skins in order, who at each bivouac entrenches himself and his men behind gabions and ditches.

Now we are in the Fifth Avenue, and consequently far from the industrial quarter. Here the eye rejoices in the contemplation of all the luxury which money can bring. Do not let us be hypercritical, or examine too closely the artistic taste of these pretentious buildings, which seem by their pompous architecture to make a parade of their magnificence. After all, the same meretricious taste has spread to Europe, and prevails more and more. The Belgravia of London, the Ringstrasse of Vienna, are both examples of this style. M. Haussmann and his architects have borrowed their inspirations from the same source while striving to amalgamate these two "renaissances," the French and the American. It is the architecture of Henry the Third converted into Yankee.

But let us come back to the Fifth Avenue. Charming little gardens surround each house, which, in this beautiful month of May, form bright spots of green, blue, red, pink, white, and lilac, giving the most ideal and poetic look to the whole. Amidst these groups of shrubs, and grasses, and creeping flowers, and tiny bright green lawns, coquettishly bordered with marble balustrades, there are endless picturesque details. One's eye rests with real pleasure upon them, and gladly turns aside from looking at the overcharged, over-decorated façades of the houses beyond. Taken as a whole, the Fifth Avenue is really very grand, and here and there quite charming.

But what struck me most in New York is the enormous number of public buildings consecrated to Divine worship of various kinds. I am not speaking of the great Gothic cathedral which the Irish are now building, and which belongs to another date and another order of ideas, but of the innumerable little churches belonging to the different sects, built very often at a great cost and with a profusion of ornament in every possible and impossible style, which fix one's attention and pique one's

curiosity. Their small size makes them the more remarkable, side by side with the vast buildings around them. In Europe, the massive pile of the cathedral, and the belfries, spires, towers, and high roofs of the other churches, stand out against the sky, tower above the houses of the faithful, and give to each town, seen from a distance, a particular character. At New York it is quite the reverse. Seen from the river or from Jersey City at the moment of disembarkation, this huge metropolis unrolls itself before you in great masses of red, grey, or yellowish brick. One or two steeples at the outside rise above the roofs, which in the distance, seem all of the same height, and to form one vast horizontal line stretching toward the plain beyond. Europeans who have just landed for the first time cannot help wondering how these two or three churches can possibly suffice for upwards of a million of Christians! But they find out their mistake when they walk through the town, and especially when they come to the Fifth Avenue, where the commercial fever is at rest, or, at any rate, gives place to a little quiet, to study, and perhaps to meditation and prayer. Not that all those little chapels in the Fifth Avenue impress one with a feeling of sanctity or fill the mind with that grave spirit of recollection which comes over one in the aisles of our great cathedrals. So far from it, the *sanctitas loci* is entirely wanting in this wide and worldly quarter. These little buildings, each consecrated to a different form of worship, are only accessories to the whole. They are only open during their respective services, and these services are only performed on Sundays. But there they are, and however poor they may be, they prove the existence of a religion in the hearts of these rich people, who had perhaps little or no time to think of their souls when they were making their fortunes, but who, now that they are millionaires, begin to believe that there is a future state. Either from honest conviction, or because they feel the need, or from pure custom and a sense of respectability, they contribute liberally towards a chapel and forming a congregation.

In a society of which the most energetic, the most important, and the youngest portion lives in a perpetual mill-race, it is evident that anything like spiritual or inner life must be unknown or, at least, dormant. To outsiders, indeed, such ideas

seem to have no existence at all in the American mind. But this is not so. From time to time, there is an extraordinary awakening. The enormous sums then given for the building of new churches, the *revivals*, those great meetings in the forests and prairies of the Far West, where a sudden thirst for spiritual consolation bursts out with extraordinary violence, seizing upon the masses like an epidemic and producing the most fantastic scenes, now tragic, now comic,—these *revivals* and the splendid churches in the Fifth Avenue are only different manifestations of the same spirit—the spirit of Faith, asleep, oppressed, kept down, but not exterminated by the worship of the Golden Calf which is the religion of the State: the only apparent religion, in fact, of the merchant, the miner, the carrier, the porter, in one word, of the fortune-hunter of young America!

Notwithstanding that we were really in the dog-days, we continued our explorations of New York, sometimes in carriages, sometimes in cars, but still oftener on foot. What struck me even more this time than during my first visit, and which I cannot find mentioned in any other description of New York, is the way in which this city has, as I before said, given the type to all the other great centres of population in the Union. The preponderance which she exercises arises from her extraordinary centralization, to which neither the exclusive legislation of other States, nor the extreme mobility of American society, nor the unlimited space acquired or conquered by this great nation, can in any way resist. I could multiply examples to prove my theory,—but how discuss such questions with the thermometer at 30 degrees Réaumur?

I have just been going through a large though somewhat commonplace quarter of the town, inhabited entirely by Germans. Here all the emigrants of that nation, many of whom only arrived the day before, are welcomed, lodged, and put in the right track before starting for the Far West. They bring with them an atmosphere fresh from the *Vaterland*, and thus renew all the home-feelings of their fellow-countrymen and prevent them being transformed altogether into *Yankees*. The old settlers, on the other hand, who have mostly outlived those republican aspirations which form such a powerful element in German emigration, strive first of all to destroy the illusions of

the new-comers ; to give them some idea of the real state of things ; and to prepare them as far as possible for the new life which awaits them. Quite a metamorphosis is the result, and that in a few days, under the influence of this great centre of American life. The consequences will be felt at the most extreme points of this vast country—under the shadow of the forests in which Lake Superior is embedded ; or in the great granaries of Minnesota and Wisconsin ; in the prairies of Nebraska and Arkansas, on the borders of the Red River, in Texas, in the isolated ranchos of Oregon, and even to the grassy slopes of the Sierra Nevada.

In a minor degree, the same may be said of the Irish. I say in a minor degree, because the child of the Emerald Isle shows himself less amenable to outside influence ; and that everywhere the Celt is sufficient to himself ; and as in England and Australia as well as in America, he shuts himself up from modern civilization. It is also an ascertained fact that nations who have emerged earlier from a state of barbarism exercise a sort of superiority over races who are younger in that respect. Where they come in contact it is always the first who become supreme and the latter who succumb ; and that in spite of the equality which may exist between them, and even a sort of political superiority in the latter. Certainly, the conquests that the elder generation make over the younger in the human family are limited ; but they are an incontestable fact. Thus on the frontier between Italy and the Austrian provinces, it is the Italian element which prevails over the German and the Slave, perhaps on the confines only of the two provinces and to an infinitesimal degree, but still it is perceptible. In Hungary, *vis-à-vis* the Magyars and the Slaves, in Bohemia and Illyria, in Poland and Russia, the German is evidently and ostensibly the pioneer of civilization. That of the Celts dates from the first centuries of our era, if it be true, as I believe, that Christianity is the only cradle of true civilization. From that point of view, the Celts are the elders of the Anglo-Saxon and German races. But these having gone ahead of them in every respect, they have never been able to establish their rights except by a passive resistance to the influx of modern ideas. In New York, thanks to universal suffrage, they are a real power and even a formidable one. At the elections, they

often obtain a majority. In the States they form the principal Catholic element, and are the born antagonists of the Germans, who are mostly Protestant. Emigrants of other nations land with the intention of becoming American citizens; the children of the Emerald Isle remain for ever Irish. Not that they have an idea of returning to the old country, although they admit the possibility of such an eventuality, or of inducing their children to do so, but by an ideal and mystical link, they remain united to the mother-country, and have, as it were, carried off a portion of it with them. The ocean which separates them seems to have no existence in their minds; it is, after all, but a stream. The day will come, God knows when, when they will cross it once more, they, their *American brothers*, as they are called in Ireland, to bring with them liberty—in the modern sense of the term, as it is understood by the democrats and liberals of Europe, and which means for them independence and separation from England. Then they will fight and conquer. Fenianism is the offspring of these dreams; that intangible conspiracy which resists the efforts of the police, detectives, and of the English troops, as much as the exhortations of the Catholic clergy; and gives a feeling of uneasiness both in England and Ireland, which is not exempt from danger. The Irish, therefore, are little influenced by Anglo-Saxon ideas and habits. However, they do not escape them altogether, and it is again at New York that the Irishman is transformed into the *American brother*. The same effect is produced, only in a greater degree, on the emigrants of other nations.

From this point of view, the supremacy of New York is certain, as long as she remains the head of the bridge which connects the two continents. At the present moment, the immense majority of emigrants, the surplus of that strength which Europe from over-population can no longer employ or maintain, turn their steps to the mouth of the Hudson, land at New York on American soil, and there receive their first impressions, which they carry with them to all parts of this vast continent.

CHAPTER III.

WASHINGTON.—FROM THE 26th TO THE 29th MAY.

The dead season in the Official Capital.—The *Alabama* Treaty from the American point of View.—Transformation of ideas and habits since the Civil War.—Conflicting opinions on the Emancipation Question.—Growing preponderance of the coloured races in the Southern States.

WHOEVER wishes to have a clear idea of the official capital of the United States, without the trouble of locomotion, has only to read Anthony Trollope's description. It is a real photograph, only lacking the colouring, but the drawing and resemblance are perfect. I almost regret that I have not contented myself with copying it. The air is heavy, the heat stifling, the dust and the mosquitoes pursue you without mercy. "Arlington House," that great hotel patronised by the official world, the rendezvous of senators, politicians, lawyers, who swarm there, is certainly the least agreeable of all the great caravanserais of the New World. I am spending sleepless nights stifling under a mosquito net which has the fault of not being impervious to my tormentors, and whiling away the hottest hours of the day in the rooms on the ground-floor of the house, or on the veranda. Stretched out on easy-chairs are a multitude of other men, striving in like manner to pass the most intolerable part of the day in the most comfortable way possible. They smoke, they spit, they fix their eyes on the ceiling, but they won't talk. A dead silence pervades the whole place. You hear nothing but the buzzing of the flies, and sometimes the step of a black or coloured waiter or post man bringing in papers, letters, or telegrams. From time to time a blast of hot air rushes in, bringing with it a cloud of dust from the street. The atmosphere is redolent of various

kinds of odours which add to the charm of the morning. I am told that even at Buenos Ayres and Rio de Janeiro, the summer is less trying and less injurious to health.

The consequence is, that everyone who can, escapes from the town. The President is on the point of starting; Mr. Fish is already gone. The diplomatic corps and the heads of departments follow their example. The House of Representatives is shut up. The Senate will close to-day or to-morrow. I went to hear one of the last sittings. The debate was calm and quiet, but the reverse of lively. It rather disappointed me, as amongst us, Europeans, although the debates in our respective Houses of Parliament are often exciting, we are apt to fancy that under the cupola of the American capitol the time is spent in mutual recriminations, resulting very often in insults and revolvers. Nothing of the sort happened. Two honourable members attacked and defended a certain question with grave courtesy and sonorous voices, more like pleaders at the Bar, to which profession these politicians probably belonged. In speaking, they alternately raised and let fall their voices, and only in certain eloquent moments, struck the palm of their left hand, stuck out horizontally, with their right finger. During the debate, the other members read, wrote or slept. No one talked or even whispered; but on the other hand, no one seemed to pay the smallest attention to the two speakers. Their very existence seemed ignored.

The end of this session, however, coincides with an event of no small importance—*i.e.*, with the signing of the Treaty destined to bring about the solution of the tedious question of the *Alabama* quarrel; and to strengthen the friendly relations between Great Britain and the North American Republic, which recent events had somewhat weakened. The English plenipotentiaries had left Washington only a few days before. Hence the *Alabama* Treaty was the great topic of conversation. I heard of nothing else in England before my departure; on the steamer, in the railroad, at New York, here and everywhere, no one talks of anything else. The greater part of the English people whom I have seen, are unanimous in regretting that they have been obliged to make concessions; but congratulate themselves at the same time on the settling of a question which gave rise to mutual distrust, and might have ended in a

serious rupture between the two countries. In their minds, a certain satisfaction at the result is mingled with their vexation. If I am not very much mistaken, that is the predominant feeling in England. In America, politicians seem uncertain as to the amount of value to be attached to the Treaty. They ask one another if the question be really settled or not. I have seen several official men, a number of members of Parliament, and the Governor of one of the principal States. Evidently their idea on the subject is not a decided one; or else they have some reason for not expressing it. In the ordinary public sense, the Treaty of Washington is looked upon in America as an act of deference on the part of the English Government, and a recognition of the superiority of the United States. England has owned herself in the wrong, and has capitulated; nothing more nor less. If this erroneous interpretation of the business spreads itself through the States, and takes root in the convictions of the masses, the conciliatory dispositions of the British negotiator are evidently misunderstood, and the Treaty, although it may smooth over existing difficulties, will pave the way for future complications.

The Canadians, on the other hand, are extremely dissatisfied. For them, there is the perpetual grievance of the fishery question. They complain that Lord Granville's plenipotentiaries neglected them and sacrificed their interests; that they are, in fact, abandoned by the mother-country. Even before my departure from Europe, an eminent English statesman had said to me: "The separation from Canada is only a question of time. This Treaty will hasten it. Before four or five years are over it will happen." Everyone knows how, in England, public opinion has familiarised itself with the idea of the loss of the colonies. If anyone, thirty years ago, had ventured to suggest such a possibility, he would have been denounced as an enemy if a stranger, or as a traitor if an Englishman. But the present generation look upon such questions from a different point of view. They admit it as inevitable, and expect a declaration of independence from Canada and Australia at the very first shot fired by Great Britain against a foreign enemy. Utilitarians even discuss the advantages of such a separation, and talk like courtiers who congratulate their sovereign on the loss of a province. ●

During the three days I passed at Washington, I took my meals at a little table with a young and nice-looking couple whom I found out to be the Governor of one of the Western States with his wife. The steward who, in the dining-room, directs the waiters and fixes your place at table with an authority which no one dreams of disputing, had placed us together, which enabled us to enter into conversation.

The Governor began with the usual interrogatory.

"Allow me," he said, "to ask you an impertinent question. What country do you belong to? What is your profession? And what has brought you to this great country? What do you think of America? It's a fine country, isn't it? a very fine country, a very big country."

Now one reads in every book published on America, and principally in England, that the Yankee is greedy of compliments on his native land; that he swallows any amount of flattery however exaggerated, and that the least criticism, even silence, provokes and wounds his patriotic sensibilities. This was true once, but the civil war has altered the state of things. Men's minds have become matured. The *enfant terrible*, the young scapegrace, has become a grave and earnest man. He has visited Europe and has too much sense, and is too clear-sighted to hug himself as in old times, with the belief that he "whips all creation." This is especially the case in New England, which may be called the centre of the intellectual life of America. The men from the Western States, in the masses, are less enlightened. The South—formerly renowned for its princely hospitality and the aristocratic tastes of its great planters, as well as for the eminent statesmen which she gave to the Republic—the poor South is at present but a mutilated trunk bleeding from thousands of wounds, which time alone can cure; and is therefore in an abnormal condition. I shall not be able to visit her and judge for myself, so that I must leave out this question in speaking of America.

My Governor from the West was evidently of the old school. I took great care, therefore, not to wound his susceptibilities. In those conflicts between the duties of politeness and the exigencies of truth (in which delicate situation I often find myself), one gets out of the difficulties as best one can by lavishing compliments or ingeniously disguising one's mitigated

criticisms. I find that my audience dwell on my enthusiastic expressions and take no note of the timid deprecation, or covert malice with which I strive to satisfy my conscience, or stifle its voice. Moreover, I have often observed that the more a stranger dwells on the favourable side of things in America, the more his native listener condescends to come down to the regions of truth, and to point out of his own accord, what are the faults of the constitution, and the social evils of the United States.

"Yes," replied the Governor, after having swallowed complacently enough, a whole mouthful of my compliments; "yes, we are a great nation—a glorious country. But we are sick. We are suffering from the consequences of a precocious childhood, and a too sudden growth. As young men, we lived in a forcing-house; arrived at maturity, we undertook too much, and are now wearing ourselves out with overwork. It is possible, but not probable, that we shall arrive at old age. The Union, I fear, has no future."

"You ask me," he continued, "for my opinion as to the emancipation of the negroes. It is impossible to speak with certainty; but according to all human probability, the Act of Emancipation was a sentence of death to the coloured people. The negro is naturally idle and improvident. Now that he is free, he works little or not at all, and cares nothing for the morrow. I allow that there are many exceptions. Since the abolition of slavery, the Southern proprietors of the plantations pay their negroes wages, or, which is better, give them a fourth part of the produce, and this system on the whole works well. But, as I said before, a negro who will work and save is the exception. If the last cotton crop has been good, it is only very partially due to the slave labourers; they have not the wish to work in them, so they can never compete with the whites, and very soon will fall into poverty and misery. They are improvident and bad parents. They have no idea of taking care of their children. That used to be the business of the proprietor, who, anxious to preserve and increase his capital, if not from humanity at least from interest, took the greatest care of his female slaves when with child, and of their little ones after. Now, the mortality among the latter is something frightful. Besides, it has been proved by long experience, that

in the free States the blacks remain numerically stationary, even if they do not diminish. In the slave States, on the contrary, independently of the contingent furnished by the annual slave trade, the negro race increased in the most astonishing degree. This fact may be explained by two causes. The first, the one I before mentioned, namely, the extreme care taken by the proprietors of the nursing mothers and their infants; the second, the partiality of the black women for the whites. In the Southern States, before the Abolition, almost all the marriages were contracted between the blacks themselves. The union of a black woman with a white husband, whether illegitimate or not, was the exception; now the law makes no distinction and throws no obstacle in the way, and the great influx of workmen from the Northern States facilitates the alliance between the blacks and the whites. Thus, on the one hand, misery and sickness especially among the children diminish the black population, and on the other, the very few negroes who by their industry have attained a good position invariably strive to marry their daughters to whites, or at least to half-castes; so that you see that both their virtues and their vices, idleness and work, equally conspire to bring about the eventual destruction of the black race."

Whilst he was speaking, I asked myself, "Do the negroes work or not?" it seems to me that the whole question turns upon that. But on this essential point, which is, after all, one of fact, opinions are divided. A statesman highly esteemed in America, and the representative of his country at one of the European courts, said to me:

"People declared, and generally believed, that the emancipated negroes would not work. The statistics of the last cotton crops prove that, under the system of wages and a share in the profits, they are become excellent workmen. Again, it was asserted that they were hopelessly stupid; and now we see that not only are they possessed of extraordinary intelligence, but that they have the greatest wish to educate themselves, and to give a good education to their children."

The same statesman spoke to me of the growing political importance of the coloured races:

"The partizans of emancipation were afraid lest the old proprietors should be enabled, by underhand means, to elude

the law and make this great philanthropic act a dead letter. To obviate this danger, the negroes were allowed to share in the universal suffrage. One of the consequences is, that, at the next election for the President, they will be masters of the position and that their votes will decide the question. As it is, both democrats and republicans are striving to curry favour with them and intriguing for their votes." To which I must add, that President Grant fully recognises their importance; in proof of which he honours them with his special protection, as the constant influx of negroes at the seat of Government proves. In the Southern States they have got most of the power in their own hands. In South Carolina the Vice-President of the Legislature is a man of colour. Let us read what the *New York Observer* says about it:—

"The position of South Carolina is well-nigh intolerable. It arises from two causes; first, that the blacks outnumber the whites; next, that the old planters refuse to fall in with the new system, and to share the government with the blacks. In this way the negroes, with the help of a few recently arrived whites, have the game in their own hands and rule the State. Out of one hundred and twenty-five members of the Lower House ninety of them are blacks. The proportion in the Upper is the same. The greater number of these men are venal and corrupt. Add to this, that the landholders in South Carolina have lost everything in the late war except the actual land; that they have no ready money whatever; that the taxes are continually augmenting of late years; and that they press cruelly on the landed proprietors. . . ." The article then goes on to speak of the way in which the public revenue is squandered.

These statements, and others of the like kind, are confirmed by all the Southerners and contradicted by most of the Northerners whom I meet. On which side lies the truth? And how to find it out? But one fact is allowed on all sides: and that is, that the blacks are, to a certain degree, the masters of the whites.

In some States they rule absolutely; in others, they form the majority of the legislature; everywhere they constitute a real power—this very race who, only a few years ago, on this self-same spot, were considered the lowest animals in creation!

One can understand the rage, the despair, the hatred continually gathering in the hearts of the whites, not so much against their old slaves, as against the North, the authors of all these evils. See, too, what is passing in the South. At this moment, Mr. Davis is making a kind of triumphant progress through the country. His speeches electrify his audience. They may be summed up in two words, "silence" and "hope:" which mean, vengeance when the hour is come. The gentlemen, who are all landed proprietors, abstain from voting and keep themselves in the background, thus giving up the field to the negroes and emigrants from the North. The Government cannot even get any official agents. If they nominate any man, for example, to collect the taxes or see after the revenue, he is sure to resign after a few weeks, either from intimidation or because he sympathises with the Southern cause. The Southern women, more impassioned and more heroic than their husbands, do all they can to fan the sacred fire of patriotism, which, in the eyes of the law, is treason and revolt. This is the picture presented to me by impartial persons, by members of the diplomatic corps, and by travellers well acquainted with the country and complete strangers to the two parties. A great deal of their information on this subject is not even attempted to be denied by their adversaries. But one thing which everyone admits is the political preponderance of the coloured element in the South at this moment. Such an anomaly cannot last.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM WASHINGTON TO CHICAGO.—FROM THE 29th TO THE 30th MAY.

Travellers in the Far West.—The Miseries of a single Man.—Aristocratic longings in the Country of Equality.—The Susquehanna.—The Juniata.—Arrival at Chicago.

IN the journey from New York to the official capital of the United States, there is nothing which strikes the traveller as very different from what he meets with in an ordinary European railroad. But when we turn our steps towards the West, the look of our fellow-travellers gradually changes. Bankers with their clerks, elegantly-dressed ladies from Boston, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, officials from Washington, all those people, in fact, whose cosmopolitan aspects remind one of their like in Europe, disappear from the scene. They are replaced by a lot of men mostly young, bearded, ill-dressed, not over-clean, armed with one or sometimes two revolvers, wearing round their waists great coarse, woollen bags, which are generally empty when they are starting for the Far West, and as commonly full of gold on their return. There are also a number of farmers of a less equivocal appearance, and draymen who, on the banks of the Missouri, at Leavenworth and Kansas City, are going to rejoin the caravans confided to their care. These men are important personages in their way. The intrepidity, the perseverance, the habit of command (if it were only of the bullock-drivers conducting their teams) an exuberance of health, a certain brutal strength and a strong sense of their own value, are all marked on their faces reddened with whisky and exposure to the burning winds of New Mexico and

Arizona. The merchandise conveyed by them to Santa Fé, Prescott, San Diego, California, or by the Paso-del-norte to Chihuahua, is worth many millions. These men brave every hardship and danger from Indians and desert monsters, to the dreary snowdrifts of the higher levels, and the terrible passage of the *cañones*. They take three, four, or five months to reach their destination. From time to time only, they find a halting place where they can obtain fresh provisions. To these men (real crusaders, saving the cross and the chivalry), such stations appear like fairy castles, where beautiful Indians rise up to wait on them, and where, during a two or three days' halt, they find every earthly enjoyment of the kind which they can best appreciate, which makes them forget the privations of the road. When I pass before a group of these men in the corner of a waggon, they salute me with a friendly and yet sharp and somewhat bantering look, half mixed with pity: "Poor devil!" (they think to themselves) "what is he good for?" and then giving me a silent shake of the hand, let me pass on.

There are also several Germans in the train, who make themselves remarkable by the boldness of their voices, for the American is silent in general and only speaks in a whisper. The ladies also have changed their appearance. Here, as in other parts, they are almost always travelling alone. But elegant toilets have disappeared.

I was advised at New York to provide myself with letters of introduction to the landlords of the different hotels and to the station-masters of the places where I meant to stop; and in a previous journey I had already found the advantage of such a precaution. The train arrives at a little station where you mean to sleep. There are but one or two hotels in the town—monster ones, it is true, containing eight or twelve hundred beds. But they are always overflowing with passengers. Everyone rushes towards the omnibuses which are to convey you there, others run on foot alongside. As to your luggage, you need not trouble your head about it, as you have your "*check*." It is sure to be sent to you safely and speedily. Now we are arrived at the inn, and behind a long bench stands a gentleman of grave and majestic air. We travellers are all arranged in single file before him. The ladies are served first, and taken to fine apartments on the first and second stories;

under their wing pass, likewise, their husbands, or brothers, or anyone who may have the privilege of being their masculine escorts. But single men are ruthlessly sent up to the garrets, for which purpose a lift is always ready to facilitate the ascension. My turn came at last, and I presented myself before the Minos of the place armed with my letter of introduction, given to me by the master of the hotel where I had slept the night before. He read it rapidly, looked at me for a moment with a cold but keen and scrutinising glance; then, he passes me over, and sends my fellow-travellers to the aerial regions. When everybody has been provided for, I find myself alone, face to face, with this important personage, who turns towards me his countenance, visibly brightening, presses my hand warmly, and smiling graciously, says: "Now for us two, Baron. You wish for a good room, Baron. Very well, Baron, you shall have one," and he gives me the best room he has to offer.

Here I cannot help making an observation, which nevertheless has been made hundreds of times before. The American has a thirst for equality, but a mania for titles. Those who can lay claim to the title of Governor, Senator, Colonel, General, even if it be only of the Militia, and their name is legion, are always accosted by their title, and never by their name. They are never weary of repeating it. To him who gives it, as to him who receives it, it is felt to be an equal honour. As to titles of nobility, the forbidden fruit of the republican American, they are pronounced with a sort of voluptuous pleasure. I appeal to all those who have been in America to clear me from a charge of exaggeration in this matter. By a species of analogy, I might quote also the naive pride of those old families who descend from the first Dutch emigrants, the English Puritans, or the French Huguenots. I never made the acquaintance of any one of these men or women, that they did not say to me immediately after my introduction: "I am of a very old family. My ancestors arrived in this country two hundred years ago. My cousins have a seat in the House of Lords;" or else, "We descend from Huguenots—men well known in the court of France before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." And these very persons, who had begun by proclaiming their genealogy, were generally the most distinguished by their polished manners

and a first-rate education. These anomalies, however strange they may seem to us, are to be explained, I think, less by motives of vanity, which find other and more real gratification, than by the essence of human nature, which, like the inanimate creation, cannot exist without variety, and repudiates the notion of equality.

On the railroads, too, I found my letters of introduction invaluable, especially when travelling alone. The station-master begins the acquaintance by shaking my hand, calling me "Baron" half a dozen times, and introducing me to the guard of the train. Then comes a fresh exchange of civilities. The guard gives me my title, and I call him "*Mister*." That's the custom in the Far West—they don't call one another "*Sir*," but "*Mister*," without adding the name; for no one has the time to inquire, or it is forgotten as soon as told. If you are a white man and an American, that is enough; for that constitutes your superiority over the wild man of the desert, over the red man of the prairie, over all the other nations of the earth, Europeans included. It is the species to which you belong which they consider, not the individual. You are then "*Mister*," which means "Master"—Master of Creation. After being duly presented to the guard there is one more formality to be gone through, which is an equally important one, and that is to be introduced by the guard to the *man of colour*. This is the waiter of the cars. In this case, with a due consideration for the shade of his skin, there is no shaking of hands. In spite of the emancipation, we have not yet arrived at that! They become legislators, certainly, and even vice-presidents. At Washington, the seat of the central government, they are allowed to loll insolently enough in omnibuses and cars and public places, and only to yield their places to women. But to shake hands with them! Fie! it is not to be thought of. The guard as a friend, the coloured man as a servant, become invaluable to you on your journey. They secure you a good place; they manage that you should avoid disagreeable or dangerous company by putting you in a ladies' compartment, if only you will dispense with your cigar; above all, they will reserve a "section" for you—that is, a window with four places, which, during the night, will be transformed into a comfortable bedroom.

After a detestable luncheon, taken in haste at Baltimore in an "eating-house," I rush off to the station of the Central Pennsylvanian Railroad for the West. Thanks to the competition with other lines, one has arrived at the utmost maximum of speed. Thus, at the moment in which I write, and while, according to my wont, I am striving, in spite of horrible shakings, to scribble a few notes in my journal, we are rattling on at a rate of between fifty and sixty miles an hour. To talk with the first-comer is one of the charms of a tourist. It has this advantage over reading, that you can ask questions, and don't tire your eyes. Besides that, some books are tiresome ; but however dull you may be, there does not exist a human being out of whom you cannot extract something—a new idea, a happy thought, some curious bit of information or fresh appreciation. Sometimes, certainly, one comes across hopelessly obtuse and case-hardened natures, into whom nothing can penetrate. But put even such natures on a subject which interests them, and they will unbend. Ask them for some detail of their own biography, for instance, and be sure they will talk, if not freely, at least with pleasure, and with profit to yourself, if you know how to take advantage of it. Only men flying from justice, or women in a doubtful position, travelling under the incognito of disconsolate widows, will ever consider your questions indiscreet.

In the highest society, which is almost always more or less connected with men in power, frivolity and gossip, those *habitués* of the drawing-room, are formidable rivals to serious conversation ; and when we get out of the region of commonplace, the reserve which our respective positions impose, or an *arrière-pensée* that one is afraid to betray, a thousand different reasons, in fact, create a barrier to a liberal exchange of ideas. Such conversations have to pass through the crucible before producing any result.

The middle classes, on the other hand, offer a wide field of observation. One learns far more from them, and finds more variety, than in the higher classes ; but less knowledge of the human heart and of real life, for the horizon of each is necessarily limited in this little world of specialities. The *savant*, the artist, the merchant, the tradesman, as long as he talks to you of the business in which he is engaged, can give

you some valuable information. The least interesting men are commercial travellers. If they would only talk of their sales or their goods ; but they will talk politics. Each man tells you with the greatest freedom all he thinks and feels on such questions ; and each man thinks and feels exactly what he has read that morning in his daily paper. These men—I own that there are exceptions—are marvellous ; they think they know everything ; the prime ministers of the greatest states have no secrets from them. Like sensible men, unless they were glovemakers, they would hesitate to give an opinion on the quality of a glove ; but in diplomacy they consider themselves master-minds. It is, however, among the people that one can glean with the most profit. The simple confidence of a peasant in our Austrian Alps, an old servant at an inn in some little German or Pyrenean village, the conversation of the *curé*, the surgeon (the Sangrado, as they call him), the *alcalde* of an old market-town in the Sierra Morena, gathered together at the village chemist's, in *tertulia* ; the chatter of the young girl with classical features, and supple figure wrapt in rags, who precedes me, with the step of an empress, into the depths of an Irish turf cabin ; the autobiography of a workman in a factory, or of a book-keeper at his desk—all these, and such as these, have never failed to interest me. They have often struck me by the grandeur and novelty of their conceptions ; they have thrown a whole flood of light on obscure and difficult questions, and often evoked tears of sympathy, or irresistible and hearty laughter ; and even in the most ordinary talk of this sort, there is almost always some discovery to be made. An historian, in order to enter into the spirit of the century which he is describing, consults all possible contemporary authorities. In the same way, a traveller, if he is to travel with advantage, should listen to the people of the countries he passes through, and make them talk of themselves. It is the way I have always followed, and which I mean to go on following, in my promenade round the world.

The train is slackening speed ; we are only running at the rate of thirty or thirty-five miles an hour, that is, at the ordinary rate of express trains in England. We have entered the Susquehanna valley, and the Pennsylvanian Central follows its

winding, serpentine course through wooded glens and smiling villages, and past the busy factories and picturesque cottages which line the banks of this beautiful and poetical river. The scenery is very varied ; here and there all traces of culture or cultivation disappear. Above a thicket of flowering shrubs and branching elms rises up a fir wood, each coniferous specimen being different of its kind, and growing tall, straight, and thin, like the men of the Anglo-American race. Between these tapering stems, the Susquehanna, of a greenish turquoise blue, dashes by, giving itself the airs of a torrent, bounds against the blocks of granite which line its bed, incircles them with foam, and then resuming its tranquil course, as if ashamed of its powerless fury, rolls on calmly and swiftly, caressing as it passes the branches of wild roses which hang over its limpid waters. It is a perfect type of the classical soil which witnessed the first struggles between the white man and the red-skin, those scenes so beautifully described by Cooper. But this country saw no bloodshed ; it was only the theatre of the peaceable conquests of William Penn. One's imagination loves to dwell on those times, already so far distant, when the Far West began at the gates of Philadelphia, and of the New Amsterdam, which has since become New York. To convince oneself of this fact, one has only to double this little promontory. In the valley we have now reached, which is wide and open, civilization unrolls its riches, its cultivated fields, its steam factories, its market-towns and villages, with bright clean-looking villas, all built on a uniform plan, its farms surrounded by plantations,—the whole a picture of active prosperity, and of the struggle still going on between civilized man and savage nature. But go on a little further, and you come back to a region which is entirely uncultivated. Yes, these contrasts give a peculiar character to the Susquehanna valley, and make it the exact representative of the great state which this river traverses from one end to the other. In Pennsylvania, agricultural industry is more developed than in any other state of the Union, without counting the working of its mineral riches of iron and coal. But in spite of the increase of its productions, and the constant growth of its population, three parts of its territory is uncultivated for want of hands ; and thus, as on the enchanting banks of the Sueque-

hanna, the noise and animation of the most active industry of which modern life is capable alternates with the silence and solitude of the desert.

In the afternoon we passed by Harrisburg. Now the sun is setting, flooding with a roseate light the idyllic banks of the Juniata. The habitations seem more numerous than on the Susquehanna. The villages succeed one another more frequently, and here and there, surrounded by carefully-kept gardens, peep out little villas, somewhat pretentious in construction, but which give one a pleasant sensation, because they produce the illusion in the mind of the European traveller that he is once more in the Old World. This river has also its solitary spots, and they are not the least beautiful. A soft and poetic melancholy pervades the whole scene. If the Susquehanna be like an epic poem, the Juniata, more modest, reminds one of the eclogues of Garcilaso: *Corria sin duelo lagrimas corrientes*.

At ten o'clock at night there is a grand commotion in the cars; everyone rushes out on the platform, to exclaim, with the help of a glorious moonlight, not only on the beauty of the scenery, which I thought doubtful, but on the hardihood of construction of the railway in that particular spot. We came into a gorge of the Jack's mountain, and soon after crossed the Sideling Hills—that is to say, a chain of the Alleghanies at the meeting of the waters of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. The descent makes one shiver; fortunately, it is but short. Night is coming on; the passengers prepare to try to get some sleep. In the bed-carriages the arm-chairs are rapidly transformed into beds. Boards separate them from one another. A heavy curtain runs down the middle of the passage. Each window allows for two beds, one at the top of the other, unless the traveller has taken a "section," that is, the whole space of one window. Under the shelter of the heavy curtain, men and women, without distinction, put on their night things, pin a handkerchief over the pillow provided by the authorities, which is of doubtful cleanliness, lie down on or scramble up to their beds and strive to sleep, in spite of the noise, the shaking, the dust, the stifling atmosphere, and the nauseous smell of this most infernal dormitory. As for me, I do not mean to try even to follow the general example. Although the envied

possessor of a "section," I make up my mind to bivouac bravely on the steps of the platform. The night is beautiful ; a full moon floods the whole country with silvery light. As far as the eye can reach, the railroad follows a straight line, which enables us to go at a fearful rate during the greater part of the night. A couple of feet above me, all along the sides of the rails, the pebbles and flints, sparkling like diamonds, look like a horizontal cataract. In crossing the trestle-work bridge, the train rocks and vacillates like a ship in a cross sea. But I cling on to the balustrade, and comfort myself with the reflection that on this line, one of the worst in the States, the greater part of the trains, nevertheless, arrive at their destination. From time to time the breaksmen rush upon the platform, drag the wheels, put on the breaks, and disappear again by slipping into the next carriage. To judge by their hurry you would think it was a question of life or death. The guard, too, passes and repasses, never without a gracious smile or a courteous word to me, as "Now, Baron," or, "Well, Baron ; you're not gone to bed." Sometimes, as a variety, he says nothing, but merely presses my hand. Each time I ask him : "Well, how fast are we going, Mister?" And his answer invariably is : "Sixty miles an hour, Baron."

The dawn begins to break. It is getting cold. I make up my mind to go back into the carriage. The coloured waiters are already putting away the mattresses. In the *rotonda*, a species of ante-room generally attached to the bed-carriages, the passengers in single file are waiting their turns before a somewhat miserable washing-stand ; another is reserved for the ladies. The latter, with a laudable absence of coquetry, which, however, I should not recommend to any woman who cares to please, appear one by one in their dressing-gowns, carrying their chignons in their hands, and find the means of making their toilette in presence of the company, although I cannot say the result was generally satisfactory.

At two o'clock in the morning we passed Pittsburg. At nine o'clock we breakfasted at Glastine. The train sped rapidly through the somewhat scanty forests of Ohio. At twelve o'clock we are at Fort Wayne, and at five we arrive on the confines of Illinois, having traversed Indiana in all its breadth. The country is one vast plain, only limited by the horizon. Low

undulations here and there do not suffice to break the monotony of these solitary regions, which are very little cultivated, and do not present a single feature to charm or divert the eye. At last Lake Michigan comes in sight. Looking like the ocean towards the north, with its low downs and its flat sandy banks, nothing can be more dreary or desolate. At six precisely, covered with dust, overcome with heat, and tired to death, but without any broken bones, we arrive safe and sound at the Chicago terminus.

CHAPTER V.

CHICAGO.—FROM THE 30th MAY TO THE 1st JUNE.

Appearance of Chicago.—Growing importance of the German element.—The great Caravanserais.—Economy of human strength.—The superiority, in the United States, of the lower strata of Society.—Chicago the great emporium of the West.—Michigan Avenue.—A house on wheels.—General Sheridan.—Manner and character of European travel.—The position of Woman in the family.

I ALIGHT at Sherman House, the prototype of one of the great American hotels. Thanks to my letter of introduction, the gentleman at the office is most courteous, and gives me a charming room on the first floor, with a bathroom alongside, of which the water-cocks, as usual, are stopped up; but which the negro servant of the “quarter” promises to have put in order for me. In the meantime, I stroll about the streets. The heat is intolerable, and the first sight of Chicago is not encouraging to an idle man. It was the hour of closing the shops and factories. Streams of workmen—men, women, and children, shop-boys, commercial men of all kinds, passed me on foot, in omnibuses, in tramways—all going in the same direction—that is, all making their way to their homes in the quarters outside the town; all looked sad, preoccupied, and worn out with fatigue.

The streets are like all the other towns in America. The houses, it is true, are built of wood;¹ but they imitate brick and stone. Clouds of coal smoke issue from innumerable factory chimneys, gather in the streets, throw dark shadows on

¹ A few months after my visit a fearful conflagration, as every one knows, reduced three parts of this great capital of the West to ashes.

the brilliant shop fronts, and on the gorgeous gold letters of the advertisements, which cover the fronts of the houses up to the garrets, and seem to half stifle the crowd, who, with bent heads, measured steps, and arms swinging like the pendulum of a clock, are flying in silence from the spots in which, all day long, they have laboured in the sweat of their brows. Now and then, for a moment, the sun breaks through the dismal black curtain which human industry has cast over this toiling capital : but these sudden gleams of light, so far from brightening the scene, tend, on the contrary, to show off its sadness. In all the great thoroughfares, and as far as one can see, rise the gigantic poles of the telegraphic wires. They are placed quite close to one another, and end in a double bishop's cross—the only kind of cross which is to be seen in this city, of which the God is money.

I mix with the crowd, which drags me on with it. I strive to read in the faces as I pass, and everywhere meet with the same expression. Everyone is in a hurry, if it were only to get a few minutes sooner to his home, and thus economise his few hours of rest, after having taken the largest possible amount of work out of the long hours of labour. Everyone seems to dread a rival in his neighbour. This crowd is a very type of isolation. The moral atmosphere is not charity, but rivalry.

Night falls, and the streets are beginning to be empty. Everywhere I hear the German tongue, and strive to enter into conversation with some of my fellow-countrymen. Not till after they have looked at me with anxious rather than curious eyes will German frankness overcome Anglo-American reserve. But then they unbend and answer my questions gladly. Ah ! with what enthusiasm they speak of the late war ! National pride and the excitement of victory light up these honest middle-class faces. The wonderful success of their brethren beyond the seas has come to them in the light of a revelation. It has raised their moral tone, revived their energy, and given birth to new aspirations in their hearts, which, in the American sense, would be incompatible with the constitution of the United States. Until now, of all the emigrants, the Germans were those who mingled the most steadily and quickly, and were almost fused in fact, with the Anglo-Saxon

race, which forms the basis of the population of the Eastern States. I was very much struck by this, last year, when I was going to Niagara. Everywhere my emigrant fellow-countrymen of the last ten or twelve years, if they still talked German to their children, were answered by them in English. One sees that the third generation, with the exception of some of the customs of the Fatherland, such as the taste for music and for beer, is completely Americanised. This was the case everywhere except in Pennsylvania, where the Germans form so large a portion of the community, and have in consequence preserved the traditions, the habits, and, though very imperfectly, the language of their mother-country. To-day, however, under the impulse of a sudden, violent, and perhaps lasting reaction the German element has emerged from its state of passive resignation. They have become proud of their nationality. They reckon upon preserving and cultivating it. They are like people who, suddenly having discovered their own value, are naturally disposed to exaggerate its importance, to become difficult to live with, and to quarrel with their friends. This is the danger which is apprehended in the official circles of Washington. This again is what is foreseen at New York, where I even heard it asserted that the Germans had the intention of forming a distinct element and constituting themselves into a separate political body in the heart of the American confederation. For my own part, I do not share in their anxiety; I know what we are. We Germans are enthusiastic, and people say we are gifted more with imagination and logic than with political sense or instincts. We are often *doctrinaires*, and we like to teach others; but we do not sin through an excess of vanity, and are not disposed to exaggerate. I am afraid we are not as a whole an amiable nation. We like, rather too much, to think ourselves always in the right. An American said to me one day, "I am myself of German origin, but I can't bear the Germans. They are dirty, they are cavillers, and they beat their wives."¹ Alas! from the Atlantic to the Pacific they have this reputation. But the more one advances towards the west of this great continent, the more one is struck by the traces they have left on their passage;

¹ See Jules Froëbel, whose judgment is to be relied upon. ("Aus America," 1857.)

by the marvellous results due to their intelligence, activity, and perseverance; by the great place they already occupy in the New World! and by the important mission they seem destined to fulfil there.

Whilst indulging in these reflections, I find myself passing under a whole array of flags, which the evening breeze is gently swaying. It is the flag of the German *Vaterland*! I see it floating from the town hall, from most of the public buildings, and from a multitude of private houses. The fact is, that my German brothers have just been celebrating the conclusion of the peace at Versailles—that is, their victories. And the town council has been obliged to give them its support, inasmuch as they form three parts of the population of Chicago. The night is dark. The ill-lit streets are completely deserted. The Germans fill the *Bierhäuser*, and while emptying their stoups, amuse themselves by singing national songs to discordant tunes, unworthy of a land which boasts of being musical above all others. In other respects the voices are good and full, and such as Germany produces; they sing in choir, and talk; that is, everybody screams at the same time at the top of his voice.

As for the Americans, they are all swarming round the big hotel, where everyone is free to come and go. At each moment, fresh omnibuses arrive and disgorge their travellers; who form directly in single file and wait patiently and silently, advancing slowly, and receive at last from the head-man at the office the key of the room where each is to pass the night. At the same time, masses of trunks like cyclopean walls, are packed or unpacked with marvellous celerity. The porters, in their shirt sleeves, handle these great weights in a marvellous manner. They are all Irish; and are distinguished from the Americans by their cheery ways, and by their respectful manners towards the travellers. They are also remarkable for their strength and Herculean dimensions. The Americans cannot act as porters. They have not the physical strength, and their health gives way under any excess of manual labour.

A great number of billiard tables, all full of players during the evening and far into the night, fill the bar-room. This enormous, low, underground hall, is lit all day by gas, the fumes of which mingle with the exhalations from the various alcoholic

drinks which the barman is perpetually dispensing to the company. Groups of men are always standing round this important functionary, whose only merit in my eyes consists in his concoction of lemonade. He melts the sugar in water, adds the juice of the fruit which he squeezes out in an instant by means of a small press like a nut-cracker, puts in three or four bits of ice pure as crystal *de roche*, and rapidly passing the liquid from a glass to a metal goblet, thereby accelerates the freezing process. It is the work of a few moments. At last I retire to my room, without taking advantage of the lift, as I have the privilege of being lodged on the first floor. I light the gas with some difficulty, and prepare my bath. Unfortunately, hardly had I plunged into the tepid water, than the gas went out, and escaping by the tap, which had unfortunately been left open, filled my whole room with a horribly mephitic smell. I rush out of my bath in order to stop the mischief, and unfortunately, in so doing, displace the cock. My allumettes will not act, my hands are wet. I content myself with turning off the gas, and strive to find my way back to my bath in the dark. But alas! in the meantime the water has all run out, and there am I, without a light, without a bath, without any clothes, and with no possibility of finding the bell! Besides, was an American waiter ever known to answer one? The moral of this little misadventure is, that one must learn everything—even how to make use of those thousand inventions, as practical as they are ingenious, which constitute what is called the “comfort” of American hotels, and which have for their object to economize labour, to reduce the number of hotel servants to a minimum, and to make the traveller independent by placing everything within his reach by mechanical processes which enable him to shift for himself. He is waited upon at dinner, and they will clean his room and his boots: but they “calculate” that he will brush his own clothes, and they “guess” he will understand the gas-cocks, and the hot-and-cold-water apparatus. The hotels are all built and furnished on the same plan. The meals are abundant, but indifferently good, even if not bad. Everyone eats in haste and in silence. The waiters (all of the coloured race) help you with a sulky, indifferent manner, unless you have been specially recommended to them by the steward, to whom, if you are

wise, you have taken care to be presented by the gentleman in the office. In that case they hope for a little gratuity, smile benignly on you, even become respectful, and bring you niceties which are not on the *menu*. There are no extras, and no additional expense. Everything is abundant, and the ventilation is excellent ; but on the whole, life at an American hotel, however practical, is thoroughly disagreeable.

In the principal streets of Chicago, and other towns of the West, strong iron rings are sunk into the pavement all along the street. They are for fastening the horses. It is their way of doing without grooms or coachmen. To spare a man's strength and time, to lose as little as possible of either, and to get out of both as much as can be, this is essentially the American maxim, of which the traces appear at every turn. Everyone gives in to the notion ; or rather it is a supreme law which no one can resist. Before this inexorable theory, all false shame, human respect, and the prejudices which in the old world exclude the higher and middle classes from manual labour, entirely disappear.

There is no doubt that our refined lives vanish under this harsh but stimulating treatment : and I cannot fancy that a man of a certain age, accustomed to the gentleness, the elegance, and the refinements of our habits, can really find pleasure in such a change of existence. But even Americans who have lived a long time in France, England, or Germany, when they return to their own country, look back to their European lives with strong and often ineffaceable regrets.

It is the lower classes who gain the most by this system ; for it places at everyone's disposal, and at small cost, the material and intellectual enjoyments which raise the moral tone, and which in Europe are the privilege only of the upper strata of society. So, when the European emigrant, sprung from the dregs of the people, and arrived at a state of ease and prosperity here, returns to his native country, he is miserable, and comes back as soon as he can to America. I met some Italians once in the Pacific States, acting as pedlars. They had just returned from Turin. One of them said to me : " There are upwards of four hundred of us in the Nevada and in California, and all, more or less, are doing well. Twenty-four, with their boxes full of gold, returned a short time ago to their

native village. But they couldn't stand the life there, and all, with the exception of three, came back to California. This is easily explained. You see, we can't associate with the gentry in Europe, and we can't live with our equals there, because, without knowing it, we have raised ourselves far above them. We feel, therefore, like fish out of water, and so we give up the dream of living in our native land, and return to America."

The morning is beautiful: the sky without a cloud, and of that metallic blue which is peculiar to the central regions of this continent. The sun is, however, merciless. Even the heavy wreaths of smoke from the factory chimneys cannot resist it. Man alone braves it. In truth, the activity in the streets exceeds anything I have ever seen even in the busy hives of industry and commerce in England. The business done is of a distinctly local character. There are two branches of commerce which make the riches of Chicago. This town, which only dates from 1855, now contains three hundred thousand inhabitants. Built on a marsh, it was at first horribly unhealthy. This evil has been remedied by raising the houses on piles by means of cranks, without having recourse to steam, or deranging the inhabitants. Some houses were transported bodily in that way from one end of the town to the other. Chicago has become the great emporium of the wheat and other grains of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and the market where all the population of the Western States (still called "Western," though, now that California and Oregon have been annexed, they should be called "Central") come to supply themselves with *dry goods* of all sorts and kinds. By water and by rail, wheat arrives in incredible quantities. Here it is that the inexhaustible granaries of the neighbouring states become matters of speculation, are bought and sold, stored up in warehouses, and embarked at a favourable moment, either on the boats of the lake, or on the trucks of the railroad. From hence they stream towards the Eastern States, and even to Europe. The mechanical appliances which facilitate these operations, and the lifts and winches whereby these huge stores are conveyed, form the pride as well as the riches of the inhabitants.

The retail trade, with the innumerable pedlars who come

here to buy the contents of their packs, is another source of prosperity to Chicago, and one which Cincinnati and St. Louis have for a long time rivalled. To-day, however, the superiority of Chicago is assured, and still more firmly established from the geographical position of the town.

I strive to gain the banks of the lake, hoping to get a mouthful of fresh air. Vain delusion! not a breath stirs the glassy water, which, silent and immovable, reflects the sky and the sun, and blinds one with its glare. The railroad crosses the extreme end of it on piles, which look like crutches. Beyond, some large steamers are waiting for their cargoes. In spite of the brilliant sunshine, there is something very melancholy in this scene. Perhaps it is the contrast between the busy life I have just left and the inhospitable solitude which unrolls itself before me. This is, in truth, one of the striking features of this continent. At one moment you are filled with admiration at the extraordinary progress of civilization; then you go on a few steps, you turn a corner, and you fall back into a state of wild and savage nature. The results already obtained by the genius, the courage, and the practical sense of this nation, considered by themselves, are astounding. But they shrink into nothing when you see what yet remains to be done.

I find myself in a great avenue on the banks of the lake, with a row of magnificent buildings on the other side. This is the celebrated Michigan Avenue, the quarter of the plutocracy of Chicago. In these splendid mansions, all of wood, but plastered over, and built in every imaginable style, Italian, Classic, Gothic, Roman, or Elizabethan, each and all surrounded by pretty gardens bright with flowers, live the families of men who, in a few years, have realized millions; and who, if they have for a moment lost them, begin again to make their fortunes a second time. Higher up, this aristocratic avenue leaves the borders of the lake and becomes a street. There are houses on both sides, less grand and rich, perhaps, than those in the avenue, but all bearing a look of comfort, and even luxury, and built in a style of pastoral architecture. I have been walking for more than an hour, and I am not yet at the end of this street. You might fancy yourself in the country. None but women and children are to be seen, with

a few private carriages, and no omnibuses. There is an air of rest and idleness over the whole. Babies play in the little gardens, ladies, elegantly dressed, lie on the verandas, and rock themselves in arm-chairs, holding in one hand a fan, and in the other a novel. All of a sudden a new object strikes me. It is a house in the middle of the road. What a strange fancy! But no, this house moves, walks, comes near! Very soon all doubt on the subject is at an end. Placed on trestles resting on cylinders, one horse and three men, by means of a capstan, do the work. I stop from sheer surprise, and watch this singular phenomenon pass by. It is a building of two storeys. A veranda in full flower trembles under the slight shaking of the cylinders. The chimney smokes; they are evidently cooking. From an open window I catch the sounds of a piano. An air from "*La Traviata*" mingles with the grinding of the wheels which support this ambulatory domicile.

I stop before a little house of two storeys, having only three windows in front—fresh, smart, and nearly new. A few steps lead up to the front door, which is only partially shaded by a porch. Whilst waiting for the opening of the door, I am nearly stifled. What a furnace! It is at one and the same time the summer of the tropics without its dampness, and of the north without its cool refreshing breezes which enable you to bear it. I am ushered into a drawing-room which runs through the depth of the house. I find an air of elegance and simplicity, and at the same time a military tone which is not to be mistaken.

I am at General Sheridan's.

I had crossed the ocean with him on my return to Europe, and last year I had met him at Rome. He welcomed me most cordially, and I was delighted to see him again. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan! These are the three stars, the three heroes who destroyed the Confederation, and by their swords brought about the cementing together of the two halves of the Union.

General Sheridan, of Irish origin, was brought up at the military school of Westpoint. Like the greater part of the scholars of that celebrated college, he unites a great amount of solid knowledge with the martial air and manners of a gentleman, I should almost say of a European, which distin-

guish the officers of the United States army. If, without knowing him, I had met him in the streets, judging by his appearance, I should have taken him for an Austrian general. He is only thirty-eight years old. By a special chance, his name became immortalized at an age when the greater portion of young officers are still in the lower grades of the army. But one would give him at least ten years more. His face, reddened and tanned and lined by the care, watchfulness, and emotions of the late campaign, breathes at once an air of simple modesty and honest pride. His brown eyes shoot lightning, and tell of the Celtic blood which flows in his veins. His countenance expresses intelligence, boldness, and that indomitable courage which seems to provoke danger. He wears his hair cut short, and is of middle height, with square shoulders and powerful limbs. His detractors accuse him of cruelty, and speak of him as the exterminator of the Indians; his friends simply adore him. Both one and the other talk of him as a dashing officer; in fact, one has but to look at him to understand that he is the sort of man who would lead on his soldiers to death or victory. His command extends over three parts of the Union. It stretches from the borders of Illinois to the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, from the frontiers of Canada to those of New Mexico and Arizona. He must travel for two years before he can inspect all the military posts under his care. And this great captain lives quietly on a little parrot-stand which he has built himself, and which he is sure to sell without loss should his duties to the State compel his leaving Chicago, which is at present his official residence. His office is in the heart of the town, on the second storey of one of those great houses where business, science, and art, elbow one another; but where rest, pleasure, and domestic happiness are fairly banished.

In the United States, where everything is in a state of mutation, nothing changes so quickly as the official world. The holding of supreme power is limited to four years, and never on any pretext can exceed eight. When the President goes out of office, every single member of every branch of the administration and of the diplomatic corps, that is, upwards of forty thousand functionaries and official men, are at once turned adrift. The only exception is the army, because it is supposed

to be a stranger to politics or political combinations. It is the rock in the midst of the shifting sand. In its ranks, consequently, there is a strong feeling of independence and of dignity, which people say is very rare in civil and political circles. As to what concerns Generals Sherman and Sheridan, the brilliant services rendered by them both place them out of the reach of any hostile attempt. Neither the President, be he who he may, nor a majority of the Senate, would dare to deprive them of their respective commands. Strange anomaly ! A republic where nothing is stationary or independent except military power.

In our long walks on board the *Scotia*, the general often spoke to me openly, with the clear strong sense and rough but patriotic frankness of a man who has no need to conceal his real feelings, of the grave questions pending in his own country. If he touched boldly upon its social evils, he also pointed out to me the moral and material treasures, and the inexhaustible resources of his great country.¹ Like all public men who have really done great things, and who are not *somebodys* only while they occupy a high position, which they may owe to a trick of fortune or chance, and from whence they may some day be hurled with ridicule or obloquy, Sheridan detests popularity. "I have the greatest horror of popular demonstrations," he said to me. "Those very men who deafen you with their cheers to-day, are capable to-morrow of throwing stones and mud at you !"

It was last year, at Queenstown, just as we touched once more on European soil, that we first heard of the struggle between France and Germany. Whilst we were disembarking, a telegram announced the battle of Wörth, of which the issue was still uncertain. General Sheridan intended to join the headquarters of the Emperor Napoleon. The rapid succession of events, however, and, I think, a refusal from the French military authorities, decided him to join the Prussian camp, where he was received with enthusiasm. Everyone knows the fruitless efforts made by him before Paris to bring about a cessation of hostilities. After that, for about six months, he

¹ I regret not being able to reproduce the text of our conversations ; but the reader will appreciate my reserve. I must impose the same rule upon myself whenever I mention the name of the speaker.

visited almost all the countries and all the courts of Europe, and only resumed his command a few days before my arrival at Chicago. This encyclopedian way of rushing all over the old world in less time than it would take us to study a guide-book, is essentially American. To us it would be a bore, a useless fatigue, a positive torture. But in this country, men seem to be made of different stuff. Broken in to endure every kind of fatigue, always hurried, even in their every-day life, accustomed to think nothing of distances, to take their meals in ten minutes, to rush about here, there, and everywhere, the American may be called the very essence of locomotion. He travels not only without suffering, but without feeling fatigue. "Well and good; but then one's intellectual enjoyments—the study of the interesting artistic objects one sees; the historical recollections they evoke." . . . "Nothing is more simple. In the evening one reads in one's guide book what one is to see the next day." "But one would be worn out with having to digest and take in so many new impressions all at once." "Not in the least." In the first place, these impressions are often only on the surface; and then it seems as if the intellectual powers of an American are differently constituted from our own. Certainly some of their books of travels that I have read are singularly superficial and vapid. It is also true that the greater portion of the American travellers whom we meet with in Europe are *nouveaux-riches*, without any literary knowledge. But I have known others, who, in spite of the rapidity of their pilgrimage through Europe, have struck me by the fairness and, what is more remarkable, by the novelty of their appreciations of what they have seen. To judge by what General Sheridan told me of his Odyssey, I place him in the latter category. He is, besides, a military man, and has travelled and observed in that sense. The study of a new rifle or gaiter, and a comparison between different armies, have occupied and impressed him more than the cupola of St. Peter's or the falls of the Rhine.

A charming woman, charming both by her manners and by her cultivation, with a mind well stored with serious reading, and belonging to one of those old Eastern States which still preserve their British origin, was my daily neighbour at table,

during one of my voyages to America. She had just returned from the "great tour" of Europe, and I delighted in making her talk about it. What interested me first in her was the entire absence of prejudice; there was nothing conventional about her. She had that sort of moral courage which says frankly what it feels. Her judgment may in some things have been superficial, but her instincts were always just; and her mind was specially turned towards practical things. "Ah! Austria," she exclaimed; "what a fine country! They bothered us frightfully at the custom-house on the frontiers of Hungary, however. But I forgive them, for those good Austrians are such a practical people." I blushed with pleasure, for I had not been used to such a compliment. "Only look," she continued, "how well they prop their telegraph wires! And at Vienna have you remarked by what a simple and ingenious process, by means of little cups and a chain, they manage to raise their bricks to the upper storeys of their buildings? Then, in the neighbourhood of Salzburg, I was so struck by that kind of wooden stage on which the peasants dry their hay," &c.

A journey to Europe is an understood social necessity in America, and forms an indispensable element in their education. Anyone who has a pretension to elegance must have visited the old world. Formerly, those who had fulfilled that duty took the title of *hadji* (pilgrim); but the present generation would ridicule such an idea. These journeys resemble the "great tour" which young Englishmen of noble families used to make in the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth. Women, especially, attach immense importance to them. There are some men, who, having only lately acquired large fortunes, deliberately make up their minds to sacrifice almost all they have gained for this object. They take expensive couriers, occupy the best rooms at every hotel, have magnificent horses and carriages, and buy fine works of art. When they return home they are well-nigh ruined. But never mind. They feel themselves ennobled by the process, satisfied with themselves, and quite ready to begin again to make their fortunes; and redescend in the social scale as butchers, pedlars, waiters, or even porters, according to their physical strength and ability. Young men of a serious turn of mind, who think of marrying, or, as they call it, "settling" in life, take pains

to ascertain first of all if the object of their affections has a strong wish to go to Europe. I observed in one of my voyages a young man who evidently avoided much intercourse with his fellow-passengers, and who, sitting by himself in a corner, was always looking at his watch. One day, I ventured to ask him why he was so impatient. "It is not impatience," he replied; "it is regret:" and he showed me his watch. On the dial-plate was a coloured photograph of a young and pretty woman. "That is my wife," he continued. "You think her beautiful? Well, she was so, but alas! she is dead. I went to Europe to try and divert my thoughts. I am in the fur trade, and a friend of mine told me that St. Petersburg was a gay town. I went there, but found no distraction or pleasure; so I am going back to America as sad as I went. I always fancy I hear my wife walking behind or beside me; but when I turn my head to look at her, she has disappeared. That's why I can't help continually looking at my watch, which holds her portrait. She loved me devotedly, and she was a good wife. She prevented my doing foolish things, and saying unkind things of my neighbours, or spending my evenings in the bar-room. She was a first-rate manager too, and never asked to be taken to Europe. No Europe-going, no such nonsense!" He said this in a dry, matter-of-fact tone, without betraying any emotion. I lost sight of him during the rest of the voyage, and only met him again at the moment of landing. I asked to be allowed to look once more at his watch. This mark of sympathy touched him. He reddened, and tears rushed unbidden into his dull, expressionless eyes. But he only said, "She was very fond of me, and never spoke of going to Europe."

I have now been three days at Chicago, and it seems to me that I have exhausted the subject. In the Far West, the towns are quickly seen and are all alike. One may say the same thing of the hotels, which play so great a part here, not only in the life of a traveller, but in those of the residents. A great number of families, especially newly-married couples, live at hotels. This method saves expense and the bothers of house-keeping; it makes also the transition easy from one town to another, as such changes are so frequent in America. But it has the inconvenience of condemning the young wife to a life

of idleness and solitude. All day long the husband is at his office, or in his counting-house. He only comes in at meal-times, and devours his food with the silence and expedition of a starving man. Then he rushes back to his treadmill. If there are any children, they go to school when they are five or six years old, by themselves, both going and coming, and pass the rest of their days exactly as they please, no one thinking it right to interfere with their liberty. Paternal authority is *nil*, or at any rate, is never exercised. As for education, in our sense of the word, they have none; but instruction, and that a public one, is good and accessible to all. These little gentlemen talk loud, and are as proud and sharp as the full-grown men of their nation; the young girls at eight and nine years old excel in the arts of coquetry and flirtation, and promise to become "fast" young ladies. But nevertheless they make good and faithful wives. If their husband should be rich, they will help him to ruin himself by excessive extravagance in dress; but they will accept misery with equal calmness and resignation, and fly into the same follies as of old the moment there is a change in the wheel of fortune.

The "home" of the Anglo-Saxon race, so dear to their hearts, is only a secondary consideration in the lives of their cousins beyond the seas. This is easily explained. In the new world, man is born to conquer. All his life is a perpetual struggle, a forced rivalry from which he cannot exempt himself, a race in the open field across terrible obstacles, with the prospect of enormous gains if he reaches the goal. He neither would nor could remain with his arms folded. He must embark in something; and once embarked, he must go on and on for ever; for if he stops, those who follow him would crush him under their feet. To penetrate the virgin forests, to make tracks which the next generation will turn into high roads; to convert the rolling prairies into cultivated lands; to civilize the red-skins, which he does by exterminating them; to open the way to civilization and Christianity; to conquer savage nature and create a new continent for the use of man—this is the mission which Providence has assigned to him. His life is one long campaign, a succession of never-ending fights, marches, and counter-marches. In such a militant existence, what place is left for the sweetness, the repose,

the intimacy of home or its joys? Is he happy? Judging by his tired, sad, exhausted, anxious, and often delicate and unhealthy appearance, one would be inclined to doubt it. Such an excess of uninterrupted labour cannot be good for any man. It exhausts his physical powers, puts all intellectual enjoyments out of the question, and destroys all recollection of soul.

But it is the woman who suffers the most from this *régime*. She never sees her husband but once in the day, for half an hour at most; and in the evening, when, worn out with fatigue, he comes home to sleep. She cannot lighten his burden or share his labour, anxiety, and cares, for she knows nothing of his business, or, for want of time, there has been little or no interchange of thought between them. Even as a mother, her share in the education of her children is of the smallest. Her little ones, as soon as they can run alone, pass their lives away from her, out of the house, and really bring themselves up. They are entirely ignorant of the obedience or respect due to their parents; but, on the other hand, they learn early to do without their care or protection, and to suffice to themselves. They ripen quickly, and prepare themselves from their tenderest years for the fatigues and struggles of the over-exciting, harsh, adventurous life which awaits them. Besides all this, if she is boarding at one of these huge caravanserais, a woman has not even the resource and occupation which ordinary domestic details involve. Is it as a compensation for these privations that American society surrounds her with privileges and attentions which are unknown in the old world? Everywhere and at all hours she may appear alone in public. She may travel alone from the borders of the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico, or the states of the Pacific. Everywhere she is the object of a respectful gallantry, which might be called chivalric, if it were less frivolous, and which sometimes becomes even grotesque and ridiculous. For example, I am sitting in one of those tramway-cars which cross all the principal streets of the great towns. A tap of a parasol or a fan rouses me from my meditations, or perhaps from sleep; and I see standing right in front of me a young woman, who looks at me from head to foot, with an imperious, haughty, and even angry expression. I wake up to the situation, and hasten to give her my seat, which she takes at once, without deigning to thank me, even

by a look or a smile. The consequence is, that I am obliged to perform the rest of my journey standing in a most uncomfortable position, and to hold on by a leather strap, which is fastened for that purpose along the roof of the carriage. One day, a young girl had expelled, in a peculiarly cavalier fashion, a venerable old man from his seat, who was likewise lame. At the moment of her leaving the carriage, one of the travellers called her back: "Madam, you have forgotten something." She turned hastily to retrace her steps. "You have forgotten to thank this gentleman!"

European travellers have often spoken admiringly of this gallantry. I own that I found it, on the contrary, foolish and excessive; foolish like so many other things in America; as, for example, in the hotels, the excessive luxury of the public rooms, where the magnificent furniture is so little in harmony with the very mixed society you meet in them. On the other hand, it is the fashion to disparage American women. People call them frivolous, flirting, extravagant, always running after pleasure. These accusations seem to me unfounded and unjust. The American woman bears the stamp of the position in which she is placed and the atmosphere around her. As a young girl, she naturally follows the inclinations of her sex, which are not, as with us, regulated and controlled by the teaching and example of a mother. She wishes to please, and if she is naturally lively, she will become "fast;" that is, she will laugh loud, and, by smart repartees and piquant looks, will endeavour to attract and retain round her the greatest possible number of young men. But this vulgar coquetry, however jarring to good taste, rarely goes beyond a certain point. Only, beardless boy, just arrived from Europe, don't be taken in by her! Be on your guard. There is always a father, a brother, or an uncle near, who, with his revolver, or the bowie-knife (the Arkansas toothpick) under his arm, is quite ready to ask you, with all imaginable politeness, if your intentions be fair and honourable.

Married women in America are, as a rule, unexceptionable. If they are too fond of dress, it is generally their husbands who wish it. If they are often seen abroad, it is that they have nothing to do at home. If they are rather free and easy, it is that such manners are allowed in society. It is after

all but bad taste—not a sin. Their minds are generally well cultivated, for they read a great deal, and that not only novels, but English classic authors and encyclopedias. And they frequent public lectures and literary conversaziones which are held in all the great towns of the Union. Although they enjoy perfect freedom and live idle lives, and are without any settled occupation (far more often than the ladies of Europe), their conduct is above reproach. I do not mean that in great cities like New York there may not be some scandals and misunderstandings. But I do mean that, as a whole, family life is healthy and pure, and that American women are worthy of the respect and consideration of which they are the objects.²

² What I have here said on family life in America applies especially to the Western and Pacific States. New England, in these respects, is more like Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CHICAGO TO THE SALT LAKE CITY.—FROM THE 1st TO THE 4th OF JUNE.

Mr. Pullman and his Cars.—The Mississippi.—Race between two Trains.—Omaha.—The Prairies.—The Valley of La Plata.—The Indians.—A Stationmaster scalped.—Stations on the Pacific Railway.—Cheyenne.—The Roughs.—The life of United States Officers in the Far West.—Passage of the Rocky Mountains—Fearful descent of Mount Wahsatch.—Brigham Young at Ogden.—Arrival in the Capital of the Mormons.

AT Chicago I made the acquaintance of a great man. Every one has heard of the Pullman cars. Those who are going to travel to any great distance always try to procure one, and then marvel that this philanthropic vehicle has not yet been introduced on any of the European lines of railway. The inventor, who is just returned from Constantinople and Vienna, said to me: "Europeans are not yet ripe for these kinds of comforts; they don't know how to travel; but by and by they will understand and appreciate me."

Mr. Pullman is a man still young, with an intelligent face, a grave air, and an imposing manner. He speaks little, and that with the consciousness of his own value, as well as of the value of his time, every minute of which represents so many dollars and cents. By dint of study and experience, thanks also to a mind fertile in expedients, and to an extraordinary amount of patience, he has contrived to solve this problem: *i.e.* how to protect the railway traveller from cold and heat, from dust and shaking, and to surround him with all the comforts of a well-ordered house. The excessive luxury and overdone ornamen-

tation of his cars are perhaps in questionable taste ; but they have the approbation of the American public. Such a carriage costs from 20,000 to 25,000 dollars. Hence the great additional expense for those who use them, but which is compensated for by the convenience and still more by the greater security for health of this means of locomotion. In America, where the distances are immense, people generally go straight through to their destination without stopping. From New York to New Orleans the distance is upwards of 1,800 miles, and to St. Francisco 3,300 miles. This last journey is generally accomplished in seven days and nights. One understands, therefore, the necessity of Pullman's cars and the deserved popularity they enjoy. In Europe, on the other hand, it very rarely happens that a traveller passes more than thirty-six or forty-eight hours in a train without stopping. The extra expense is, therefore, not so justifiable, and I fancy that that is the real obstacle to the introduction of those carriages into our country. They are in use, however, on all the great lines of the Union. All the plant has lately passed into the hands of a company of which Mr. Pullman is the president, the director, and the principal shareholder. They tell me that the shares realize 12 per cent.; and that he is himself a millionaire.

This morning he received me at the station, and placed me in one of the compartments containing a state-room. This is what a little drawing-room is called which is situated in the centre of the compartment and takes up its whole breadth, saving a tiny passage reserved for circulation between the two extremities of the carriage.

During the night, the state-room is transformed into a bedroom, and in the morning into a dressing-room. All the arrangements are perfect. A man who excels in his profession, be it what it may, is a man *hors-ligne*. I saw with pleasure the marks of respect shown to Mr. Pullman by the workmen, officials, and general public, as he solemnly conducted me through the magnificent halls of the great station. It was another Louis XIV. walking through the ante-chambers of Versailles. If you wish to convince yourself of the folly of people's dreams of equality, come to America. Here, as everywhere else, there are kings and princes. They have always been, and always will be to the end of time.

Three lines of railway belonging to three different companies run from hence to the banks of the Missouri in front of Omaha. The longest route has been chosen for me. It is called the C. B. Q. R. line, which, being interpreted, means Chicago Burlington and Quincy Railroad. On these three lines, the trains start and arrive almost at the same moment. It is a sort of race with the bell. On either side the rails disappear in the horizon as they take their straight course through the scarcely undulating plains of Illinois. Everywhere one sees farms surrounded with gardens, thin, tall trees, and fields which give the traveller the delusive idea that he is in a cultivated country. In reality, millions of hands are still wanted before this State can be civilized.

We started early in the morning. At five o'clock dinner is announced. It is served in the dining-car, and is worthy of one of the best hotels in New York, always excepting ~~Prevost~~ House, which has no parallel in the two hemispheres. These meals have but one inconvenience; but to me it is an insurmountable one. The train is continually enveloped in thick clouds of dust. To escape it, one is compelled to close the ventilators and shut the double windows. Hence a positively stifling atmosphere redolent of smells of kitchen. I believe that this system of dining-cars does not pay, and will probably be given up. It has already been abandoned on the Pacific line, and beyond the Missouri.

At seven o'clock we are passing at a foot's space across the Mississippi, on a bridge of recent and bold construction. It seems to bend under our weight, and gives a rolling motion to the carriages, like ships in a swell at sea. This magnificent river rolls its silent waters between woody, flat banks, lit up, as if by magic, at this moment, by the last rays of the setting sun. The extreme beauty of the scenery strikes you the more from its grand simplicity. Stamped with profound melancholy and savage grandeur, it is one of those scenes which remain graven for ever in the memory of the traveller. Hardly have we arrived on the right bank, when a turn of the road enables us to look back and catch a glimpse of the bridge we have just crossed. Against the flaming sky, a spider's web seems to be thrown over the stream and cut horizontally above. One asks oneself how it is possible that such a bit of filagree work can

bear a whole train. At this very moment a single locomotive is crossing it alone, slowly, and as if hesitatingly. It reminded me of Blondin on his rope, and I shut my eyes involuntarily.

After a short halt at Burlington, the train flies at full speed through the green and grassy prairies of the young state of Iowa. Here and there some fine groups of trees break the monotony. Night is closing in; but in the smoking car we are a jolly set. M. B., a rich banker of St. Francisco, a man of the world, whose manners leave nothing to be desired, the Attorney-general of Nebraska, the very type of a farmer of the Far West, who laughs, and smokes, and spits, and has nothing of the bar about him, and a great manufacturer from Pennsylvania, are the principal speakers. They talk of everything under the sun. Of the *Alabama* treaty, of the discontent of the South, of President Grant, of his chance at the coming elections, and, without disturbing the peace of our Attorney-general, of the deplorable venality of the judges. One of the most irritating topics is that of the tariffs. The Californian banker and the owner of the Pennsylvanian manufactories discuss it with great liveliness. Each side becomes excited, but only half angry. They like hyperbole, and use it freely. But I do not hear one cutting or surly word. I have very often been present at similar discussions, and, amidst the sea of words, empty enough when they treat of questions of theory or politics, but full of strong sound sense when it is a question of practical life, I have always remarked that even underneath the sarcasms which their very exaggeration makes inoffensive, there pierces a fund of good humour, and an absence of bitterness, which is very rare with us between antagonistic parties. This is easily explained. In this young society, which can dispose of illimitable space, vital questions do not exist for individuals, in this sense, that everyone is sure to find bread for himself and his own, and runs no danger of dying of hunger. If he does not succeed in the east, he goes to the north or the west. In the struggle of conflicting interests—I speak now of the interests of individuals, not of political struggles—there may be shocks and reverses, but none of the combatants are crushed; no one remains on the field. The worst that can happen to a man is to have to choose another line than the one he had originally adopted. He is free to try another. No

prejudice stops him, and, what is more important, there is room for everybody. It follows that in wordy duels as well as others, they do not fight to the death. Europe has not this advantage. Prejudices, traditions, customs, laws, especially competition, that terrible enemy of a youth beginning his career in life, form, in our old society, barriers which it is difficult, if not impossible, to overcome. He who has once been shipwrecked, finds it very difficult to get afloat again; a man who has once sunk, cannot regain his footing or find a new road. He cannot, like the men we see here every day, be one day a butcher, or a waiter at an inn; to-morrow a banker; then go back to his first starting-point, to become in a year or two general of militia, a lawyer, or a minister of some religious congregation. In a word, in Europe it is very difficult to gain one's livelihood; competition is keener; vital interests are at stake, and the great question of "to be or not to be." Can we then look upon it as strange that the very desperation of the struggle makes men equally violent in debate?

The night wears on. We are going from fifty to sixty miles an hour; the conversation does not flag. But what a curious group we are! There are positions and costumes worthy only of the Far West. For my part, I have my head encircled between a pair of great jack-boots. They belong to a big man seated behind me, who finds it convenient to stretch out his legs above my arm-chair. He is a rich farmer from Illinois. Only now and then, when his mouth is not filled with tobacco smoke, does he condescend to take part in the conversation; but when he does speak, it is strongly. "The republic has had its day," he exclaimed; "what we want now is a dictatorship. There are only two classes of men in the States: those who pay, and those who are paid—the tax-payers and the government functionaries. The first hate and despise the second. Everything is going to the devil, and a military dictatorship is the only thing which can put things straight." On this topic every man becomes eloquent. At last they agree upon the necessity of preserving the republic. "It is indispensable," they argue, "as long as we have such a mass of uncultivated land. When America is more populated, then we must have a military dictatorship."

This is not the first time that I hear this question ventilated.

I have often been surprised at the way in which the form of government is discussed. The actual constitution is accepted as an accomplished fact, and even as a necessity, as times go. But no one seems to be really in favour of a republic. Many, on the contrary, are disgusted with it, and own it frankly. But, on the other hand, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the United States had any monarchical tendencies. What they need is a strong government. It is for that reason that they are always talking of a military dictatorship; not as a probable eventuality, but as an impossible dream. It is quite another thing if anyone brings up the subject of the separation between North and South, that is, of the dismemberment of the great American empire. Then their blood is up at once—the Northerners, because they are determined to maintain the integrity of the Union at any price, and the civil war proves that they are in earnest; and the Southerners, because they are equally determined to seize the first opportunity to bring about a separation. It is a subject which had better be avoided. It gives rise to explosions of wrath on all sides, and sometimes to more active measures, for it touches the most vital interests of both parties, which are utterly and hopelessly irreconcilable.

June 2nd.—At nine o'clock in the morning we pass by the Council Bluffs, or certain isolated circular hills, so called because they were the places of meeting in former times between the chiefs of the wild Indians and the agents of the government. A few minutes later we first saw the Missouri. It winds sadly enough between low, treeless banks, without any vegetation. Earth and water bear the same dull, mud colour. But if this great river offers few attractions to the eye, we have a compensation in one of those excitements which break the monotony of American railway journeys. I have said that there are three rival lines belonging to different companies. At first, they run apart, then parallel to one another, till they finally converge into one at the great Missouri terminus. On these three lines three trains leave Chicago at the same hour. A few minutes before running into the station, we behold one of these antagonistic trains running after us at full speed. The driver of our locomotive makes it a point of honour to come in first. By

a special miracle we dash into the station without being run into and smashed to atoms by the monster behind us. By another miracle we escape being plunged into the river. Every one holds his breath till the danger is over. The bridge not being finished, we pass over in a ferry-boat to Omaha, which is on the right bank of the Missouri. This town, which is only just springing into existence, owes its name to a once-famous Indian tribe. In 1860, it reckoned only about 2,000 inhabitants. In succeeding years, its numbers were quadrupled. It reached its minimum (about 16,000) during the making of the Pacific Railway ; since which time Omaha has lost much of its importance and a large portion of its population.

The passengers stop about two hours here. During that time I walk about the station. A young Frenchman in a blouse, with an intelligent face and horny hands, who dilates on the misfortunes of his country and its causes with remarkable clearness and freedom, offers to be my guide. He is the first French emigrant I have met since I left the banks of the Atlantic. Here I find myself in very truth on the frontiers between savage nature and civilized life. Everything tells of struggle and victory ; victory over the soil, which has at last yielded its treasures ; over extremes of climate ; and last, not least, over the former masters of the soil—the buffalo and the Indian.

At twelve o'clock we leave Omaha, and cross the state of Nebraska from one end to the other.

The U. P. R. R., or Union Pacific Railroad, has only one line, which is amply sufficient for the traffic, and so we go at a very slow rate, that is, only twenty or twenty-five miles an hour. There is only one departure in the day. Mr. Pullman has had the courtesy to telegraph, so that a state-room compartment is reserved for me.

The sky is clear and beautiful ; the country looks like one vast sea. No rising ground is in sight. It is like the ocean, but an ocean of every shade of lovely green, brilliant and bright in the sunshine, darker and tenderer in the shade. Here we are in the vast, grand prairies. One seems to breathe a new life in this fresh, elastic, scented air. It is the very type of unlimited liberty. A prisoner as I was in my railway cell, I could not help envying two horsemen whom I saw galloping

right across the plain, sometimes almost disappearing in the long grass. What a pleasure it must be to be able to ride like that without drawing rein through unlimited space !

The railroad runs continually to the left of the river Plata. On the right bank one sees the tracks and ruts formed by the bullock waggons and caravans which formerly were the only methods of conveyance across this mighty continent. The guard pointed out to me two or three black specks in the distance ; they were antelopes. We did not come near them ; but at Fremont, at dinner, and when we supped at Great Island, we tasted the flesh of this animal. It was rather hard, but very like roedeer. At Columbus, which is ninety-two miles from Omaha, we were in the geographical centre of the United States.

The evening is singularly clear and beautiful. The sky is liquid towards the west, tender green over our heads, and deep blue towards the east. The air is transparent and pure beyond description. One single cloud is visible, which shrouds with fantastic shapes the golden disk of the setting sun ; sheet-lightning dances from behind it every two minutes. At the moment when the day-star sinks behind the horizontal line of the prairie, a slight shower falls, and a piercing cold succeeds to the burning heat of the expiring day.

June 3rd.—During the night, always following the borders of the Plata, we come into the land of buffaloes. Here they pass and re-pass the river ; they seek a more temperate climate in winter, and come back again in the spring. This region extends from east to west over 200 miles. But where are the troops of buffaloes which travellers, with somewhat vivid imaginations, describe on their way to the Pacific ? They have seen them, perhaps, but only with the eyes of their minds, for, with the exception of two short moments on their passage, the buffaloes have completely disappeared from the line of the railway. We pass through the Wood River Valley, the scene of many unknown tragedies in past times, when the whites were scalped without a question, and every inch of the way had to be fought for by the colonists at the sword's point, with the ancient lords of the soil. Later on, in the middle of the night, during a halt at Willow Island, I was shown some block-

houses, either crenellated or strengthened by ditches. At all the stations we come upon little detachments of troops, who have the painful and often dangerous mission of watching the Indians, so as to insure the safety of the stations and trains. Fortunately, at this moment the red-skins are not on the war path; no considerable attack therefore is dreaded. But woe to the traveller who, in a solitary place (and here there is nothing but solitude) should allow himself to be surprised! Woe to the settler who is not prepared with his revolver to defend himself against a night attack! For even in a time of peace like the present, there are plenty of amateurs ready to pounce on any luckless whites who may find themselves unarmed on their path. If you are disposed to be nervous, don't listen to what they tell you of the Indians, either during your short stoppages at the stations or in your smoking carriages. Not that you need take all their stories for gospel; but even allowing for gross exaggerations, there is enough left to make one shudder, especially when these stories are told you on the very places where they took place. A pedlar, who regularly makes the journey to Montana, is good enough to describe the sensation of being scalped. It is afterwards that the agony is so atrocious. As to the operation itself, it is the work of a moment. There are very few instances where a man who has been scalped survives the martyrdom. We are to see a specimen, however, to-morrow, in a station-master of one of the chief stations on the Union Railroad, and the guard has promised to introduce me to this singular gentleman, who has learnt to live with a cranium guiltless of hair and skin. On the whole, thanks to the energetic measures of General Sheridan, the road is safe enough, always excepting accidents. Only you must be careful not to stray from the main road; not to delay between two stations; and not to place yourself in the last carriage.

Towards morning we arrive at North Plata city, which was formerly a most flourishing town, being the central point of departure for the waggons and caravans destined for Mexico and Colorado. The completion of the railway has now well-nigh ruined this town, and reduced its population to the tenth part of what it was two years ago. At sunrise, we find ourselves 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; we stop to breakfast at Sidney.

All these stations are alike. They consist of a few wooden houses, or sometimes merely a scaffolding with canvas stretched over it. A few wretched ragged Indians wearing the remains of a shirt or a pair of trousers, which the *big father*, the President of the Republic, distributes annually among them, are standing about and staring at the passengers with emaciated, dull, heavy countenances, scratching their skins and their heads—the very pictures of moral degradation. These are what they call friendly Indians; that is, Indians who have left the war-path, and are by way of being semi-civilized. The women carry their children back to back on their shoulders, so that the poor little creatures are forced to follow every movement of their mothers. I have seen them washing clothes in a pond, and bent so completely forward that the children on their backs were turned topsy-turvy.

But we have no time to lose. There are 30 minutes stoppage allowed for each meal—three a day. Everyone rushes furiously towards the black man who sounds the gong, which indicates the door of the restaurant, while the locomotive lets off its steam, so that the row is fearful. The passengers run to the door to try who shall first seize on a chair, so as to make the most of their 30 minutes. The bill of fare is always the same—a dish of antelope meat, one or two sweet dishes, and some coffee. It is good and healthy food, and, considering the country we are in, there is no cause for complaint. The attendants are mostly young girls, who wait very well. To the tremendous noise without, a complete silence has succeeded—the invariable silence of Americans at table. Nothing is to be heard but the clatter of knives and forks. After ten minutes, everyone has done; and each man hurries out, placing a dollar in the hands of the proprietor who stands at the door. The men rush off to the bar-room; the women, of whom there are few, walk up and down the steps. All of a sudden the guard cries out “*On board, gentlemen;*” and when he says “*All on board,*” the train starts off to the sound of a church bell, hung just above the locomotive.

On leaving Sidney we passed through a flat country, with little hillocks on the horizon. These prairies are much vaunted by the agents of the Company as excellent pasture land; but I confess the soil seemed to me poor, and the grass very thin.

We have just come into the Wyoming Territory, of which the legislature first decreed the enfranchisement of women. No other State has yet followed this example. At twelve o'clock we arrive at Cheyenne City, more than six thousand feet above the level of the sea. This town, the most important after Omaha, consisted, only four years ago, of one house. Soon after, it reckoned upwards of six thousand inhabitants; but they have dwindled down to three thousand since the line was completed. In the first years of its existence it was, like Denver and Julesburg, and other new cities in this country, the rendezvous of all the roughs. Its orgies were fearful, and murder and rapine were the order of the day. In the language of the place, the young rowdies dined on a man every day; that is, that there was not a night, that at the gambling-tables or in the low public-houses, which swarmed in the town, one man or other did not come to an untimely end. At last, the better disposed at Cheyenne organized themselves into a vigilance committee, "and one morning," writes my *Great Trans-Continental Railroad Guide-book*, "we saw, at a convenient height above the ground, a whole row of these desperadoes, hung on a cord. The warning was understood; and their companions, not fancying a halter, relapsed into order. By which means Cheyenne became a perfectly quiet, respectable town."

On returning to our places in the railway carriages, we met on the steps the officers of Fort Russell, which is only three miles from here. They had come with their ladies in some strong but very pretty little carriages, with capital horses and harness. It is an object for them to come now and then to meet the train, and enjoy, if but for a few moments, the pleasure of communication with civilized beings. A fleeting pleasure certainly, but one which, with buffalo hunting, constitutes their sole amusement. What a life these men lead! Look around you at the desolation. Even in this, the finest season of the year, there is nothing but sand and dry mud, and the half dead grass of last year. What will it be in the height of summer? And then, the frosts in winter! And yet these are highly-educated gentlemen, accustomed to all the luxuries of civilization, having lived half their lives in great capitals: and now condemned to associate with none but Indians and rowdies. They are certainly well rewarded; but it is not the

pay that would keep them. In America, no man who wishes to become rich goes in for a military life. It is a feeling of duty, and the real love of their profession, which makes them endure this rough, hard life. I admire them for it, and still more do I admire the fact that they find wives who are heroic and devoted enough to share their exile.

On leaving Cheyenne, the line ascends rapidly to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Here we are at Sherman, the highest point of the Pacific Railroad,¹ at an elevation which no other railway in the world has ever attained. The air is so dry and rarefied that respiration is rather difficult. The descent, which is very dangerous towards the high land called the Park of Laramie, is nevertheless effected without accident. The views of the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, in the midst of which we now find ourselves, are too beautiful for description. Ravines and smiling valleys are interspersed with mountains on the horizon which, in spite of the extreme transparency of the atmosphere, are simply lost in the infinite. Two peaks were pointed out to me covered with snow—Long Peak, and Pike Peak, one at 70, the other at 160 miles distance. Great blocks of dark granite lie around us. Here and there, groups of pine and cotton-wood trees relieve the savage yet grand and picturesque character of the scenery. The necessity of crossing a bridge in trestle-work, 120 feet high, thrown like a spider's web across a ravine, and called Dalesbridge, brought me, somewhat unpleasantly, out of my ecstasy. At last, it is safely crossed. Then to Laramie City, where we arrive at 5 o'clock. Another town of wooden planks and canvas; not a tree in sight. Some big bears are fastened to posts at the gates: ragged Indians and desperadoes armed to the teeth, with some of the soldiers from Fort Saunders, gather round us at the station. We dine as we breakfasted, and as we shall sup, the same women waiters serving the same antelope legs, and coffee, and the same man waiting for his dollar at the door,—then the everlasting, "On board, gentlemen."

The country maintains a uniform character. You can't forget for a moment that you are at a great height. The excessive transparency of the air makes the most distant moun-

* Eight thousand three hundred and forty-two feet above the level of the sea.

tains seem near, and the high level on which we are travelling gives the appearance of hillocks to the sharp peaks to our left, covered with eternal snow. Here and there great rents in the rock display streams of brackish water, coming from no one knows where, and disappearing in unexplored regions. Certainly this long journey piques more than satisfies one's curiosity. At one moment the line seems to bury itself in the rocks, the next the eye embraces a limitless horizon. But, strange to say, in this country there is no distance. It seems as if you could touch everything with your hand. As to the plains, they remind one of the Campagna of Rome, *minus* the cupola of St. Peter's, *minus* the walls of Belisarius, the aqueducts and the tombs, and the towns and villas peeping out in brilliant white from the green foliage of the Latin and Sabine hills. At the moment when the sun is going to disappear, the noise of our train startles a whole troop of antelopes. They fly across the rocks, leaving behind them only their lengthening shadows. Passing and beautiful vision! which contrasts all the more with the silence, the immobility, and the death-like character of the scene.

June 4th.—The night is horribly cold. At the first dawn of day we perceive Bitter Creek, and soon after, at the foot of a tangled creviced wood, the rapid and transparent waters of the Green River. Its turquoise green tint justifies the name. On the left bank lies a large town. But no human being is visible there, no smoke comes from its chimneys, death seems to hover over the whole community. The fact is, its life has really departed. The making of the railway gave it birth; its completion signed its death-warrant. Built only three years ago, this town is now a deserted ruin. One lives and one dies fast in this Far West; or rather, life is perpetually changing places. Behind this mournful agglomeration of abandoned homes, the resort now only of wild beasts, the river runs through a savage defile, where the eye cannot penetrate. High mountains covered with snow close the horizon on the south-east. Their noble and grand outlines, and the varied rose and purple colour with which the rising sun tints their peaks, remind me of the Edomite mountains in the great Arabian desert. Here we first come upon the Chinese race. In all

the following stations they swarm ; some of them were talking with the Indians, I know not in what language. Can there be an affinity between the two races ? The officers who pass their lives in these regions confirm this curious fact, for which historical science has not yet been able to account ; that the yellow immigrants can make themselves understood by the red-skins far quicker than the whites.

At Aspen¹ the line passes the highest defile of the Wahsatch Mountains. These form the western side of the American high level, while the Rocky Mountains form the eastern. The descent to the Salt Lake is done without steam, merely by the weight of the carriages, and although the break is put on the wheels you go down at a frightful pace, and of course the speed increases with the weight of the train ; ours being composed of an immense number of cars and trucks, I became positively giddy before we got to the bottom. Add to this the curves, which are as sharp as they are numerous, and the fearful precipices on each side, and you will understand why most of the passengers turn pale. To enable you to admire the beauty of the ravines, the *canones* of Echo and Weber, the *thousand-mile tree*, (so called because it grows just 1,000 miles from Omaha), the Devil's Gate, and other wonderfully picturesque spots, a *car of observation* is attached to the train. It is a single truck, uncovered, and without seats. Exposed to the sun and the draught of the train, the traveller may not only admire the beauties of nature, but also take account of the extreme danger he is every moment running, thanks to the defective construction and extraordinary foolhardiness of this part of the line. Also, I remarked that this car, though very full when we left Aspen, was soon left empty. Very few of the passengers had nerve enough to stand the sight.

At last our speed slackened ; the glen opened out and the promised land of the Mormons, the immense sheet of the Salt-Lake, the green valley of the saints, and their wooded hills, the whole framed by high mountains, pink, light blue, and dark blue, unrolled themselves before the delighted eyes of the travellers. We were all dazzled by the flow of light,

¹ Seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-five feet above the level of the sea.

enchanted with the beauty of the site, and astonished beyond measure at the contrast with the desolate land we had so lately left behind us.

At five o'clock we came to the Ogden station, situated at the northern extremity of the Salt Lake, and forming the terminus of the line called the Union Pacific Railroad. From hence to Omaha, the distance is 1,032 miles; to St. Francisco, 882 miles; while a branch line, thirty-seven miles long, constructed by Brigham Young, leads to the Salt-Lake city. Ogden is in its Sunday best. The steps, the platform, and the waiting-rooms of the station, are crowded to overflowing with smart folk. We are in the heart of Mormonism. The little town is to-day honoured by the presence of no less a person than the great prophet himself, President Brigham Young; who has deigned to visit it to-day, and preach in its tabernacle. At this moment, he is going to depart. Although the ordinary train starts for the Salt-Lake city in a quarter of an hour, Brigham Young, with some of his wives and a numerous suite, travels by special train. That is quite fair. Is he not sovereign of the desert? the king of the new Jerusalem? Standing on the platform, he salutes majestically with a wave of his hand the crowd of Mormons, male and female, who take off their hats and curtsy low to the great man. It was a regular court scene, such as we often see in Europe at the arrival or departure of our crowned heads. There was, however, a shade of difference. Here nothing was factitious, nothing conventional. And yet there was not a shadow of enthusiasm or pleasure on those gaping faces, or in those bent bodies, which remained immovable even for a minute or two after the prophet had disappeared! Was it a simple demonstration of respect? or an act of etiquette? I do not think so. It seemed to me rather a manifestation of a superstitious belief, tormented, though perhaps not troubled, by vague fears. It was the adoration of a Supreme Being who had your fate at his disposal, and to whom you are irrevocably bound; but whom you dread far more than you love.

The stationmaster was overflowing in civility towards me. I had of course presented to him my letter of introduction. Although he had three trains to send off at one and the same moment, he found time to do me a heap of little services. He

changes my *greenbacks* for gold, as they do not pass currency beyond Ogden. He takes care of my luggage. He pilots me through the dense though silent crowd, who work violently with their elbows. He gives me many curious details of the "saints ;" tells me the events of the day, and even adds his own biography. No one could be more obliging or more helpful. Belonging to a great New York house engaged in the fur-trade, he made a larger fortune in an incredibly short time, and as rapidly lost it. Now he has accepted this humble place to earn his bread. His wife shares his fortunes. She is of a good Eastern family, young, pretty, graceful, and determined to accept bravely the privations of their new life. The home of this young couple consists of one single room on a level with the rails. But how beautifully "Madame" has arranged it! How she has contrived to stamp it with that taste, elegance, and coquetry of a woman of the world! There are beautiful flowers, a comfortable arm-chair, a good oil-painting, one or two bits of pretty Oriental china brought by one of those ambulatory children of the Celestial Empire. But so tiny! so tiny! The bed, which is hung with the whitest possible curtains, fills up almost half the room! "And the noise of the trains?"—"Ah! one soon gets accustomed to that."—"And the flies and mosquitoes, those plagues of the plain?"—"But has not everybody got mosquito nets?"—"Yes, certainly, but the dust, and what dust! Why it is pure alkali!"—"Well, one shuts the windows."—"And you are the only 'Gentiles' in the place."—"Quite true, but we are sufficient to ourselves. And then at the hotel where we take our meals, they give us a separate table"—in fact, everything is for the best. One lives on remembrance and hope. They anticipate happiness in the future: and bear courageously bad days, hoping for better ones by and by.

What strikes me is the European look of this crowd which throngs the steps. The stationmaster gives me the key of the enigma. All these men dressed as workmen on Sundays, all these women wearing evidently their best gowns, are English, Norwegian, and Danes; but the British element predominates. Wales furnishes the largest contingent. After the departure of the great man, all the crowd mounted sadly and quickly into the railway cars. Women and babies swarmed. The women

looked melancholy and subdued; the men vulgar and insignificant. The most distinguished personage in the mob was an Indian warrior with a plumed head-dress, and his face all begrimed with yellow ochre; he looked at the Mormons, who are defiling before him, from head to foot, with supreme disdain. In the carriage where I have installed myself, I have an opportunity of watching one of the effects of polygamy. The greater part of the men are travelling with two wives; some even have brought three with them; but the youngest is evidently the favourite. The husband does not trouble his head about any of the others, he only talks to her and buys her cakes and fruit at the station. The other neglected wives, resigned to their fate, sit by, with sad and cross expressions. This kind of scene is perpetually being repeated. In fact, it is in the nature of things.

We spend two whole hours in making the thirty-seven miles which separates Ogden from the Mormon capital. Every five minutes we stopped at some little hamlet or isolated farm. The railroad follows the line of the Salt Lake, which is an immense sheet of water of a dull, metallic colour. Steep rocks, empurpled by the setting sun, rise from its bed, like branches of coral thrown on an imperfectly enamelled dish. The country is fine, and the effects of the light magical. If it were not for the golden and crimson tints of the sky, the extraordinary clearness and transparency of the atmosphere, and the complete absence of those vaporous clouds which hang towards evening over the southern countries of Europe, one could fancy oneself on the coasts of Sicily or of Andalusia. At last, towards night, we arrive at Salt-Lake City, and I alight at the Old Townsend's, that is, at one of the most abominable inns which I have ever had the misfortune to meet with in the two hemispheres.

CHAPTER VII.

SALT LAKE CITY.—FROM THE 4th TO THE 7th OF JUNE.

Appearance of the Town.—The modern Crusaders.—The Mormon Theatre and Tabernacle.—Townsend Hotel.—The Indians and Indian Agents.—Douglas Camp.—The *Canones*.—Brigham Young.—Mormonism.

WHAT a curious town ! The houses are invisible. Entirely surrounded by fruit-trees, they are hidden from sight. Acacias and cotton-trees (unknown to the east of the Missouri, of which the flower resembles balls of cotton), form a thick green curtain stretched all along what seem apparently interminable avenues. As in all American towns, these avenues cross one another at right angles, from north to south, and from east to west. On both sides, mountain torrents roll in abundant if not limpid streams. They are the great treasures of the country. According to the tales of the first adventurers who visited this unknown land when it still formed part of Mexico, fresh water was not to be procured for love or money. If you are to believe their stories, outside the Salt Lake there was nothing but pools of brackish water. But Brigham Young has changed all this. The "Elect of God," the Moses of the Mormons, has caused water to gush out from the stony rock, and so conferred an inestimable blessing on the town. I wander alone, up and down these silent avenues. To my left murmurs the stream ; the acacias shade my head, while the cotton-trees, lightly swayed by the morning breeze, cover me with a shower of white flakes, like snow. At times, I perceive above the tops of the trees the "Twins," as the two highest peaks of the Wahsatch are called,—two diamonds sparkling in the sun, suspended, as it were, in the blue sky 15,000 feet above the

sea. On this high level, the seasons succeed one another with great regularity. After the autumn rains, the storms and snow-drifts of winter; then after a short season of winds and rain called spring, six months of summer; that is, a burning sun, great heat and intolerable drought. The want of rain, the dust, and, during the last half of the hot season, the flies, are the great plagues of the Valley of the Saints. But now nature is spreading out all her treasures of fresh, young, intoxicating beauty. I am breathing the elastic mountain air, and enjoying the delicious perfume of the fields which I have unconsciously approached, as I have come to the extreme confines of the town. For some time I had left the last houses behind me. The avenues stretch on and on; but they no longer mask the houses. Spaces and plans are all marked out for future saints to dress their tents. Here the town is merged in the country. At a little distance, the new Jordan winds amidst the crevices of the rocks, and reminds one of its biblical namesake. During the whole of my walk, I have only met one or two women, and a little group of children with books and satchels on their backs, coming from school, and walking quickly without talking. On their little pale faces you already see the care and preoccupation of those of riper years. The sight of a stranger excites their curiosity; they scan me with a searching look. Not a smile or a shadow of fun is to be seen on any one of those countenances. Then they pass on. Everywhere there is solitude and silence. An Indian warrior from Utah, proudly careering on his thin jade, passes me at a gallop. His black, long, straight, shining hair, falls on his shoulders from under a diadem of feathers; his face is painted yellow and red; his features are fierce to the last degree; he is armed to the teeth, and his appearance is really terrible. Behind him, running on foot, are his two squaws, the very types of misery and female degradation.

I turn my steps towards Main Street, the principal one of the town, and find myself all of a sudden in a regular city of the Far West. If it were not for the Indians, and for the extraordinary number of women and children who, even in this busy quarter, far outnumber the men, one would forget that one was in the centre of Mormonism. Here there are no trees. Houses line each side of the street. The greater portion are

built of brick, or rather of "*adobes*," which are brick and mud dried in the sun; others of wood and beams covered with canvas, tell of the first immigrants. The more modern buildings have some pretension to architecture. In all of them, the first floor consists of open shops. The walls are, without exception, covered from top to bottom with gaudy advertisements. The streets are thronged with bullock-waggons and carriages of every description. A stage coach, drawn by ten horses, belonging to a company well known in the States (Wells, Fargo, and Co.), draws a crowd and increases the confusion. Formerly these coaches were the only resource of the impatient traveller; but since the railroad was opened they have nearly disappeared. Porters, miners on foot or on donkey-back—in a word, a whole body of strong, intelligent-looking men, with tanned, weather-beaten faces and brawny arms, whose life is one continual fight with savage nature, and who are justly termed the pioneers of civilization, jostle one another in the crowded thoroughfares, all intent on their respective business. The ancient masters of the soil, the Utahs, of a finer and less degraded race than the greater portion of the Indians on the borders, mingle their warriors with the crowd. They are encamped just outside the town, and come into it now and then; each followed by his wives. They hold their heads high and examine carefully, without betraying the smallest surprise, all the wonders of modern civilization. I met several in one of the most elegant of the Main Street shops. They looked at everything exposed for sale very minutely, all the time maintaining their air of dignity and proud indifference. The looking-glasses only put them out, and then what bursts of laughter! They could not believe their eyes or cease from admiring themselves. I stopped under a shed which served also as a cart-stable. Men who trade between Corinne and Montana are dining at rough long tables: close to them their steeds, fastened to iron rings, are feeding likewise, and resting their tired limbs. These gentlemen have just arrived from Virginia City (Idaho). They have traversed thousands of miles, followed the Missouri up to its source, crossed and recrossed the mountain chains which are as the backbone of this great continent, avoided, or fought if necessary, the Indians who harassed their path, and served

as escort in certain dangerous passes, to the stage coach which runs twice a month through these desert regions. It starts from Corinne, always full of passengers of both sexes, but does not always arrive with all its human cargo at its destination. Cold and fatigue, or, in summer, excessive heat, and privations of all sorts, to say nothing of the Indians, thin their numbers. The dead are interred in haste along the road-side, or rather, in the deep ruts left by the wheels, and then the rest pass on. The company I am thrown among is of a varied character. I enter into conversation with two or three of them, and become very much interested in their stories. Their lives are adventurous to the last degree; every hour has its danger; acts of violence become a duty, or a matter of self-preservation; hairbreadth escapes are an ordinary element in these roving lives. Put yourself in the place of these modern crusaders, compare your ideas with theirs, with their tastes, and their habits, and you will find that a whole abyss separates you from them. It is impossible to understand or to judge them fairly. Some of these men are trappers; others horse-jockeys; others *moustanguers*; and their little Indian horses or *moustangs*, harnessed in Mexican fashion, remind one of Andalusia, or rather of Arabia. Their saddles and stirrups, which, shaped like slippers, protect the foot from sun and rain, are just like those I saw in Morocco, and among the Arab tribes. They are still in use in those parts of Spain which were the longest under Moorish rule. These cavaliers wore the *sombrero* and short jackets, made at New York or San Francisco, with large Spanish sashes. But the blood which flows in their veins is Anglo-Saxon or Celtic. Their children are of a mixed breed, having mostly Indian mothers. The group I was talking to was worthy of the pencil of one of the great masters of the seventeenth century. Not one of these bronzed faces had a commonplace or ordinary expression. Strong, uncontrolled passion are reflected in these countenances; the index of bold, resolute natures, sometimes vicious and cruel, oftener calm, cynical, and determined.

In the forenoon, "old" Townsend took me to see the tabernacle. It is a long low hall, entirely bare and destitute of religious emblems, with a raised daïs at one end, on which were placed the arm-chairs of the prophet and bishops, the

whole being covered by a heavy oval cupola, which is rightly compared to a dish-cover, such as they use in England for covering hot joints. Alongside they are building a new temple, which is to be an immense edifice of cut stone, in the Roman style. But only the foundations are as yet laid : and no one hopes or seems to wish for the new tabernacle to be completed. There are scarcely any men at work on it, for both money and fervour are wanting.

The theatre is far more popular. This is one of the thousand schemes of Brigham Young, and the great resource of the inhabitants of the Salt-Lake City. It is opened every night. The house is badly decorated, and still worse lit. In the pit I saw groups of children, who had evidently come all alone. On benches and in the galleries sat a number of men in blouses with their wives (two or three apiece), dressed with a certain amount of care. The Prophet, who has reserved for himself the best box near the stage, had not, contrary to his usual custom, made his appearance that evening ; but I saw through the curtains one of the youngest of his wives, who was very graceful and pretty, and in a toilet which might be called elegant. One of Brigham's own daughters, Mrs. Alice Clawson, whose talent is justly appreciated, played the principal part. She married a man in easy circumstances, which, however, does not prevent her accepting a good salary. The piece, a sensational drama, which had a great run in England some years ago, and is full of English habits and institutions, contrasts singularly with the public of the New Jerusalem. Society of the middle ages, as painted by Shakespeare, is not wider apart than is *high life* in England at this moment compared with the social state of the Mormons. Nevertheless, the play was listened to with great attention, although there was neither laughter nor clapping. I am told that Brigham Young, who is himself the censor, and excludes all indecent pieces, is very anxious to encourage people to go to his theatre. It is in his hands a kind of school of art, whereby he strives to refine the habits of a society which has been reduced by circumstances, as we shall presently see, to a condition of perpetual forced labour.

It is two o'clock—the heat is terrible ; the sun is at a white

heat. It is the dinner hour of the place, and the guests at "Old" Townsend's are waiting with no small impatience. A large company is gathered in the veranda. The ladies, some of them very well dressed, are grouped on one side. They are almost all miners' wives. Their smart *recherché* toilets, and the efforts they make to look lady-like, contrast drolly enough with the appearance of their husbands, who rush in straight from their mines, covered with sweat, mud, and dust. These men sit, or rather lie, on arm-chairs arranged side by side in straight lines. The attitudes of these gentlemen defy description. One must have seen them—and that can only be done in the Far West. Others stand close to the door waiting for the first stroke of the bell, to rush into the dining-room and seize the best places. They smoke and spit, but no one talks. The women sometimes whisper to one another in a low voice, but conversation is evidently considered out of place.

All this society is composed of gentiles, miners and their families, commercial travellers, clerks, and government agents. In consequence, the head of the establishment the "gentleman" at the office, and even the waiters, look at us with an evil eye, and the service corresponds with their hostile feelings. This influx of unbelievers irritates and frightens them. Alas! the good old times of Mormonism are over. The masses, perhaps, do not realize it; but no intelligent man can doubt the fact. Certainly, Mr. Townsend, the dignitary of the tabernacle, is not the model of an innkeeper. He pays little or no attention to his house, and still less to his guests. He leaves everything to his two wives, who bear the burden and heat of the day, if not civilly, at least with a patience and resignation worthy of a better cause. I was really sorry for them. They are a contrast to the "gentleman" at the office, who will not condescend to answer any of your questions, and if you ask him for your key, answers you: "Look for it yourself." The landlord passes his time in sublime contemplation. His arm-chair is placed at the extreme end of the veranda. There, lying on his back, his head thrown on one side, he seems lost in the contemplation of his feet, which are placed high above his person, against a branch of a high acacia. This extraordinary position is certainly not graceful, but we presume it must be comfortable, as he keeps in it for hours together. At last the signal is given.

The ladies enter first, gravely, in single file. Afterwards every man runs, struggles, treads on the other's toes, or fights with his elbows, one more vigorously than the other. Doctor C. has fortunately taken me under his protection. He is a man of mark, who, in consequence, has a place reserved for him, and manages to squeeze me in alongside. These meals have but one merit, and that is to be able to be despatched in ten minutes. They give you nothing but one dish of hard, badly-cooked meat, and one or two cakes. For dessert, you have very good wild strawberries—for drink, pure water. The bar or taproom does not exist: the law forbids it. Nevertheless, the Mormons manage to elude the commandment, and wine and spirits abound in their own houses. The only happy moment is the one when one can leave the dinner-table with the proud satisfaction of feeling one has accomplished a painful duty.

During my three days at the Salt-Lake City, Doctor C. is good enough to give me his spare moments. For many years he practised on the banks of Lake Superior, and on the Upper Mississippi, amidst the Indian tribes; and his accounts of these races interested me extremely. They confirmed all that had been told me on this head at New York and Washington. It is from their perfect accordance with the information I had obtained from the highest and most reliable sources that I attach so much value to the reminiscences and opinions of a man who has passed so large a portion of his life among the red-skins.

"I abstain," he said, "from all expression of opinion on the system which the Central Government, together with the Congress, has adopted with regard to the Indians. I accept it as a fact, and I suppose, or rather I am persuaded, that the President, the *big father* of these unfortunate races, has the wish and firm intention of observing the engagements entered into with the different tribes. But amongst the Government Indian agents there are thorough rogues. They keep back, for their own use or profit, the greater part of the gifts in food and clothes which the Government of Washington annually sends for the Indians, and which it is the business of these agents to distribute. And not only do they appropriate a part of these objects, but what remains is replaced by articles of an

inferior quality. This explains the enormous fortunes which these men make in a few years ; but it also explains the discontent and periodical hostilities of the red-skins and their indiscriminate massacres, from time to time, of the whites. Things revolve for ever in the same vicious circle. The Indians complain of the agents ; the Government orders a commission of inquiry, and commissioners accordingly are sent from Washington. When they arrive here, the whole business of the agents is to deceive them, in which they sometimes succeed. If not, they resort to extreme measures. They make the Indians look upon the intervention of the commissioners as an act of hostility on the part of the Government, and excite their mistrust by a thousand subtle insinuations. The Indians assemble in a *pow-wow* and discuss the subject of war. The ancients of the tribe, especially those that have been at Washington, and who have come back very much impressed with the power of the *big father*, vote for peace ; but the young men who have never left their native wilds, overrule these prudent counsels with loud and strong cries. From this instant the *war-path* is decided upon. Messengers are sent in different directions, and meetings are held at all the principal stations. There is no longer any way by which the commissioners can learn the truth from the chiefs themselves, or understand the real cause of complaint they have against the agents of the President. Some weeks are spent in preparations. The white settlers, to whom no alternative is left but flight, if still possible, or the most horrible tortures if they remain, earnestly demand troops. But the nearest fort is at one, two, or sometimes three hundred miles distance. Besides, are there troops numerous or well-armed enough to make head against the Indians, whose movements are always very imperfectly known ? War breaks out then, a little war, if you please, which will hardly fill a column in a newspaper. But there will be a few or more white men scalped, and more or less farms and stations utterly ruined. On the other hand, under the head of revenge or reprisals, such and such a tribe will be exterminated down to the very last man. That is all. This is just what is happening at this very moment in Arizona, where the blood of the white man has been flowing in streams, homesteads have been burnt right and left, and no end of misery

has been the result. But the papers hardly allude to the matter. It is certainly a painful fact for those that have been scalped, whose wives and daughters have been ravished, whose farms have been utterly destroyed, and whose cattle have been carried off. But sometimes misfortunes are blessings in disguise; *the inquiry into the conduct of the agents has been effectually stopped.*"

In the interior of this great continent, the fate of the Indians and their relation with the Central Government are the subjects of common talk. At Washington, again, in official circles, this grave question is for ever claiming the attention of public men, who discuss it, without, however, arriving, as yet, at a satisfactory solution. Alas! the solution is already given. Not only the rascality of Government agents, but the contact with modern civilization, the cross with white blood, and the introduction of alcoholic drinks have sown the seeds of hopeless destruction in the red-skins. In the north-western tribes, where travellers and trappers abound, there is hardly such a thing left as an indian *pur sang*. The first generation, the fruit of illicit unions between English and French adventurers and Indian women, still possessed some of the higher qualities possessed by both races. But their children were few, and of a decidedly inferior stamp. The offspring of mixed blood in the present day is almost always degraded, weak, and sickly. It is remarked that in proportion as the white element increases in a tribe the black perishes. The former seems to act like a slow poison, while brandy is a quick one; its ravages are fearful. The Indians are in consequence being extinguished from a variety of causes; fatally, irrevocably, these once grand races seem destined to disappear, and they *do* disappear.

From the very first day, I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of General Morrow, the commander of Fort Douglas. This military post is situated at three miles to the east of the city, on one of the hills which form the western slope of the Wahsatch mountains. It is a commanding and admirably chosen position. A camp has been installed here for the last nine years. At first, the commander of the little garrison employed in watching not only the Indians but the militia of the Prophet, had not an easy time of it. Lost in

that vast space, without any certain communication with the basis of operations, and without any hope of extraneous help in time of need, he saw himself driven to depend on his own resources, which, in certain eventualities, were manifestly insufficient.

To-day it is no longer the same thing. The Pacific Railroad links the Douglas camp to all the forts along this line and to Chicago, which is the residence of the Commander-in-Chief. In a few days, therefore, a sufficient number of troops might be gathered together to make head against any danger, however imminent.

Towards this point, therefore, I turned my steps one fine morning in a covered *char à-banc* drawn by two fine horses, with a young Mormon driver, whom I found out to be a native of Manchester. He was a mechanic by trade, but had lost his arm in a railway accident, and had fallen into great poverty when one of Brigham Young's missionaries found him out two or three years ago, and at once engaged him for the Valley of the Saints. Transformed into a coachman in spite of his one arm, he earns enough to live from day to day. The carriage and horses are his own property. It is true that they are not paid for; it was the President who advanced the necessary sum. His debt rather worries him; but he consoles himself by the thought that almost everyone is in the same boat. As to his two wives, they maintain themselves and earn their own living. House rent being very high in the town, he has lodged them outside, one to the east, the other to the west of the city. "It is economical," he said, "and besides, it avoids scenes of jealousy." This prudent husband was my constant companion in my expeditions about the Salt-Lake City, and amused me very much. He was gentle, resigned, and rather sad. In matters of religion he was profoundly ignorant. Evidently, in his childhood, he never had the least instruction. Now he is a believer. He believes in Brigham Young. The life and actions of the Prophet have already acquired a legendary character in his mind. Alongside of a sober, dry, prosaic reality, the marvellous occupies a large share in his stories.

Our road ascends in a straight line, the gentle incline leading to the camp, which crowns the summit of the hill. Just before us, at pistol-shot range, a light phaeton flew along,

dragged by two spirited horses. "That's the general, going home," said my driver. "Let's try and catch him up." It was not, however, till the moment when the commandant alighted at the door of his house, that our horses, quite out of breath, came up with him. The general held out his arms to me, which were full of children's toys. He is a tall man with a fine military bearing, and perfect manners. In his frank open face and sympathizing smile one sees gentleness allied with energy and the habit of command. "I had had notice of your visit," he exclaimed. "You are most welcome. Excuse my not being able to shake hands with you. You see I have got mine full. I have been buying some toys for my little boy. He is not well, and we wanted something to amuse him. Mrs. Morrow also is very poorly." He made me walk into a little drawing-room, simply but prettily furnished, and then excused himself to go and see his invalids. When, a few minutes later, he appeared, his somewhat anxious countenance had brightened into a joyous expression. "My little man is much better," he exclaimed, "and the toys have answered their purpose. Now let us make ourselves comfortable." And he began to do the honours of his home, which was a pretty little cottage surrounded by a veranda; and to show me some of the treasures he had collected in the course of his wandering life as an officer in the United States army. He had some magnificent bearskins embroidered in different patterns, a quantity of Indian dresses ornamented with feathers, bows and arrows, and arms of all kinds. Many of these were trophies which had been acquired in bloody fights; others had been given to him by native chiefs, who, in spite of his white skin, had learnt to love him, and saw him leave their country with regret. Except during the late southern war, General Morrow's military career had been spent entirely in countries inhabited by the Indians. I encouraged him to talk, and he told me, simply and modestly, some of the most remarkable episodes in his life. A really brave man is always simple and modest. His life was like a page of one of Cooper's novels. Whilst talking he once put on the Indian warrior's clothes and plumed head-dress, and imitated their attitudes and war cry.

"This cry produces a great effect," he said. "It encourages the savages and frightens the whites. But what really de-

moralises our soldiers is the sound of a peculiarly shrill whistle, which every warrior wears hung to his waist, and which he never ceases to blow during the fight. As to their arrows, they shoot infinitely faster with them than we can possibly do with a revolver." As you may suppose, the good general forced me to accept some of the mementoes of his battles, which I shall gladly carry away with me to Europe.

We both got into my carriage, and Daniel, who in spite of being a Mormon, seemed to be on very good terms with the general, was told to drive us to the *cañon* called "Emigration." This is the last defile in the Wahsatch mountains which, after their great exodus from Nauvoo, the Mormons passed before they came to the promised land, the Valley of the Saints. None of them visit it now without singing a hymn which reminds them of that solemn moment. "Do you see that block of rock?" said my companion to me. "When we come there, Daniel will begin to sing, and will hold his tongue at the next," and in fact, so it came to pass. The Mexicans call those deep and narrow gorges, or rather fissures, in the great Cordillera chain of mountains, *canoñes*. This appellation has survived the dominion of the old masters of this country, and is a word in common use. To the eye, these *canoñes* appear simply perpendicular precipices, huge crevices or fissures in the rocks, here and there carpeted with straggling shrubs or grass, and with sharp points rising one above the other. Following the narrow path, which creeps between the abyss on one side and the wall of stones on the other, if your nerves are steady enough to enable you to lean over the side without losing your balance, you may see at the very bottom of the ravine, a thin, slender line of water. Here it reflects the blue sky or the setting sun; there it flows in deep dark shadow; later on, it disappears altogether, under a natural arch, with a dull roar like a train passing through a tunnel. These are the boiling waters of the mountain torrents. From cascade to cascade, from one subterranean channel to another, by secret passages, well known to the red-skins, but which no white man has yet explored, they join the great arteries of the American continent or are ignominiously absorbed in one of the numerous salt-lakes of the great desert.¹ It is in one of these gorges, the *cañon* called "Emigration," that

¹ The Americans call these waters *sinks*.

Daniel has now plunged us. It is true that we only see the least perilous part. Nevertheless, the road is very rough, continually ascending and descending, and always on the very edge of the precipice. There are certain sharp turns which make one's blood run cold. But the general reassures me. "In spite of his one arm," he says, "this English fellow is a good coachman, and thoroughly master of his horses. Besides, this is a royal road compared to the upper part of the gorge or to the other *cañones* which the Mormons had to pass. It is fair to add that many of their carriages and bullock waggons rolled into the torrent."

On our way back, we stopped at the house of a Bavarian brewer. He is a gentile, and laughs at the Mormons. His establishment has all the look of a little Munich brewery, and is the principal resort of the officers and soldiers of the camp.

Now we are once more seated in the general's veranda. The sun has gone down. There is not a breath of air. A calm and solemn stillness seems to hover over the panorama at our feet.

To our left, that is, to the east of the town, running from north to south and looking like a crenellated wall, with here and there sharp peaks standing out against the sky, as in the drop scene of a play, rises the gigantic chain of the Wahsatch mountains, the western base of the great uplands. Placed close together, about five miles from the crest of the ridge, these mountains all look to us foreshortened. The eye is bewildered by the chaos of precipices and ravines (the outlines of which are distinctly visible in spite of the violet shadows which enshroud them), and of rugged, knobby mountains wooded at the base, bare and naked higher up, sparkling with the reflection of the evening light, marbled with white above, and piercing the sky which floods their snowy tops with rosy purple tints, culminating in two gigantic diamond peaks, the "Twins!" Oh! those Twins! How they tower over the Valley of the Saints! What a striking sight they are! And how this whole mountain range fascinates and charms one!

To the west, at our feet, spreads the Salt-Lake City like a great river full of flowers and green, or rather like an immense park rayed with lines of light; the green avenues are mingled with white specks, the roofs of the houses, which themselves remain invisible. The ugly, heavy, oblong cupola of the

tabernacle alone raises its head above the trees, which with their varied shades of green, shroud and hide all human habitations. Beyond the town, the Jordan, flowing now between sharp rocks, now through green and smiling fields, falls gently into the lake, where its short course is ended. On its right bank are a mass of round, wooded hills : further on, nothing but arid rocks. Above the river, in the distance, bathed in tender tints, varying from azure blue to pearly grey, the rugged chain of the Oquerrah mountains stand out against the flaming sky. A luminous fringe of snow lies all along their tops. They are shrouded with rays of vaporous light, for behind them the sun is just disappearing. From Salt-Lake City to these high mountains, the distance is forty miles as the crow flies.

Towards the south the valley rises gradually. It is rough ground, full of ravines, but carpeted with green. Towards the town, and for some miles round its suburbs, are a quantity of small Mormon farms, their neat homesteads shaded with fine trees. Further on, nature in her wildest and most savage form resumes her empire. An amphitheatre of low rocks, which bounds the horizon on this side, hides from sight the lake of Utah, which to the Saints, is the lake of Tiberias, just as their river is the Jordan, and their Salt Lake the Dead Sea. In fact, if the Oquerrah chain resembled more closely the mountains of Moab, and were a little nearer and rounder, the analogy with Palestine would be still more striking.

To the north, the great lake spreads out its slaty, lustrous, metallic waters. Even at this moment when the heavens are on fire, and Bengal lights are floating in the air, and crossing one another in every direction, and when all nature has put on a kind of festal, Venetian look, this stagnant, sleepy sheet of water refuses to take part in the general festivity. But the sun is sinking, and the shadow from the mountains is overpowering by degrees the wild, sinister lights which flickered a few moments ago over this cursed sea. A narrow line of white sand incircles it. Neither tree, nor shrub, nor any human habitation breaks the profound melancholy of this site. In the centre of the lake rise two or three little islands, of fantastic shapes and with steep, rocky sides, their summits enamelled by the setting sun. Nearer to us, on the right, a little promontory stands out, half in the water and half on land. This is called the Peak of

Observation, or the Holy Mount, and is the sign of alliance with the god of the Mormons.

Since the opening of the Pacific Railway, and that, in consequence, the number of visitors has daily increased, Brigham Young has got tired of being stared at, examined, and commented upon, as an object of curiosity. To see him, one must be furnished with letters of introduction.

My host, the "Old" Townsend before mentioned, offered to present one which had been given to me at New York, and to arrange an interview for me. One morning accordingly, at ten o'clock, we went together to the President's house. Some bishops and one or two elders whom we met on the road begged to accompany us. I had to run the gauntlet of the usual questions, but I did not spare them either, and they answered me with very tolerable grace. They were all Americans, for, as a general rule, the Americans alone aspire to the higher grades of elders or bishops, and are evidently better educated and better brought up than the greater portion of the Mormons, three parts of whom are Europeans. Simply though decently dressed, these men bore no sign of their ecclesiastical dignities. Their faces told one nothing whatever. There was no trace of fanaticism, affectation, or hypocrisy about them; still less of anything clerical. Nothing betrayed the habit of meditation or prayer, or even a wish to make believe anything of the kind. They looked just what they were—men of business, farmers, shopkeepers, or commercial travellers. It was impossible to be what the English call more *commonplace*. There was only one exception—the Bishop of——. I never saw a more slovenly dress, dirtier linen, or a more threadbare coat; but he was, on the other hand, the only one of the lot who had a jolly, open countenance, and a frank, hearty laugh. "I have got three wives," he exclaimed; "so I am very well off."—"And your wives?"—"D——n it!" (with a horse laugh) "that's their business."—"Seriously, don't you think that polygamy degrades a woman?"—"Not the least in the world."—"Don't you ever feel any scruple about it?"—"On the contrary, I should be scrupulous if I didn't. In having several wives, I am simply obeying a special commandment of God's. I feed my children and send them to school—that's all that is necessary. But for the rest

you can't understand it, for you are not one of the elect. Now, we are not only one of the elect, but of the privileged few. God has given us the privilege of inspiration, and all that we do is right and well done. That's the reason we have been made bishops. Inspiration is granted to a man or not, as God pleases. He alone can give or refuse it."

He then entered into a confused explanation which he said was a development of this theory; but in spite of all the trouble I gave myself to follow his line of thought, it was utterly and entirely unintelligible. It was simply nonsense, balderdash, and gibberish, delivered with a kind of careless, indifferent ease, like a schoolboy who is repeating a lesson by heart without understanding or thinking of a single word he is saying.

The most remarkable man of the company was Mr. George Smith, called the historian, who must not, however, be confounded with Joe Smith, the founder of the sect, who was murdered. George is more educated than the other dignitaries of the tabernacle, and so holds the first place in the church after the President, Brigham Young. He assisted the latter in guiding the Saints at the time of their terrible journey from the borders of the Mississippi to those of the Salt Lake, and took part likewise in the works consequent on the first establishment of the New Jerusalem. He gave me a great deal of curious information, and likewise a pamphlet which he wrote two years ago.¹

Walking very slowly, for the heat was overpowering, and seeking the shade of the acacia and cotton trees, which bordered the long avenue, we at last arrived before the President's house surrounded by a high wall, and composed of several distinct buildings and separate apartments for the use of his wives and children. A great room at one of the angles of the inclosure is a school for the exclusive use of the latter. We crossed the threshold and were shown into the parlour, a little room simply furnished and ornamented with twelve oil paintings representing the Mormon apostles. The first place

¹ "The Rise, Progress, and Travels of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: being a Series of Answers to Questions, including the Revelation on Celestial Marriage, and a Brief Account of the Settlement of Salt-Lake Valley, with interesting Statistics," by President G. A. Smith, Church Historian, &c. (Printed at the *Deseret News* Office, 1869.)

was reserved, of course, for the portrait of Joe Smith. The secretary and son-in-law of the President, a little deformed youth, after having offered us chairs, began to cross-question me in a loud voice in the usual American way. Whilst I was answering, I thought I saw a shadow behind the half-open door. Twenty minutes passed in this way. The conversation went on ; but the President still kept us waiting. At last I got up and said : "Mr. Young has doubtless his own occupations. I have mine. I have nothing to say to him, and do not care to wait any longer to see him. Besides, they are waiting for me at Fort Douglas." At that very moment, the door, which had attracted my attention, opened suddenly, and Brigham Young appeared on the threshold. He was dressed with great care, and looked as if he had just come out of the hair-dresser's hands. For some minutes he looked at me in silence ; then he walked towards me in a solemn manner, only answering the low bow of his people by a slight wave of the hand. He had his hat on his head ; but took it off hastily when he saw me deliberately putting on mine ; and then, sitting down, motioned me to an armchair alongside of him. The bishops and elders took their places at a respectful distance. On a sign to his secretary, the latter, standing before his master, read my letter of introduction out loud.

The conversation which followed lasted nearly an hour. I give the main points, which I noted down in my journal as soon as I got back to the inn, and was struck, while doing so, at the trouble I found in seizing a single intelligible thought amidst the grand phrases, and the confused and illogical statements with which his conversation was interlarded.*

"The world," he began, "is full of prejudices. A man must be of a privileged caste to rise above them. God gives this privilege only to His elect. What they teach is the truth, for they only speak or act by inspiration. Faith and work—this is the sum total of our task . . . the object of our religion is to make the bad good, and the good better. Read the Mormon book. It has been translated into all languages, and

* Mr. Young said nothing very remarkable ; nothing but what he said to everybody, everywhere, and especially in his very short sermons in the tabernacle. I do not, therefore, fear to commit an indiscretion by giving publicity to his words.

is sold in Main Street. You will find in it a correct account of our origin and history. The first Mormons emigrated in the time of King Solomon (!) The last emigration was 600 years before our Saviour (!) To-day they pour in from all sides. The hour will come when they shall be spread over the whole earth."

On my remarking that he, Brigham Young, seemed to me to unite both temporal and spiritual powers in Utah, he answered sharply: "You are quite mistaken. The Mormon is free. Everything is done by compromise between the contending parties, or by arbitration. I am not afraid of the railroads, as people fancy. We did not leave Nauvoo to fly away from the gentiles. We left it simply because we were turned out."

I then attacked him on the subject of polygamy. "In Europe," I said, "you are well known. Everyone appreciates the energy of a man who has made his will a law to his disciples, and who has learnt how to transform a desert into a garden. But, on the other hand, I cannot conceal from you that there is but one cry of indignation against you for the polygamy you practise, and which you have introduced into your community. The general opinion is that it is a shame to women and a disgrace to the century in which we live." Here the audience gave an ominous growl of dissent. The President started; but contained himself. After a few moments of silence, he said, speaking in a low voice, and with a slightly disdainful smile: "Prejudice, prejudice, prejudice! We have the greatest of all examples—the example of the patriarchs. What was pleasing to God in their day, why should it be proscribed now?" He then went into a long explanation of a theory which was new to me, regretting that men did not imitate the example of animals, and treating the subject of the relations of the sexes in so confused and at the same time so ambiguous a manner, that it was next to impossible to understand his meaning; but he arrived finally at the conclusion that polygamy was the only effectual remedy for the great social evil of prostitution. Then he interrupted himself by exclaiming, "As for the rest, what I do, and what I teach, I do and teach by the special command of God." When I got up to take my leave, he took my hand, drew me towards him and murmured, closing his eyes, "Blessing, blessing, luck!"

Brigham Young, who was born in Vermont State, has just completed his seventieth year, but appears much younger than he really is. He is above the middle height, holds himself very upright, and seems to enjoy perfect health. His crisp, curly, light-brown hair, with a tinge of red in it, carefully brushed and combed, shades a broad head well placed on a pair of good square shoulders. His eyes, which never look you straight in the face, betray more cunning than intelligence; his mouth is thoroughly sensual; his square and almost disproportionately massive chin indicates an energy which I should fancy would border on cruelty. Taking it altogether, his face is one which can only belong to a remarkable man. It fascinates and repels you at the same time. One understands how this man exercises the charm of a serpent, which retains its victims by the terror it inspires, and which crushes them without scruple or pity the moment they strive to escape its clutches. I do not say that Brigham Young *is* like this, I only say that his exterior gives me that impression which I share with all the other strangers who have described their visit to the Mormon chief. Certainly one ought not to judge a man by the external appearance only, or after one short interview; therefore I am only writing down the effect which his appearance produced upon me, and which was most unfavourable. As to his manners, I find them just as little sympathetic. They are wanting in simplicity, or rather they bear the stamp of affectation,—one moment pompous, the next familiar, now unctuous, then joking, now severe, then oily, Brigham Young never for a moment forgets the part he chooses to play as prophet. Before intoning one of his sententious phrases, he bends his head, assumes an air of majesty, and fixes his eyes on the ground. When he speaks, it is slowly, with a tone of authority, and an interval between each word. Then suddenly he lifts his head, throws it back and shows his great white teeth, and his huge sensual mouth gleaming with a sinister smile. Then he shuts his eyes again and lowers his voice; that's when he wishes to be funny. I own that these fits of forced and unnatural gaiety did not win me in the least. There was I know not what kind of grossly theatrical pretence in these sudden changes from the sublime to the ridiculous, from tragic effect to vulgar comic; but I suppose the ignorant public are carried

away by this clap-trap, and are willing to let themselves be humbugged. I remarked, too, that at such times the bishops and elders all pretended to be electrified. Judging by his exterior, his manners, and the bosh he has the impudence to talk to you, Brigham Young is the most audacious hypocrite under the sun. But look around you! Listen, not to what his acolytes tell you, who adore him as a divinity, but impartial witnesses, or rather men who have no sympathy with him, but who know both him and his works; listen to what they will tell you of the obstacles he has overcome, the dangers he has surmounted, the wonders he has wrought,—and not the least of these miracles is having captivated, subdued, and broken the will of nearly 200,000 human beings;—let all this be told you on the spot by impartial men, well acquainted with the state of things, by the commandant of the federal troops at Fort Douglas, for instance, or by his officers; by the Chief Justice, by the Attorney-General, by the doctors, by those who have been resident here for years, by the miners who come and go; and your disgust will give place first to astonishment, and then to something bordering on admiration!—admiration, not certainly for the doctrines Brigham Young has inculcated, nor still less for his practices, nor even for the extraordinary success of his colonisation, for others besides Mormons have done as much in other parts of the American Continent; nor for the motives which have actuated him, and which, being unknown to us, we have not a right to judge—but for the talents and ability which Providence has vouchsafed to this most extraordinary man; for the clear instincts of this uneducated mind, for his indomitable energy, his marvellous perseverance, and especially for the mysterious and absolute power he exercises over his sect. Many books, pamphlets, and innumerable articles, have been written on Brigham Young, on Deseret, and on the faith and practises of the Mormons. The greater part of these accounts are exact enough in their descriptions. Nothing can be more attractive than the picture of New Jerusalem by Hepworth Dixon. The portrait is exact as far as it goes. But neither this author, nor any others who have written on this subject, have been able to find out the secret of the terrible power of this man, which has enabled him to establish in the centre of America a state of things which politically, religiously, and

socially, is a direct negation of the manners, ideas, and belief of the century in which we live.

Joe Smith was the founder or regenerator of the Mormon sect. He gave himself out as inspired, but at the same time was a thorough rogue. He did not actually preach polygamy; but if we are to believe the public, he practised it without troubling himself with nuptial benedictions. This little fact became, after his death, the cause of a schism in the community, his widow and children swearing that Joe had never been a polygamist, and Brigham Young, who wanted to cite the example of his predecessor in favour of polygamy, suborning false witnesses to prove that the prophet Smith was a partisan to the plurality of wives.

The expulsion of the Mormons from their settlements on the Mississippi in Illinois, forms a most curious and significant episode in the contemporary history of America. Poor Joe never pretended that he had anything of a prophet about him save inspiration. He had been dragged fifty times before the judges and had always been acquitted, until at last he ended his career with the honours of martyrdom. Whilst he was shut up in the Carthage prison, the chief town of Hancock County (Illinois), a band of men with blackened faces got in and shot him and his brother Hiram dead.* Admitted to bail, the assassins were afterwards tried and acquitted. After the death of the prophet, the carpenter, Brigham Young, in his quality of president of the twelve apostles, took the whole direction of affairs into his own hands. Notwithstanding the disastrous state of things he succeeded in reconciling the conflicting parties and in bringing all the believers into one fold, which was his own. He managed to breathe a new life into the whole sect, which, on Joe's death, had been on the eve of dissolution. Nevertheless, acts of violence against them continued. Their houses were burnt, their cattle driven off, and their flocks destroyed. The timid intervention of the authorities produced no effect. A proclamation of the sheriff of the county gives the following melancholy picture of the scene of devastation:—"Whilst I write, the smoke rises up to heaven from the burning homesteads. The people spare neither widows nor orphans." The Illinois government sent a few militia; but

* This was in June 1844.

their commander soon told the Mormons that he was not able to protect them; that the people were determined to expel them; and that they had no alternative but to expatriate themselves. Then it was that their leaders determined to emigrate to the Salt Lake and to send on a certain number of their body as pioneers. These men, headed by Brigham Young himself, set forth in the beginning of January 1846. A thousand families followed in February. This was the beginning of the great exodus. Whilst the President was making his painful way across the mountains with his band of pioneers, Nauvoo, the head-quarters of the sect in Illinois, had to be fortified in haste and undergo a regular siege. The enemies of the Mormons had organized themselves into a military force, with a park of artillery, and challenged them to fight on every possible occasion. At last, on the 17th of September, after a bombardment which lasted several days, the besieged evacuated Nauvoo and took refuge on the opposite bank of the Mississippi.

The conquerors, after having pillaged the town to their hearts' content, burnt the tabernacle, which had cost half a million of dollars, and several private houses. All this took place under the very eye of the government, who had, however, given fair notice to the Mormons of its inability to protect them. Nevertheless, Brigham Young, after having given some of his best troops to the United States, then at war with Mexico—the famous Mormon battalion—after having provisionally established the thousand families who had followed him, at Florence, in the Nebraska, returned to the banks of the Mississippi, not having himself gone much further than Council-Bluffs on the Missouri. He there determined to organize the emigration of the whole remaining body. God had vouchsafed a revelation to him. He had seen in a dream a conical rock rising on the borders of a lake. Towards this point, *Ensign Peak*, he resolved to direct his steps. He thought it necessary to examine the spot first himself, and started this time with only 140 men. This was in the spring of 1847, and by July he had arrived at the Salt Lake and laid the foundation of the New Jerusalem. In the last days of the year he came back. During this second journey all his horses were carried off by the Sioux, and the Prophet and his followers

had to go on foot. At last the moment came for the whole sect of the Mormons to decamp. They were to traverse the Nebraska prairies, to pass the defiles of the Rocky Mountains, to cross the great American desert, that is, the high lands situated between these mountains and the Wahsatch chain; and then to descend into the valley of the Salt Lake, which no one, before Brigham's expedition, had ever visited, saving perhaps a few travellers and trappers. According to them, it was an arid desert surrounding a dead sea, hemmed in by rocks at the height of 12,000 or 15,000 feet, while on the other side of the lake was a fresh chain of equally precipitous mountains. The water was brackish and undrinkable; as for vegetation, there was literally none, save some miserable tufts of sage-bush and, in summer, a few wild flowers, devoured almost before they could spring up by the locusts, which, with bears and serpents and the wild tribes of Utah, reigned supreme in these inhospitable regions. Probably the information collected upon the spot by Brigham Young was somewhat more encouraging: anyhow the emigration was resolved upon. They started in the depth of winter in a multitude of caravans—men, women, and children, in waggons, on asses, in wheelbarrows, on foot—and took the road to the banks of the Missouri, and from thence straight on to the Rocky Mountains. The distance was upwards of 1,500 miles, and that through a country almost entirely deprived of all resources. Misery, privations, and mortality cruelly tried, without subduing, the courage, perseverance, and fertility in expedients of the Prophet, or the resignation, patience, and blind faith of his followers. Since the exodus of the Israelites, history has never registered a similar enterprise. At last, the few whose bones had not whitened the fearful path they had trod, emerging one evening from a defile which has preserved the name of *Emigration Cañon*, perceived at their feet the lake, valley, and river, which from its analogy with the Promised Land they called the Jordan; the whole being recognisable by the conical promontory which God was said to have revealed to His elect, and which bore henceforth the name of *Ensign Peak*.¹ Any-

¹ Utah belonged then to Mexico. When ceded to the United States an act of Congress established in 1850 a territorial government of which Brigham Young was made first Governor. He exercised these functions till 1857.

how, to have conceived the idea, to have carried it out, with the loss of a great number of men, it is true, but without shaking the faith or confidence of a single one of the survivors, is an historical fact which would suffice to immortalise the name of a man, be he king, captain, or prophet.

Brigham Young unites in himself these three qualities. As Prophet, though taking good care not to utter any prophecies, he rules over men's consciences ; as sovereign, he exercises his power without the smallest control ; as general, he has organized so large and respectable a militia force, that it accounts for the hesitation on the part of the Central Government to enforce their power of bringing this potentate to respect the law of the land.

The first three years after the exodus were very trying ones. George Smith, the historian, told me that he and his wife, as in fact everybody else, were reduced to half the food necessary for the support of animal life. For many weeks they lived entirely upon roots.

The work of preaching among the gentiles, which was begun in 1837, was taken up again with renewed fervour. But they did not make any proselytes except in England (especially in Wales,) in Australia, and, in a less degree, in Scandinavia. In America it was an entire failure. The contingents from Germany, Switzerland, and other countries, where Young also sent his missionaries, are infinitesimally small. With the Chinese, Malays, Cingalese, and Indians, the Mormon Bible would not go down at all. Brigham Young always chose his emissaries by inspiration. It has often happened to him to accost a perfect stranger in the street. Following a sudden inspiration, he will tell him to start, and give him an apostolic mission to Europe, Australia, or to the islands in the South Seas. The man thus summoned, leaves wife, children, and business, and starts. These missionaries address themselves to the poorest and most ignorant class, whether in England, which is a hot-bed of vice and misery, like all over-populated centres of civilization, or in Wales, where the inhabitants, like their Irish brethren, are particularly disposed to emigrate. According to the unanimous testimony of persons, who during my stay at the Salt-Lake City were kind enough to give me the best information on this strange community,

the Europeans who accept the proposals of these emissaries of the Prophet are, in all respects, infinitely below the lowest classes in America, whether in the country or in the towns. The Mormon missionaries, therefore, never attempt to preach to the rich, or even to those who are tolerably well off, neither will they go near an educated man. Their proselytes are always among the very poorest and the most ignorant class. Their recruits spring either from those who have been born in utter misery, or who have fallen into it from their own faults or the fault of circumstances : men who have nothing to lose, and who can but gain by being dragged out of the moral and physical degradation in which they are plunged. This is one of the facts which should be borne in mind to understand the great and sudden expansion of the sect. It is to men such as these that they preach, and this is their doctrine : "God is a Person of flesh and blood like man. He has the passions of a man, but is perfect in all things. Jesus Christ was created by Him in an ordinary way. The Father and the Son are alike, except that the Father looks older. Man was not created by God, for he exists from all eternity. He is not born in sin, and is responsible only for his own acts. He sanctifies himself by marriage. There are gods, angels, men, and spirits. There is a resurrection in another world, which is but a continuation of the actual existence of a man here below. God is in direct communication with the Prophet : what he, the Prophet, says or does, is said or done by inspiration. The bishops also are inspired, but in a minor degree. Of all religions the Mormon is the most perfect ; but gentiles are not necessarily damned."

Is it possible that the preaching of such doctrines should touch people's hearts, strike their imaginations, and attract from the worst quarters of London, from the dockyards of Liverpool, from the agricultural population of Wales, the 3,000 or 4,000 converts who arrive every year on the borders of the Salt-Lake City? It is quite impossible. It is not true, as certain authors have asserted, that the novelty of these doctrines acts powerfully on their imaginations. It might be possible if these prophets were fanatics ; but theology is the last thing that troubles them. They are simply men who find themselves in a state of utter destitution, and want to get out of it. If Brigham Young's missionaries had nothing more to

offer them than a continuation in another world (with a God who is like themselves) of an existence as miserable as that which has fallen to their lot here, do you imagine they would accept the Mormon teaching with such eagerness? Is it not more likely they would at once turn their backs on the missionaries?

But these men tell them more than this. After having promised them, as all religions do, eternal felicity in a future state, they offer them what no other religion does, the most brilliant horizon even in this lower world. On the single condition of moderate work they guarantee to them the enjoyment of all the good things to which the heart of man can aspire, which chance has only granted to the elect, and which has been so obstinately refused to them hitherto.

Look at this stranger who has just crossed the threshold of a humble home—blessed be the day when he first sets foot in the house! After having briefly recapitulated the chief articles of the Mormon faith, he draws a glowing picture of their daily life: of the advantages, the marvellous profits to be derived from their speculations: he lifts, in fact, the dark curtain which has hitherto hung over his auditors' sad lives, puts before them an enchanting vision of future joys, awakens all their covetousness, promises to satisfy them to the utmost, points out to them, beyond the seas, the New Jordan, the silver lakes of the Bible, the hills of the New Jerusalem, the Promised Land, where they will find what they have constantly endeavoured to attain to, but in vain—happiness!

"Here," he exclaims, "you are nothing but slaves—slaves of misery, if not of a master. In the Valley of the Saints, independence awaits you; independence and ease, at any rate—perhaps riches. No more servile subjection; no more privations; no more cares. In this world, as in the next, your future is assured." Then addressing himself to the young men among his audience with that sinister smile peculiar to the Prophet and his followers, he speaks of the delights of the harem, and of the beauty of the young girls of Deseret, promising them as many wives as they please—developing, in fact, the whole theory of plurality. "Compare the state you are now in with what you may be," he exclaims, in conclusion, "and choose!"

How are these poor fellows to resist such brilliant promises, unless they should be kept back by strong Christian convictions, which they have not got? Besides, no sooner have they given in their adhesion, than Brigham Young's bankers at once advance to them the money necessary for their voyage. At New York a pass is given to them, and letters for the whole of their journey; while, unlike the majority of other emigrants, they are sure to find help and protection at the different stations marked in their itinerary.

Here I must again insist on this important point, which I hope the preceding lines will have abundantly proved, and which is confirmed by the most impartial and trustworthy evidence, namely, the fact that the proselytes who are brought into Young's sheepfold are not (with one or two very rare exceptions) attracted to it by a spirit of fanaticism, by a thirst for truth, by one of those extraordinary ecstasies or scruples which sometimes trouble the souls of men;—but simply and entirely by worldly motives, and from the very natural desire of bettering their condition in life. On this ground they are not to be distinguished from other emigrants. No religious element has any share in their conversion.

But let us follow these neophytes in their new country. Here they are arrived. The bishops and elders procure work for the strong ones, help for the sick, food for all; in fact, provide for their wants altogether until lands can be assigned to them for cultivation. Young then advances money to them to build their houses—bricks or adobes (bricks dried in the sun), boards, and tools. The value of the land and the objects furnished to the emigrants are calculated in dollars and inscribed in the creditors' books. The payment is made by instalments, to which is added the tithe, which is a tenth of the gross rental of the farm, and which is levied for the wants of the Church.

It would be too long to enter into a detail of the minute arrangements by which Young thus becomes the creditor of the whole community. It is enough to say that very few, if any, of the Mormons, have arrived or can ever arrive at clearing off their debts. They gain a livelihood by dint of working; they may even become tolerably well off, which has now become more and more rare; but it is extremely difficult to save; and

next to impossible to become rich. The rarity of specie and the (almost) impossibility of procuring ready money in the United States, causes a fresh difficulty, and adds to the financial embarrassments which form the normal condition of this society. Until two years ago, that is, before the completion of the railroad, Utah was an actual prison, for there were no means of getting away from it: and so it still continues, although in a minor degree. To leave Utah, the saints must pay their debts; to pay them they must sell their farms; to sell them they must find buyers with ready money, and with United States money besides. Now, there is only one man in Utah who is in that position, and that is Brigham Young. But Brigham Young is precisely the man most interested in not facilitating the sales. The great secret of his political and religious power consists (in a large measure, although not entirely, as I shall presently show) in the nature of his financial relations with the majority of the Mormons, who are all, more or less, his debtors. Thus we see that the missionaries who promised independence to the emigrants, lied. The Mormons not only live in utter subjection to Young, but are, in fact, his prisoners. But, strange to say, the emigrant, instead of independence, has found one thing which he wanted in Europe when he embraced the religion of the saints, and that is, Faith! Yes, this unbeliever of yesterday, not only in the old religions, but in the new, has become to-day the staunchest of disciples—he believes firmly, blindly, in the Prophet, Brigham Young. How account for this strange yet incontestable fact? which no one has yet been able to explain to me, but which everybody confirms, and which besides bears the evidence of truth on the very face of things; for, to convince yourself, you have only to look around you, or to talk for five minutes with the first man you meet in the streets of the New Jerusalem! Let us strive to elucidate this obscure but vital point; for if one could arrive at throwing some light upon it, one would have got the key of the enigma and understand Mormonism.

To simplify it, I will set aside for the moment the influence which the railroad, which has only been opened for two years, exercises and will still further exercise on this strange community. I will not dwell either on the still more recent discovery of the silver mines in the Wahsatch mountains, and the

great influx of searchers after the precious metals which was its first result. Let us confine ourselves to the Mormon sect, such as it existed at the beginning of 1869.

At that time Brigham Young was in the zenith of his power. One may affirm, without exaggeration, that in the normal condition of affairs, the Prophet, as long as he is Brigham Young, is the absolute master of the bodies and souls of his believers. This society, in fact, only admits believers : he who begins to doubt is instantly put outside the pale of the law. His goods are confiscated, he is himself obliged to fly ; and as flight is impossible, he is compelled to submit, to repent and do penance, and to begin life again, only without farm, or tools or cattle, which have already been confiscated. And if it be a question of real, active, dangerous heresy, why such men simply *disappear*. Sometimes their remains are found ; sometimes not. The few gentiles who are allowed to live here are only tolerated ; but their existence is not an enviable one. Woe be to them if they dare to make love to a Mormon girl ! The offender would be simply torn in pieces. This has been done more than once. Add to all these things the difficulty of getting here and the impossibility of leaving the city without the consent of the Prophet, and you will allow that the isolation is complete.

I have said that Brigham Young is master of the souls and bodies of his sect. This is to be taken literally. As for souls, he disposes of their wills and consciences, and even of their thoughts ; for he gives them a certain direction and takes care it shall be maintained. Besides, who dares to think for himself in Utah ? They believe, they work, but they do not think. The tabernacle on Sundays, the shop or the farm during the week, the theatre and the harem every night—that is enough. There is no time left for reflection, everything is done by inspiration. God inspires, and the person who is inspired is Brigham Young. In every kind of business, trouble, difficulty, or doubt, Brigham Young is the referee. Sometimes he remains silent ; that is, when he has received no inspiration ; but if he speaks, they are convinced that they have heard the voice of God. Brigham is not an incarnate god, but he acts as such. That is why I say that he disposes of the souls of men.

Now for their bodies. He concentrates in his own hands

the strings of all their material interests. He works the whole territory, and the territory of Utah is about as large as half France. He works likewise the physical powers and the mental faculties of two hundred thousand persons. Since the days of Pharaoh, has the world ever seen a similar monopoly? He has in consequence the reputation of being the richest man in the United States. People say he has a fortune of upwards of twelve millions of dollars. He rules the markets; he fixes the prices of food; he makes the roads and exacts enormous tolls. After having created all these different industries he works them all for his own benefit. With his armed force, his militia, perfectly well exercised and equipped, his telegraph, which he has carried to every point of the territory of Utah (the whole of which, saving Corinne, is Mormon), he is master of the position; he exacts unlimited obedience and submission from his own followers, and makes himself feared by the opposition, which as yet is very weak, while the Central Government of Washington thinks it safer to temporize with him for the present. Besides all this, till two years ago, he had the advantage of being geographically inaccessible. Add to this, a prompt and summary execution of justice, in part occult—always surrounded with a semi-religious prestige, but against which, until regular judicial authorities were established in Salt-Lake City, there was no appeal, and you have a very fair picture of the unheard-of powers of this one man. Is it too much to affirm that he disposes of the bodies of men? But there is still another view of the question.

Brigham Young never had the reputation of a saint, in the habitual sense of the word; but none of his friends or confidants foresaw, that, under pretence of having received orders directly emanating from the Divinity, he would dare to impose on the Mormons the doctrine and practice of polygamy.

One night (in 1852) he had a revelation which, in spite of his prestige, which was already great, threw trouble and consternation into the minds of his docile followers. He affirmed that God had inspired him with a determination to return to the patriarchal life and have a plurality of wives. In order to stifle any opposition, he summoned all the delegates who represented the different Utah settlements, that is, about two thousand elders, and produced a pretended revelation which Joe

Smith had received a year before his death. Under the title of "*Revelation on Celestial Marriages*," the historian, George Smith, has published this curious document in his "*Answers to Questions*," which I have quoted above. The widow and children of poor Joe declare that this document is entirely apocryphal. They took care to draw it up in the style of the Old Testament. Jehovah has not progressed with the times. He still speaks the language of Abraham, but what He says is new. The following is an analysis of the principal parts of this important document :—

"If a man marries a woman without the intervention of the Lord's anointed, he and she become angels in paradise, will become the servants of the blessed, and remain celibates *in æternum*; but those who marry according to the law will be gods! Joe Smith is declared a descendant of Abraham. God gave His commands to Abraham, and Sarah gave him Hagar. Why? Because it was the law. Hagar was the mother of numerous descendants. Did Abraham sin? No. Yet Abraham had concubines who engendered children. David, again, had both wives and concubines, and he did well, for they were given to him by Nathan and the other prophets, who had the power of bestowing wives on the faithful. David only sinned in marrying the wife of Uriah. Solomon and Moses had also several wives. The woman whose husband has committed adultery may marry another man, provided she herself be virtuous. On this point God reserves to Himself the right of revealing His will to the prophet, Joe, who then will have the power of blessing and authorising the marriage. If Joe remains faithful to the law, God will give him, in this world, houses, fields, women and children, and an eternal crown hereafter. The priest who has espoused a virgin may, if he will, espouse a second if the first will consent; nay, if he likes to marry ten, in virtue of this law, he may do so without committing adultery. If one of these wives gives herself to another man, she is an adulteress, and ought to be destroyed; for she and her companions have been given to the priest to multiply the human race."

With the help of this document Brigham Young obtained the consent of the Assembly. It adopted the principle of polygamy, which was declared to be a duty and a privilege, which

privilege could not be exercised, however, without a special command of God. It results from this pretended revelation made to Joe Smith, that God gives or refuses the privilege by the medium of His Prophet, now Brigham Young, who, before giving his decision, examines into the merits of the case, or has it examined by his bishops. On the conduct of the young woman or the young man before marriage, and on other questions of the same nature, Brigham, as supreme arbiter, pronounces the sentence, by the special order and in the name of God. And it is God who in each case makes known His will to the Prophet.

To sum up all I have said : by the monopoly the Prophet exercises on the food, the goods, and the products of the soil, as well as on the labour of the inhabitants, he acquires the right of meddling in the most intimate family relations. Material prosperity, domestic peace, and the reputation of each member of a family depend solely on his good pleasure. I do not wish to insinuate that Young abuses the enormous powers the law gives him, which law is of his own making. I put aside the question of individuals. The system is monstrous, and without a parallel in the history of the human race.

The higher a man advances in the ranks of the hierarchy, the more his duty compels him to use the privilege of plurality, Brigham Young, at this moment, possesses sixteen wives. without counting sixteen others, who are what is called *sealed*. Some of these latter live with him in a conjugal fashion, but the greater part are treated as widows or old maids, who, by this means, hope to become, in a future state, what they are not here below—the real wives of the Prophet. George Smith, the historian, has five wives ; the other apostles content themselves with four. None have less than three.

It is an understood thing that no one is allowed to marry more wives than he can maintain ; but, in reality, the wives very often maintain their husbands by their work. This is especially the case with the poor. If a man has two wives, each occupies a separate apartment, and rarely in the same house. Hence the farms are almost always composed of two or three separate buildings. The woman plies her trade, provides for her own wants, and, to attract the husband, employs her savings in giving him a little feast from time to time. The

actual wives of the Prophet (not the *sealed* ones) occupy separate apartments in the *Beehive*, as his house is called. They are all supposed to gain their own living by some species of labour, they dine at the same table, and are placed under a strictly bureaucratic administration. One of Young's sons-in-law, who is at the same time his secretary, the little hunchback who received me in the Prophet's parlour, is intrusted with the supervision of this department, and acquits himself of his delicate functions with great order and impartiality, save for the exceptional favours which the caprice of his master sometimes imposes on him.

Now, what is the meaning of *sealing*? What is a "sealed" woman? I had neither the time nor the opportunity, nor, I own, the inclination to undertake a course of Mormon theology, or to verify the confused, contradictory, and probably exaggerated information contained in the books and papers which treat on this subject. It appears that a woman may be *sealed* to her husband for this life and the next. A woman may thus marry a dead man. It is even permitted, although I do not know if it has ever been done, for a woman to be sealed to two living husbands, one for this life, and the other for paradise, but always with the consent and intervention of the Prophet or the bishops. In a word, it is a system of ignorance and credulity worked in favour of human lust, under the pretended invocation of God. Let us turn away from so sad an exhibition.

Children swarm in the Salt-Lake City. You tumble over them in every direction. It is, in fact, one of the characteristic traits of this town and of all the Mormon settlements. They are well fed, decently dressed, and are all sent to school. But the greater portion of those I saw are delicate and even miserable-looking. Domestic authority, like all others, is merged in that of the Prophet. The parents hardly know the number and names of their children. The President has forty-eight, without counting those that have died. His last baby is five months old. One day he was walking in the street, and a quarrel between two boys attracted his attention. He intervened by applying his cane rather sharply on one of the blusterers. Having vented his wrath, he turned round to the boy he had caned, and said, "Pray whose son are you?"

and the child answered, blubbering, "I am President Young's boy!" In truth, it was one of the forty-eight.

Look at it which way you will, polygamy bears within it the seeds of destruction: for the family first of all, and for society afterwards. But its first victims are the women themselves. All those I have seen have a sad, timid look. In their homes they have not the place due to a wife. The men avoid speaking of them, and never allow them, if they can help it, to appear before strangers. One would fancy they were ashamed of them, or rather of themselves. The wives of an Arab or a Turk have never known the higher sphere which Christianity has conquered for woman. But these poor things have fallen from the place they once held: they feel themselves degraded, and degradation is read on all those melancholy and faded countenances.

Brigham enjoys more than royal honours, inasmuch as he is worshipped, if not adored as a divinity. A short time before my arrival he had completed his seventieth year. On this occasion he received the fulsome compliments of his *Beehive*, and of his apostles, bishops, and elders. One of them, while haranguing him, gave him the title of sovereign. "You will live," he said, "to see the day when the kings of the earth will come to seek your counsel." The official journals eagerly published this allocution.

On Sunday Brigham preaches sometimes in his tabernacle. I did not hear him; but according to the unanimous testimony of his hearers, these sermons are a mixture of incoherent quotations from the Bible, denunciations of persons or hateful insinuations, vulgar personalities, and unctuous or commonplace phrases. His language is coarse, sometimes injurious, and always stamped by the most profound ignorance. He has not a shadow of natural eloquence. For a long time the Prophet has chosen polygamy as the subject of his homilies, so as to answer thus indirectly the attacks of the American press which in this is the faithful echo of public opinion in the United States.

As he pretends to tolerate every form of religion, he opens the tabernacle occasionally to preachers of other sects. An Anglican clergyman, on one occasion, availed himself of this permission, and, putting on a surplice, addressed the con-

gregation. After him, Brigham, wrapped in a bed sheet, got into the pulpit amidst shouts of laughter from the audience, and delivered a comic speech, which was a coarse parody of the sermon they had just heard.¹

In one word, it is absolutism carried to its utmost limits and personified by the head of the religion. On the part of the sectarians, the most blind faith in the person of the Prophet. No divine worship, for the short Sunday sermons and a few occasional hymns sung in the tabernacle do not deserve the name. In general, speaking of the masses, no religious feeling or sentiment whatever; or rather, the whole of their religious sentiments are concentrated in a fanatical worship of Brigham Young. Work and faith are proclaimed the governing principles of the sect: work, manual and forced, and pushed to an extreme; for besides earning their bread, they have to pay their debts to the President (this excessive labour explains the marvellous and rapid progress of the colony). A monopoly which embraces everything and extends to everything, exercised by the Prophet only. The intervention of the latter, either personally or through the medium of his bishops, in the most intimate family relations and in the most private affairs, whether of business or other matters: in all difficult and critical moments, recourse only to one man, the oracle, Brigham Young: and to sum up all, polygamy, declared a duty and a privilege, and practised for twenty years—such is the essence of Mormonism.

"Labour and Faith"—that is their device—those are the two words which are for ever in Brigham Young's mouth, and which, in fact, explain these strange phenomena. But what secret motives caused the birth of this faith in the hearts of those who never possessed anything of the sort at the time they embraced these new doctrines? How has this transformation been effected? How does it happen that men, who, when they left their native land, believed in nothing, were hardly arrived in the Valley of the Saints before they began to believe in everything—that is, everything which it pleases Brigham Young to make them believe? The Mormons tell you "It's inspiration." But this is no explanation. That which the gentiles give you is not more satisfactory. I would

¹ I found this fact mentioned in some book or paper. I forget where. But it was confirmed to me on the spot by credible witnesses.

not, however, let myself be discouraged. I went on questioning, thinking, and watching, and the following are the conclusions at which I at last arrived :—

The beginnings of Mormonism are like those of any other sect. With some people, spiritual needs, the thirst for more supernatural help, the wish to draw nearer to God, which lies at the bottom of every human heart from the highest to the lowest, from time to time wake up in a sudden and unexpected manner. The rarer these revivals are, the more violent they seem, like a mill-dam which has been long closed and suddenly opened. The waters at first rush out furiously; but when they have had their flow, they resume their usual calm course. This is the history of the famous religious *revivals*. This is also the origin of the greater part of the sects, especially in America, where everyone is so occupied with material interests that they have few moments to give to meditation or prayer. Moral wants, long neglected, the voice of conscience so long stifled, repentance, even despair, suddenly take possession of souls. They ask for consolations and accept them from the first comer. At such moments men always turn up, ready to put themselves at the head of the movement, to direct, master, and, if possible, work it for their own ends. These are sometimes hypocrites, often fanatics, or a mixture of the two. But the hypocrite needs the light of faith; the fanatic the light of reason. Bad passions, cupidity, and sensuality mingle in the business. What wonder then that they merge into the absurd and the monstrous? In imitation of other sects, it is under these conditions that Mormonism was born. The first founders of the sect, those who influenced Joe Smith (who was looked upon as a rogue by one party and a saint by the other,) were certainly in earnest: they were genuine fanatics. They were, besides, Americans. They formed the moral centre which afterwards received the European emigrants. The great migration towards the Salt Lake made an epoch in the history of the sect. It consolidated the prestige and authority of the modern Moses. Amidst a thousand dangers, and fearful privations, but under the guidance of this wonderful man, they arrived at last, and found the spot exactly as God in His vision had (it was asserted) revealed it to His elect. Certainly Brigham Young must be a supernatural being. If he be not a god, he

is very near being one. And after all, what is God? The Mormons do not trouble their heads with such inquiries; and besides, their Prophet has told them that man is the equal of God. Certainly no one is so more than Young. It is evident—it is clear—everybody thinks, repeats, and believes it. Woe to him who allows himself to doubt!

Thus public opinion formed itself in the Valley of the Saints, and the atmosphere thus breathed was quickly imparted to the new comers. How could it be otherwise? The European emigrant had no means of defence. He was poor, ignorant, and debased; and in declaring himself a Mormon, he had already renounced the religion in which he was born. It is not in the dogmas of a faith he had denied that he could seek for arguments against the errors of the sect he had just embraced. More than this, he has burnt his ships. Henceforth he belongs, body and soul, to the President. He does, then, like everyone else. He shuts his eyes and becomes a believer, that is, a believer in Brigham Young. The Welshwomen, who form the great majority of the immigrants of their sex, are, they say, peculiarly ignorant and superstitious. They push their husbands in this direction and keep them up to it. Besides, when once you have fairly embarked in this path, how in the world can you get out of it, seeing that there is no other? The Prophet has always his eyes open. He watches over the purity of faith of his followers: and his avenging angels, the Danites, are always at hand to punish the apostates. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance or the influence of the set in which you live: and the more exclusive such a set becomes, the more powerful it is. Doctors belonging to lunatic asylums have assured me that if they were to be shut up in their madhouse beyond a certain time they would become mad themselves. Duelling, though perfectly explicable as an ordeal or as a combat between individuals, is, in the modern sense, everything that is most absurd. He who refuses a challenge is dishonoured. The man who is insulted is dishonoured too: but if after the insult he receives a ball or a sword-stroke from the hands of his insulter, then he is considered all right. It is madness; but except the present generation in England, who have broken through the prejudice and freed themselves from its tyranny, it is looked upon, in the code of honour of other

nations, as an article of faith, although it is true, varying according to different ranks and positions in life. In Germany, for instance, it is unknown among the people: the middle classes set little store by it; but it is ingrained in the nobility, in the army, in the universities—that is, in the classes and corporations which are looked upon as privileged. He who is or believes himself to be one of this privileged set, is, by that very fact, separated from the rest of his fellow-citizens;—become one of such or such a coterie where they devote themselves to literature, painting, or music. You will find in one set, for example, the worship of modern music. Dare to express the least doubt on the subject, or the smallest scruple, and you are at once judged, condemned, and executed—that is, excluded. If you really hold to keeping your place in the temple, you must be converted, you must bow down to the divinity they have chosen, and adore in your turn; which you do perhaps, at first, with a secret self-reproach at your hypocrisy. But very soon, if you go on burning incense at the same altar, the grace of faith or conviction will come upon you, and the insensible influence of those around you will overpower your previous impressions: you will believe in Wagner, and if you are inclined to be enthusiastic, you will end by declaring you are ready to give your life for the Music of the Future. This is the case with the majority of men. To resist the empire of the atmosphere which you breathe, especially if this atmosphere have little or no communication with that without, it needs not only fixed principles, but a true, clear judgment, and a certain elevation of character. These qualities are rare everywhere: what wonder, then, that they are found wanting in the poor catechumens, who, deluded by the emissaries of the Prophet, annually turn their steps towards the inaccessible and hitherto hermetically-closed regions of the New Jerusalem?

It is thus alone that I can explain to myself this strange phenomenon of the sudden conversion of men without faith or morals, into believers—I will not say fervent ones, but simply and blindly devoted to the person and doctrines of the Mormon chief.

Two years ago, cases of defection were very rare. We have seen by what methods erring sheep were brought back to the

fold or disposed of altogether. Since the opening of the railroad, Anglican ministers and Presbyterians have striven, without running any serious risks, to devote themselves to their apostolic labours in the Salt-Lake City. But it has been so much lost time—in the sense that the few men who have declared themselves willing to leave the sect have shown themselves incapable of receiving any religious impressions or any moral sense. From believing Mormons and good workmen, as long as they were kept under the iron rule of Brigham Young, they became, when emancipated, frank atheists and incorrigible scamps. This fact, which has been proved over and over again, has its meaning. It is a counterproof of the utter folly of the doctrine of the saints. In their teaching, the moral elements are entirely wanting. Brute force does everything. Remove the restraint, and you have beings fallen to the very lowest scale of human degradation.

The influence of the railroad (and in consequence of the discovery of the silver mines, and the influx of miners in the last few months) has already made itself felt in various ways. In the first place, the Reign of Terror, under which the few gentiles groaned who had the courage or the resignation to settle in the Valley of the Saints, has entirely disappeared. From helots, the Christians are become independent. They boast of their strength, and carry their heads high. Very soon they will become a power. The little town of Corinne, founded a few years ago by the gentiles, about sixty miles north-west of the Salt-Lake City, is become a hot-bed of opposition, where the dissentients, headed by the sons of Joe Smith, the personal enemies of Brigham Young, and all those who wish to shake off the yoke of the President, and at the same time to evade by flight their pecuniary obligations, meet together to concoct measures of resistance. Even in the heart of the community the situation is much modified. Emigrants who are not Mormons have arrived, brought in capital, opened stores, and are extending their operations every day. Everything, in fact, is changed. There is no longer a talk of sudden sentences and secret executions. No more bodies of apostate Mormons; no more avenging angels! The young girls themselves have taken up an attitude of rebellion. They openly exclaim against the practice of plurality, and swear mutually never to accept poly-

gamist husbands. Even the Beehive has been invaded by a spirit of insubordination. The eldest son has told his father that he does not consider the children by ulterior marriages legitimate.

Mormonism is evidently on the eve of a crisis. Brigham Young seems to have a presentiment of the fact, and in spite of his great age, they say that he seriously entertains the idea of a second exodus, either towards the deserts of Arizona, or towards one of the islands of the South Seas.

At Washington they are still hesitating to tackle the Mormon question ; but public opinion exacts more and more the active and energetic intervention of the Central Government. The material obstacles which formerly existed have now disappeared. Nothing need prevent President Grant's sending a body of troops by the railroad, and putting an end to a state of things which the world declares to be incompatible with existing laws and with the habits and feelings of the nineteenth century. To this, the White House replies, that Mormonism, deprived of all real vitality, is condemned to a speedy decay : that it will disappear with Brigham Young, who is already an old man—that it would therefore be impolitic to hasten its dissolution, and that it would be better to let it die a natural death. Such are the present dispositions of the Central Government. But such is not the opinion of the masses ; and everything seems to indicate that, yielding at last to the force of an ever-increasing pressure from without, General Grant will end by bringing Brigham Young to trial, and resorting to military intervention, in case, which is not very probable, the Prophet should appeal to his militia force to maintain his rights. What will be the future, then, of this great community ? Will it disappear with its chief ? I find everyone around me convinced of the fact. And certainly, if events were always carried to a logical conclusion, there would be no doubt about it. Let us suppose, then, that the fact of their dissolution were accomplished. What would be the moral and social position of the remains of this great body, which would then have lost all its vitality ? It would be a society without faith or law : without faith, because their belief is now centred in one object alone—in the person of Brigham Young, who will have ceased to exist—without law, for not only it originated with him, but he alone

can enforce its observance. This sect then, founded on the moral prestige, and material, pitiless power of one man, what will become of it when this man has disappeared? No one could replace him, even if it were possible to create a second Brigham Young, or a man of the same stamp, which is highly problematical. Mormonism must expire with its Prophet. No sort of resurrection of the sect in its present form would be possible. The force of circumstances, the establishment of the railroad, the discovery of silver mines, the influx of American citizens, the intervention of the Central Government, which must take place sooner or later, to say nothing of the indignation of public opinion—all these things would prove insuperable obstacles to its resuscitation. Then the peaceable Valley of the Saints might become the scene of a fearful internecine struggle, and especially between the children of the first wife and those of the second, third, or fourth. Family ties, vitiated in their very essence by the effects of polygamy, will be violently torn asunder : the rights and property of each will be called in question. It will not only be a fearful civil war, but positive anarchy and chaos !

I do not affirm that all this will happen ; but certainly it would be the natural consequence, the logical conclusion, of the sudden and violent dissolution of the state founded by Brigham Young. That is what they are afraid of at Washington. At any rate, these are the principal considerations brought forward by those who are against the intervention of the Central Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

CORINNE.—FROM THE 7th TO THE 8th JUNE.

Corinne, the type of a Cosmopolitan Town.—A *Pow-Wow* on the Bear River.—Excursion in the Mountains.—Copenhagen.—Definition of the word *rowdy*.

THE three days in the Salt-Lake City passed quickly. Certainly, as far as the comforts of material life are concerned, there is much to be wished for; but what is more amusing than to turn over the pages of a new book full of original information and fresh thoughts, to try and discover its secret sense, which is not always easy, and to be seconded in the task by educated persons full of sympathy in the work and only too anxious to satisfy your curiosity?

The commandant of Fort Douglas, the chief-justice, and the judges themselves, were good-natured enough to place themselves at my disposal and to answer the thousand questions I addressed to them. In the evening, seated in the veranda of the hotel, I am sure very soon to see the doctor arrive. He rolls his arm-chair close to mine, stretches out his limbs, seeks for, and at last finds, a comfortable position, according to the taste of his country, and then begins to talk—taking up the thread of his tale of the morning exactly where he left it off,—and telling me one story after the other, now ludicrous, now touching, always full of thrilling interest, and I fondly hope, though I dare not affirm it, with a certain foundation of truth running through the whole.

Sometimes, in the bright moonlight we walked in the paths which led by the side of the river. But as we were

continually squashing great toads at every step, who thought they had as much right to walk there as we had, we were obliged at last to content ourselves with the raised platform of the veranda. Towards nine o'clock the numerous but silent company which gathers there after supper, retires. Only Old Townsend remains. This new species of Stylites, seated as in the morning, up at the end of the terrace, in the same place and the same position, is evidently absorbed in profound meditation. His black shadow, which reminds one of an acrobat hung from his trapezium head downwards, stands out sharply against the curtain of green foliage in the silver light of the full moon.

The good-natured head of the Ogden Station had promised to come and fetch me, and he kept his word. In his company I left the Mormon capital to take once more the line of the Pacific Railway. And here we are at Corinne, the sworn enemy of the New Jerusalem. From Rome to Carthage in three hours! All the Utah territory belongs to the saints. Corinne alone, this thorn in the flesh of Mormonism, has dared to hold its own, in spite of Brigham Young, and to act as a city of refuge to those apostates from the faith of the Prophet who have been fortunate enough to escape the avenging sword of the Danites. This was a perilous and even a desperate task up to two years ago; but now it is easy enough, since the railroad has brought them within reach and under the protection of Washington.

Two notables awaited me at the station. They were Jews from the banks of the Rhine, the one the proprietor of the best hotel in Corinne, the other his assistant. This last unites the functions of butcher, of shopman—for the master keeps a store for every kind of article,—of head-waiter, and of driver of an omnibus. More than this, he aspires to the fair hand of the master's daughter. All this was duly explained to me whilst I was hoisted up in the *char-à-banc*, which, driven by the young man in question, runs between the station and the town. We came to a full stop before the "Hotel of the Metropolis," a wretched plank hut, situated in Main Street, the great and only street of Corinne; at least, the only one which deserves the name. The house was full; the great hall, which serves as a shop and a store, was crammed with buyers.

Alongside, in the kitchen, the mistress of the house, still handsome and young, with the help of her daughter was busy preparing the supper. The careful toilet of the ladies strikes me: I admire especially the colossal dimensions of their chignons.

Before the door of the house all the important personages of the place are gathered together—the lawyers, the legal authorities, the larger store-keepers, &c. The greater part of the gentlemen understand and speak German. They are waiting, like me, for the signal for supper, and in the meantime cross-question me *de omni re scibili*, and offer me their services.

Some Indians of the Soshone tribe have pitched their tents in a camp on the borders of the Bear River not far from the town. To-morrow the chiefs hold a *pow-wow*. They propose to take me there. On the morrow also, the smart world of Corinne is going to make a party to the mountains and invite me to join them. It is impossible to be in greater luck; for in this country *pow-wow* and picnics are rare.

One gentleman, the editor of one of the two newspapers of the place, presents me with the last evening edition, in which I read several articles of which I have the honour to be the subject. It is a summary of my "Sayings and Doings in the Salt-Lake City," the whole, of course, strongly impregnated with the anti-Mormon spirit of the people of Corinne. I exclaim against these indiscretions, which I attribute in my own mind to my friend the doctor; or rather, I hotly deny the speeches put into my mouth, which are mostly pure invention. But they hasten to reassure me. "At Corinne," exclaims the newspaper-writer with a kind of proud satisfaction, "you have nothing to fear from the ayenging angels of the Prophet. You are a public man. You belong to the public. Allow me to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of our readers."

The gong puts a stop to our *tertulia*. "Madame" gives us an excellent supper. It is true, one is not difficult to please after having come out of the clutches of the venerable Townsend;—and for dessert, some wild strawberries, which taste of the virgin forest from whence they have been culled. The meal does not last ten minutes. Everyone seemed tired to death, and only anxious to get to bed. My amiable host has reserved his best room for me. It is exactly six feet square.

A thin boarding separates me from my neighbours--on one side, a Mexican couple ; on the other, a great China merchant and his suite. The young Mexican sings, and his wife accompanies him on a guitar. Some notes are certainly rather false ; but let us not be too particular. Only, how to get any sleep ? My other neighbour poisons me with foetid exhalations. "John," says my landlord ("John" is the generic name of all the children of the Celestial Empire), "John smells horribly, like all his countrymen. It is an odour *sui generis* ; but for you, it is a good opportunity of preparing yourself for your voyage to China."

Corinne has only existed for four years. Sprung out of the earth as by enchantment, this town now contains upwards of two thousand inhabitants, and is every day increasing in importance. It is a victualling centre for the advanced posts of the colonists in Idaho and Montana. A coach runs twice a week from hence to Virginia City and Helena, which are situated at 350 and 500 miles towards the north. Notwithstanding the serious dangers and terrible fatigue of these journeys, these coaches or *diligences* are always full of passengers. Various articles of consumption and dry goods of all sorts are sent in waggons. The so-called "high road" is but a rough track in the soil left by the wheels of previous vehicles.

The streets of Corinne are full of white men armed to the teeth, miserable-looking Indians dressed in the ragged shirts and trousers furnished by the Central Government, and yellow Chinese with a business-like air and hard intelligent faces. No town in the Far West gave me so good an idea as this little place of what is meant by *border-life*, i.e., the struggle between civilization and savage men and things. Nowhere is the contrast more striking between the marvellous, restless, abrupt energy of the whites, the methodical quiet, business-like habits of the Chinese, and the incorrigible idleness and indifference of the redskins. In his exterior, manners, and dress the American of the frontiers is unbuttoned, coarse, and rough to the last degree ; the Chinese, careful, polished, and respectable in appearance ; the Indian, the very type of misery and degradation.

All commercial business is centred in Main Street. The

houses on both sides are nothing but boarded huts. I have seen some with only canvas partitions. The smartest are distinguished by a façade of plates of wood much higher than the roof, which gives to these houses the appearance of awkwardly made drop-scenes in a theatre. The pavement is made of stages of wood varying in height according to the taste of the proprietor. As, however, they are generally full of holes, I cannot say that they very much assist the circulation. The lanes alongside of the huts, which are generally the resort of Chinese women of bad character, lead into the desert, which begins at the very doors of the last houses. To the south of the town I saw some slight attempt at cultivation and some feeble beginnings of gardens. As for the rest, there is not a tree. It is desert and nothing but desert, saving a few oases, some Mormon establishments at the foot of the rocks or perched midway. Situated some miles to the north of the Salt Lake, and at a less distance from the Bear River and the Wahsatch mountains, which here are bare and uniform in shape, Corinne is certainly one of the least pretty or attractive places I have ever seen, unless perhaps to those who are come to seek their fortunes. To the west, a small Presbyterian church has been built; another is building, which I believe is to be Episcopalian. As yet, the Catholics have neither church nor priests. The white population is a mixture of all nations. The Germans are the most numerous; but there are also a good many Irish. The descendants of the Yankees from Pennsylvania, with the Germans, form the higher class; but taken altogether, the look of the town is more cosmopolitan than American.

Three gentlemen have just come to fetch me in a light open *char-à-banc*, which has been hired for I don't know how many dollars. We first turn our steps towards the Indian camp. It is pitched on the banks of the Bear River. The large number of tents promises a good gathering; in fact, several chiefs accompanied by their warriors, with their women and children, have arrived in the last few days, and others are hourly expected. All belong to the once powerful tribe of the Soshones, now degraded and miserable. They are going to discuss their grievances, draw up their complaints, and divide the

annual gifts of the President of the United States. At the extremities of the camp the younger men are placed as sentinels, women and little boys are watching their wild ponies (moustangs), which, scattered over the sandy plain, are striving to satisfy their hunger with sage bushes. Although miserably thin, these little horses are of a good breed. Some of them even are very handsome, and all are excessively hardy and can bear any amount of fatigue. They led us to the tent of the principal chief, where fourteen warriors, squatted on their heels in a circle, were debating the questions at issue. The chief alone rose to salute us, the others remained sitting, without betraying the smallest feeling of interest or curiosity. The president of the assembly made me sit by his side, and the discussion, which had been momentarily interrupted, was resumed. The orators spoke slowly, with deep sonorous voices; sometimes they became animated, but a look of the chief's instantly calmed their excitement. A great pipe, the famous calumet so often mentioned in Cooper's novels, never ceased passing from mouth to mouth. At the first turn, it was not without a secret fear that I saw it drawing near to me, but either from delicacy or from understanding my feeling, my right-hand neighbour obligingly passed it over my head to the savage on my left. Shall I own it? It was this great pipe which impressed me most. It reminded me of the most exciting passages in the American novels, those brilliant portraits of heroes whose ferocity was atoned for by acts of chivalry worthy of the Crusaders, and whose doughty deeds have become legends which still survive in the traditions of the tribes, without, alas! inspiring their degenerate sons to follow their example. I examined the countenances of these men one by one. Disease, brandy, and misery have degraded and debased features which in a few of them still bore the stamp of the manly savage virtues of their ancestors. During the debate, especially when the speakers became excited, I could detect here and there movements of dignity and manly pride, mingled, however, with an expression of deep and indefinable melancholy. It was only a momentary flash, like the lighting which suddenly reveals to you the ruins of a virgin forest which a tempest has destroyed. This race is indeed much to be pitied. It is condemned to perish, and must perish by slow

degrees. The instruments of its destruction are vice and disease. It has the presentiment if not the consciousness of its imminent ruin : it knows how it has sunk, and, what is worse, it equally well remembers what it has been.

“ . . . Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felici
Nella miseria ! ”

On leaving the *pow-wow*, we turned our steps towards the mountains. Brigham City, nestled at their base, surrounded by cultivated fields and flowering fruit-trees, and one of the most flourishing of the Mormon settlements is Salt-Lake City in miniature ; the same straight avenues crossing one another at right angles, the same houses peeping out of the thick foliage ; the same tabernacle and theatre, and one or two other large buildings which by their appearance of prosperity surpass the ordinary Mormon settlements. A *colonel* in the army gives us fresh strawberries and milk, after which we resume our drive. Continually ascending a gorge between great blocks of lava, carpeted here and there with tufts of grass, sage-bush and shrubs, we at last arrived in the heart of the Wahsatch mountains. Here this noble chain is much lower. Its peaked and fantastic shapes, which fascinated me so much to the east of the Salt Lake, have now become rounded and tame ; a scanty vegetation covers their sides. Further on, by a *cañon* which, though not picturesque, gives you every facility for rolling into the abyss below, our panting horses finally arrived at a high, circular valley, cultivated more or less by a colony of Danes.

Copenhagen, their capital, is a group of miserable huts. The inhabitants seemed to me equally miserable. An old man came up to offer my companions an ordinary plateful of half-ripe strawberries from his garden, for which he asked and received two dollars and a half. On my remarking upon the exorbitance of the price, the buyer made me a reply which struck me from its local character. “ At Corinne,” he said, “ far finer strawberries than these would not cost half a dollar ; but in this region vegetation is backward, and these are the first of the season ; that is why I bought them. I shall take them home to my wife, and I could scarcely offer her a present which would cost less.”

At last we come to the rendezvous—*i.e.*, a group of maple-trees mixed with a few grey poplars, which gave very little shade. A dozen ladies, in careful and even elegant toilets, about the same number of men, and fifteen or twenty children of all ages, were encamped at the foot of the trees. Each party had brought their own provisions, and formed a distinct band. Yielding to the pressing hospitality on all sides, I pass from one group to the other. After the meal, the men join in a kind of drinking-bout, but one drinks as one eats, in silence. The children alone seem really to amuse themselves, together with an Episcopal curate, a young Oxonian, fresh from Old England, of whom he is the faithful and joyous representative. He held in his arms a magnificent baby, which he fondled like a mother. It was the very type of an English baby, fat, pink and white, thoroughly jolly, and the very picture of health. I enter into conversation with the young papa, who has good manners and is well educated. How on earth can he live in a circle so different from that in which he has been brought up! That is the secret of American atmosphere.

Copenhagen, like all the Mormon establishments from the most isolated to the most important, has the advantage of a telegraph, with which Brigham Young has endowed every town and village in his dominions. One of the young gentlemen of the picnic, in coming here, had a slight fall from his horse. Whilst some of his friends were laughing at him, another rushed off to the telegraph office, and by the time we returned to Corinne we found this little misadventure reported in all the evening papers, with the sensational title of "Narrow Escape," and certain dramatic details which I need not say were purely imaginary. That is what is called "sensational news," and the young man, instead of being annoyed, was very much flattered.

During this busy day, I have considerably increased my stock of biographies. There would be enough to write a new series of Plutarch's Lives! All the adventures of these people, making allowance for exaggerations, cannot be pure invention. Some facts, told soberly and quietly, are evidently true; their pretended motives, however, may be received with caution. For instance, when a rough fellow, after having quietly told you how he despatched such and such a rival with a revolver

in the public-house or at the corner of a street, swears that he only left the neighbourhood because it was too hot, and that the climate disagreed with his health, one may be allowed to doubt his veracity. But the fact of the murder, or, as he calls it, the "accident," is probable enough.

To have certain manslaughters on your conscience, committed in full day, under the eyes of your fellow-citizens; to have escaped falling into the hands of justice by craft, audacity, or bribery; to have earned, in fact, a reputation for being "sharp," that is, to know how to cheat all the world without ever being caught in the fact—that is what constitutes a true "rowdy" in the Far West. The terror of parents, but the admired model of young men, and universally popular among the fair sex, the rowdy is not necessarily a rogue and a villain. Sometimes he is reformed up to a certain point; and as he possesses in a supreme degree the art of making himself feared, he often becomes the head man of a village, and then he grows old amidst the respect and consideration of a large number of his fellow-countrymen, of whom he has made himself the absolute tyrant.

This is the career of a good many rowdies; others less fortunate, or less clever, close their short and stormy careers hanging from the branch of a tree. These are the martyrs, the others the heroes of this species of civilization. In another sphere, with the moral sense which in them is wanting, and gifted, as they often are, with really fine qualities—courage, energy, and intellectual and physical strength—they might have become valuable members of society. Some of them, placed in a different position, would have had their names inscribed in the annals of the republic, annals which are so rich in great deeds, and so poor in great men. But such as they are, these adventurers have a reason to be; a providential mission to fulfil. To struggle with and finally conquer savage nature, certain qualities are needed which have naturally their corresponding defects. Look back, and you will see the cradles of all civilization surrounded with giants of herculean strength, ready to run every risk and to shrink from neither danger nor crime to attain their ends. The gods and heroes of ancient Greece had loose ideas enough of morals and propriety; the founders of Rome, the *adelantados* of Queen

Isabella and Charles V., the Dutch colonizers of the seventeenth century, were not remarkable for conscientious scruples, delicacy of taste, or particular refinement of manners. It is only by the peculiar temper of the times and place, so different from our days, that we can distinguish them from the *backwoodsman* and *rowdy* of the American continent.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM CORINNE TO SAN FRANCISCO.—FROM THE 8th TO THE 10th OF JUNE.

The Great American Desert.—The Silver Palace Cars.—Ascent of the Sierra Nevada.—Cape Horn.—Arrival at San Francisco.

June 8th.—We left Corinne this evening just before sunset. At the moment we plunged into the most arid part of the great American desert it was night ; but a brilliant moon, as if ironically, gave itself the trouble of lighting up the immense sheet of alkali and sand which covers this cursed land. Here and there are some black spots ; these are scanty tufts of grass ; further on, even this miserable attempt at vegetation disappears. There is not a drop of drinkable water. A special train brings it daily to the different stations along the line. At Promontory, the two halves of the Pacific Railway (the Union and the Central Railroad) have been joined together ; but in consequence of an arrangement made between the companies, Ogden has been chosen as the terminus between the two lines. On the Central line (between Ogden and the Pacific) the Pullman cars are not in use. They are very imperfectly replaced by the "Silver palace" cars, which, in spite of their pompous name, have no dressing-rooms, are badly ventilated, and in all other respects are sadly inferior to the carriage invented by the great Chicago citizen.

At Thelton, a large number of passengers left the train to take the coach, which runs regularly from hence to Idaho and to the settlements in the north of Oregon. There are few more dangerous or fatiguing journeys ; and yet these diligences are always crowded with miners and their wives and children. You

will say, *Auri sacra fames*. Yes, it is the thirst for gold which makes men brave these dangers and endure this fatigue ; but there is still another reason ; there is the instinct and the need of migration. This instinct seems innate in the American, be he white or red ; and it is caught by all those who set their foot on this continent. The American is essentially nomad. The Indian runs after a buffalo ! the white man after gold or to gain money. One and the other must live, and to live they must migrate ; even the farmer, if he gets a chance of bettering himself, leaves in a moment his farm and his home to begin afresh. Those even who do not themselves travel, pass with the greatest ease from one occupation to another. It is only another kind of locomotion. Everyone is imbued with the spirit of change—wishes to push on—to “go ahead ;” and to do this they will neither draw back from any obstacle nor be deterred by any danger. And do not fancy that an American is made of a different stuff from ourselves. He holds to his life as much as we do, and sees no fun in risking it ; but his mission is to go ahead, and he does go ahead ! He is like a doctor, who, faithful to his vocation, goes to his hospital, where cholera and typhus are raging, just as he did before, but who would very much prefer there being no epidemic.

June 9th.—At the first glimmer of dawn, one sees a change in the aspect of the country. For the last hour or two we are in the Nevada territory. An isolated rock rises two or three thousand feet above the sand. The emigrants give it the name of “The Pilot,” because it is at the mouth of the great American desert and points out to the caravans the road to the Humboldt river, where at least they can find drinkable water.

Soon after, the train slowly ascends a steep bit of ground which forms the margin of the dried-up desert we traversed during the night. We cross the *cedar defile* and come down into the Humboldt valley. This river takes its source near the cedars and flows gently towards the west. The railroad, like the caravans, of which we still see the tracks, follows it all along its course—that is, upwards of 350 miles. All day we watch its green waters running between double banks of grey willows, covered with a fine alkaline dust, which fills the whole air and

penetrates into the noses, eyes, and ears of the unhappy travellers. Everyone begins to sneeze, and some of us complain of violent headache.

Further on, the country becomes less monotonous. Beyond the rocks which back the river the eye loses itself in a sea of undulating plains which are completely barren and uncultivated. Certain peaks are seen above the horizon (appearing low only because the valley here rises to a height of five or six thousand feet) which are covered with snow during the greater part of the year. Here, again, as in the Rocky Mountains, the analogy with the Roman Campagna is striking. More to the west, the ground becomes again stony, and we are once more stifled with dust.

The intense heat and foetid atmosphere drive me from the inside of my "palace." According to my wont, I sit down on the steps of the platform and there breathe freely the fresh elastic air of the high level on which we are travelling. The chain of rocks we perceive in the distance is rich in mineral products. At Palisade Station, an immense quantity of silver ingots, forming two high walls, are waiting for embarkation on the railway trucks. A huge mass of money, piled up in the sun, in the heart of the desert! Certainly the prose of daily life and the poetry of the "Thousand and One Nights" run very close to one another in the Far West. Wherever the train stops, there is a crowd of Indians and Chinese. A few white men, going to or coming back from the mines, fill up the strange picture, which repeats itself at every station, as, between the stations, you catch glimpses of the green river, the desert plain, and the snowy peaks of the mountains. A monotonous picture, if you will! but of a severe and even grand beauty. The greater part of the travellers are of my opinion, though artists are divided on the subject.

Two or three compartments in our train are filled with regular troops of the United States army. They are bound for San Francisco, and from thence are to march rapidly on Arizona, where the Apaches have taken the war-path.

For several weeks, a regular massacre of the planters had been the order of the day. These soldiers, admirably equipped and armed, look very well. At one of the stations, a young Chinese prisoner had been intrusted to them. In passing close to him, I could not help observing his mortal pallor and the profound

despair of his countenance. A few moments later, this poor lad, either hoping to escape, or wishing to commit suicide, threw himself out of the window of the train. The engine was stopped, but nothing was found but a mutilated corpse. What struck me most was the horrible indifference with which this incident was talked of. Some of my fellow-passengers even made fun of it. I could not conceal my indignation. "At any rate he was a man!" I exclaimed. "No, no," was the reply, "he was a Chinese!" And another added, "One Chinaman less, and that's all. There are quite enough of them in the country." Such is philanthropy in California.

At one of the stations, I sent a telegram to my banker at San Francisco, asking him to be kind enough to secure me a lodging there. One or two hours later the answer was remitted to me. With the help of the railway guide my correspondent had calculated where the answer would be most likely to find me, and the head of the telegraph office, during a few minutes' stoppage at one of the stations, had been clever enough to find me out in the midst of a hundred other passengers. Gentlemen of the European telegraph, would you have been able to do as much? Or, rather, would you be disposed to follow such an example?

Towards evening we perceive to the south, not far from the line, an immense lake, or rather sea, thirty-five miles long and ten broad. Into this great sheet of water the Humboldt falls; it is its "sink." We are now in the great basin of the Californian desert. A broad belt of land runs along the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and stretches from Oregon to Arizona. This desert receives and absorbs in its burning sands the mighty rivers and innumerable watercourses from the mountains, which find no outlet, because between the Wahsatch mountains and the high Californian chain, the soil gradually lowers.¹ Notwithstanding the darkness, the crisper, keener air, and the gradual slackening of our pace tell us that we are arrived at the first spurs of the Sierra Nevada.

June 10th.—At one o'clock in the morning our train enters California. The station is called "*Verdi*," in honour of the

¹ In all about 1,100 feet. Ogden is at 4,300 feet, and Mirage Station, where the ascent of the Sierra Nevada begins, 3,199 feet above the level of the sea.

great master. One of the passengers, a Hamburg commercial traveller, is indignant; he demands with loud cries that the station shall be called "*Wagner*." It seems to me in questionable taste to christen new and growing towns, or, as in Europe, streets, with celebrated names which have no connection with the locality. The illustrious personages whom a musical engineer, a poetical architect, or a philosophical municipality have thus desired to honour, often find themselves strangely out of place, and very often become the subjects of railery or impertinent questions, such as: "How? you here?" or the like, which the passengers involuntarily ask them. There is a reaction on this head in the United States, and they are at last beginning to prefer naming their new cities after the old Indian appellations of the sites on which they are built.

The line, by short and sharp curves and quick ascents, follows the sinuosities of the mountain, plunges deeper and deeper into the forest, and at last arrives at the "Summit" Station, on the very crest of the Sierra, which is the highest point of its course.* On all sides rise up high granite peaks, the crenellated tops of this great wall; lower down, the gentle slopes are covered with magnificent trees, and here and there are rayed with bright lines; these are artificial torrents formed by the miners, for we are now actually in Eldorado. A second chain of somewhat lower mountains prevents our looking down on the great Californian plains. It is a perfect maze of hills flooded at this moment by hazy blue tints merging into tender green. It is no longer the same atmosphere as that of the interior of the continent. No more transparency, no more extraordinary supernatural light effacing all distances and destroying, as it were, the perfection of the scenery. It is the sky of Andalusia, with a blue, vapoury, hazy horizon, mingling with the purple curtain of the mountains. In spite of the name of the Sierra, there are only here and there patches of snow, forgotten in some crevice of the rocks and surrounded with a garland of flowers of every shade and hue. The train glides swiftly along the abyss or through galleries made of wooden beams tightly joined together destined to protect the line from the snow. These frail constructions, which must be very in-

* 7,007 feet above the level of the sea. The highest point of the Central Railway, Sherman, is 8,242 feet above the level of the sea.

adequate to resist a real avalanche, hide the view of the panorama at our feet ; but on the other hand, they save us from seeing the precipices into which the slightest accident might hurl us. Thus we have an enjoyment but also an emotion the less ! The lower we descend the more the scene changes. One station half-way down the Sierra remains for ever engraved in the mind of the traveller. Nothing can be more graceful and pretty than the appearance of the little town entitled "Dutch-flat." Each house is surrounded with a garden. Vines crawl over the walls of the cottages. Fruit-trees white with blossom form the fences ; a profusion of flowers scent the air ; while the streams running through the meadows give a delicious freshness to the whole. Unfortunately there are no shepherds or shepherdesses to live in this earthly Paradise. Nothing can well be less pastoral and less in accordance with the idyllic character of the site than the race of rough adventurers who dwell there.

Between Dutch-flat and Gold-run the soil is all cut in trenches and furrowed with dykes. Everyone knows what is meant by the hydraulic method. From the top of the mountains, great columns of water are brought to bear upon a mineral strata, by which huge blocks of rock, clay, and earth are detached in a few seconds from their native bed, and the auriferous deposit is conducted into what are called *flumes*, where they pick out the gold.

A little lower down, the train stopped at the station called Cape Horn. This part of the railroad passes for being the *ne plus ultra* of engineering art, and at the same time the most perilous, as one finds oneself suspended over an abyss more than 2,000 feet deep. I own, however, that this much-vaunted spot, both for its beauty and its terrors, did not come up to my expectations. In picturesqueness it does not exceed an Alpine pass, and the conformation of the ground diminishes its terrible character—the engineers of the Semmering and Brenner Railways have overcome greater difficulties. But what *is* alarming is the construction of the line, and in consequence the forced and fearful speed of the trains ; forced, in this sense, that it depends less on the will of the driver than on the weight of the train ; and that beyond a certain limit, the breaks are quite insufficient. This is a danger which as yet they have not been

able to meet ; but the engineers and drivers on these Pacific lines fulfil their duties most scrupulously, and are, in this respect, very much in advance of their brethren on the other side of the Missouri. Accidents, in consequence, are rare ; though the experts say that this is due less to the construction of the line than to the small number of trains which pass over it and the great precautions taken. But now and then bad accidents do happen. Lately there was a collision between two trains, the carriages of one of which were of unequal size, so that the smaller ones were driven into the greater. This terrible collision, which cost many lives, enriched their technical railway vocabulary with a new term. They say : “ Such and such a train has been ‘ telescoped.’ ”

The influx of travellers on the Pacific Railroad will naturally increase with time ; but until now, it is far from coming up to the expectations of the shareholders or of the Washington Government, who, in granting every kind of facility and immense concessions of territory to both companies, was mainly actuated by political considerations. They reckoned by this iron ring to tighten the bond of union between the East and the West, and to strengthen their hands against the Southern Secessionists. Will that object be some day attained ? There are many sceptics on this point ; but it is one of those questions which time alone can solve.

We are rapidly descending. The line winds through wooded banks and rushing streams ; but the devastations caused by the miners spoil the view. Here and there you come upon solitary huts inhabited by Chinese. They look out for ground abandoned by the whites : and thanks to their industry and the extreme sobriety of their race, they manage to live comfortably and even to save on the gleanings of their predecessors. We saw a good many of them at work. Seated with their feet in the water, leaning forward and busily engaged in washing the gold, they do not even turn their heads to see the train pass.

At last we emerge from the mountains. The great Californian plain—already yellow and parched by the heat of a Mexican summer, spangled here and there with magnificent oak-trees, or dotted with villages and little towns surrounded with green—was rolled out before us like a field of cloth of

gold. A transparent luminous haze floating in the air tempered the glare of the day, and threw a veil of gauze over the glowing picture. Towards the horizon, in front of us, running from north to south, was a long blueish line. That is the "middle" chain of mountains which traverses the whole length of California. Some hours later, we found ourselves amidst their gorges, which are bare at the top, but covered on the sides by every description of flowering shrub, whose lustrous leaves shone in the sunshine in spite of the thick layer of dust which dimmed their brightness. The river rushed and foamed almost under our carriage-wheels. Then we came to another plain, bounded to the west by another chain of low mountains—the "Coast Range." The last sensation of fear reserved for the passenger who has crossed the great American continent in the way I have described is while passing over a succession of frail bridges made of trestle-work, thrown over the marshes and the American river close to Sacramento city.

A little grey cloud is pointed out to us on the horizon. That is San Francisco; not the town, which is invisible; but the grey, cold fog which envelopes it during the summer months. We are, then, just at the end of our long journey. The passengers, all of a sudden, seem to be in a fever of impatience. At last, towards five o'clock in the afternoon, the train stops at a little distance from Oakland, close to the bay, and just in front of the town of San Francisco. Here the scene suddenly changes. The sun is darkened, the sky has become black and foggy, thick clouds shroud the tops of the mountains which surround the gulf. Of San Francisco itself one sees nothing save the great ships anchored in the harbour, and the houses of the lower town. It is like a curtain in a play which is just rising and showing only the feet of the actors. The air has suddenly become extremely cold, an icy wind blows from the north-west. From twenty-eight or thirty degrees of Réaumur, we have come down to three or four degrees below zero. In less than ten minutes we have passed from the dog-day heat of Mexico to the white frost of the North. One could fancy oneself at Liverpool or Glasgow in a horrid foggy day in the month of November.

From the railway carriage to the great steamer which is to take us to the other side of the gulf there is but a step. But

this step is a positive race. Everyone seizes his bag, his wife, his children, if he has any, and, without saying one word of good-bye to the persons who have shared with him the fatigues and perils of a journey from one ocean to the other, he rushes towards the foot-bridge which leads to the steamer. As Oakland is the residence of all the elegant world of San Francisco, the immense boats (real floating palaces) are always full, and sometimes it is most difficult to get a place. The intense cold does not allow of one's remaining on deck. So the huge saloon on the first floor, warmed by great stoves, is positively crammed. The arm-chairs and benches are occupied by ladies covered with furs from head to foot, and mostly dressed with a great deal of taste. The gentlemen wear "ponchos" or hugely thick winter greatcoats. The whole appearance of the company is decidedly cosmopolitan.

But here am I landed on the opposite bank of the gulf, carried at a quick trot across the sombre deserted streets, set down at last at the "*Occidental*" Hotel, and most comfortably installed in a pretty little apartment well lit, and above all, well warmed; for excepting snow, it is winter, real winter, regularly set in for the three months of June, July, and August, at one or two miles only from the great semi-tropical heat of a Mexican summer.

CHAPTER X.

*SAN FRANCISCO.—FROM THE 10th TO THE 13th OF JUNE,
AND FROM THE 22nd JUNE TO 1st JULY.*

Its Origin.—The Pioneers.—The Reign of Pikes.—The Vigilance Committee.—Commerce and Trade.—Wells & Fargo.—Growing Reaction against the Gold-diggers.—Position, Climate, and Appearance of San Francisco.—Its Inhabitants.—Its Cosmopolitan Character.—A German Home.—The Chinese Quarter.—Cruel Treatment of Chinese Emigrants.—Jesuit Colleges.—Cliff House.

AT the time of the discovery of gold the mission of Dolores was nothing but a wreck. The Franciscan fathers had founded it during the Spanish occupation,^{*} but after the separation from Mexico they abandoned it. Near the convent rose a *presidio*, that is, a little fort built by order of his Catholic Majesty for the protection of the mission. Under the Mexican government, a certain number of ragged soldiers still mounted guard there. Now and then, a cutter would furrow the solitary waters of the bay, which, like the *presidio*, bore the name of the founder of the order. Indian hunters and wild beasts haunted the forests and mountains which incircled the bay, but the neighbouring slopes were cultivated by the natives, whom the monks of St. Francis had christianized, and in a great measure, civilised likewise. In 1849, when "the Californian fever" broke out in Missouri, in New York, at Boston, and in all the great towns of the east, and that gold-diggers were first sent to this distant shore, San Francisco could not boast of more than four houses deserving the name. To-day, this young metropolis, the *Queen-City*, reckons 130,000 to 140,000 inhabitants. Its rapid growth is due to the dis-

^{*} In 1777.

covery of gold. But it is to its daily-increasing commerce, to the cultivation of the soil, to its agriculture, which, it is to be hoped, will soon replace the working of the mines, and to its industry, still in its infancy but capable of unlimited development, that it will owe its lasting and solid prosperity.

Here everything is young, nature itself is still virgin; the oldest of the houses is not twenty years old, and the most venerable inhabitant is under fifty. Among the last, the most remarkable patriarchs are the men of "early days," the *pioneers*, as they proudly call themselves, those who witnessed the birth of this golden capital; who when they arrived lived either in one of the four solitary huts before named, or slept in the open air, under the protection of the guns of the Mexican fort. These men have grey hair and whitening beards—for one lives fast in California—and are comparatively respectable. Their ranks have been thinned; many are dead and died poor; few have made their fortunes, and still fewer on going back to their own country have been able to carry off their savings. Those that I saw did not seem to me prosperous. Yet they gave up their whole lives to the worship of gold, and were the first to extract it from the bowels of the earth, or to brush it out of the sands of the *cañones*. Gold in abundance has passed through their hands; but somehow it did not stick there. These men remind one of the old lion in the fable, who has lost his teeth. Age and infirmities have tempered the brilliancy of their eyes. They bear the stamp of hardy adventurers; between brandy and exposure to the weather they have no complexions left. Nevertheless, in spite of threadbare clothes, scanty meals, and the disgust and deceptions consequent on lives which have missed their mark, they do not turn misanthropes. They have a kind of good-humoured, caustic authority, the result of experience; and enjoy a sort of dignity which keeps them up, especially in their own eyes. Are they not the first who discovered the riches of the soil? who laid the foundation and paved the way for the wonders of the future? These men have an innate consciousness of their own value, which it is hard to dispute. I made some of them tell me the history of San Francisco. It is contemporaneous history, for it only goes back twenty years, but with respect to the changes these twenty years

have witnessed they represent centuries. And to think that these men have sown the seed, and seen the tree grow and spread and finally develop into such magnificence! Certainly, it is not altogether their work—nothing like it. Still they have a right to lay claim to its origin. It was not till I had listened to these modern Romuluses that I understood the foundation of Rome; the ardent passions of the men who marked out its boundaries, who laid the first stone, watered by the blood of a brother, in the daily strifes for the soil, which they fought for with each other as much as with the wild beasts. I seemed to be reading over again the details which the pen of Titus Livy has transmitted to us while listening to the stories of the founders of San Francisco, or “Frisco,” as they familiarly call this child of their creation.

The first five or six years of the existence of this new town were years of incessant struggle; every man’s hand was against his brother—*bellum omnium contra omnes*. In appearance “Frisco” was like all other new settlements in America; *i.e.*, one or two streets lined with huts of wood or canvas, two or three larger buildings for stores, four or five inns, or rather public-houses, and besides, gambling tables without end and houses of bad fame. At the mines, killing toil; in the town, perpetual orgies; everywhere strife, murders, and assassinations. Blood and absinthe flowed on all sides. It was simply a hell upon earth; not the hell of Dante, but the hell imagined by the two brothers Breughel—one of whom painted scenes of peasant debaucheries, and the other devilries which only a Dutch imagination of the seventeenth century could have invented. It was the acme of gross and yet grotesque vice.

The first arrivals came from the only slave state in the west—Missouri. The inhabitants of this state, who had mostly immigrated from the south, brought with them the same ideas and tastes. After having crossed the American deserts, and become the first possessors of the auriferous soil, the Missouri men found themselves suddenly confronted with their brethren from the east. The Panama route not being yet opened, the new-comers had been compelled to double Cape Horn. Many had been six, eight, even twelve months in a sailing ship. At the diggings these men soon became formidable rivals. The

antagonism which has always existed between the Yankees and the Southerners added to the heat of competition. In point of morality, one was as good, or rather as bad, as the other. But the immigration of the Northerners went on increasing, while that of the Missouri men diminished. After five years of an anarchy which it is almost impossible to describe, but which did not check the material progress of the town, the Northerners found themselves the strongest, and determined to take the lead. Then they established the famous Vigilance Committee. Every man who had committed a murder, or even was suspected of being capable of such an act, was instantly, if a Southerner, brought before the Committee, and hanged on the first tree—*morto popolarmente*, as Machiavelli would say. It was from the moment of the creation of this tribunal, however partial, arbitrary, and irregular its decisions may have been, that we may date the beginning of a better state of things. The "rowdies" of yesterday, transformed into judges, took it into their heads to enforce order, and everyone in consequence found his position more supportable.

Here begins the second era.¹ The reign of "pikes," thanks to these summary executions, was at an end for ever. The members of the Vigilance Committee had the good sense to dissolve themselves, and to give place to regularly constituted tribunals. Lynch-law was, therefore, virtually at an end. But another revolution in men's minds was being accomplished. At first every new-comer had rushed off to the mines. In the imagination of the first emigrants, California was a quarry of pure gold, and their only business was to seize and carry it off. This delusion was soon dispelled, and at last men began to understand that gold was to be found in other places than the diggings. They likewise discovered that other occupations would bring in more than gold-washing, if only they could import the two things most needed in the colony—capital and honesty. Men possessing both soon began to arrive, and establish themselves at San Francisco. After a set of adventurers came men of business, after anarchy a tolerable guarantee for the safety of life and property. There was at last order, security, and probity, in the Californian sense of the words, at any rate, if not in ours. Order did not exclude the

¹ From 1855 to 1856.

revolver, and precautions were needed in business transactions which would astonish Wall Street and the city of London. But the progress was, nevertheless, very remarkable, and as far as I can judge, it is still going on. With a rapidity which can only be compared to the burst of spring flowers in arctic regions, an entirely new class of men came upon the scene. They were mostly composed of new immigrants, bringing with them both experience and capital; and some few of the old pioneers, who, having made their fortunes at the diggings, wished to return to the pale of civilisation. These were first-rate men of business. They installed themselves quietly in Montgomery Street, put the miners at once into a secondary rank, and embarked in their speculations with that sagacity, boldness, and promptitude which insure success. What above everything distinguished them were, intuition and courage. They seemed to divine their business, they saw profits as in a vision, and pursued their ideal with a vigour which converted it into a reality. These men have become great merchants. Only if you come from Europe, or even from New York, and wish to do business with them, remember that they are infinitely cleverer and sharper than you, and that they have wider ideas than yours as to what, in their trade, is illicit and what is not.

These men started a number of companies and private banks, which are carried on with English and American capital, and whose ramifications extend to London, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Calcutta, and Bombay. One of the most remarkable of these establishments is the company of Wells & Fargo. Its enormous operations embrace the whole western side of the great American continent, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, from the confines of British Columbia in the north, to the frontiers of Mexico in the south. Its agents are scattered over all this immense surface. In the most remote corners of the mining districts, and the primeval forests, wherever there is a white settlement, you are sure to find a neat, clean little house, bearing in colossal letters the inscription—Wells, Fargo, and Co. This company acts as bankers to the planters, the backwoodsmen, the miners, and to the multitude of little towns which spring up one day to disappear the next, or to become important centres of new districts. The transport of both letters and parcels forms, however, one of the most important branches

of the operations of this great company.* For this purpose, they buy stamped envelopes of the post-office, add their own stamp, and charge a small percentage on each. The small sacrifice this involves is amply compensated to the public by the regularity and safety of their postal service. Until last year, these operations were continually increasing; but they have been considerably reduced by the opening of the great railroad. The coaches and cars of Wells & Fargo no longer convey travellers to Fort Laramie or Salt-Lake City. The railroad has taken all this work out of their hands; but they continue to supply all the carriage roads leading to the railroads, and unite the important points of Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and the Pacific States from Olympia to Los Angeles and San Diego. One can then form some idea of the importance of this company. Its capital is not derived from the gold-fields. It appears to me a significant fact, that almost all the shares of Wells & Fargo are in the hands of New York bankers. The amount of English capital embarked in these companies, and in the great banks of San Francisco, becomes larger every day. It is, therefore, not Californian gold which feeds the commercial activity of San Francisco. This gold, on the contrary, finds its way abroad, and especially to England. It would be curious though difficult to verify the proportion between the value of precious metal exported, and the amount imported from abroad.

Trade is continually on the increase. Wool manufactures hold the first rank. The numberless flocks of the country supply the raw material. They boast also of the perfection and strength of the machinery manufactured in San Francisco. The workshops here furnish the miners with all their tools; the import of such articles has entirely ceased. Formerly they sent skins to the Eastern States to be tanned and sent back in the shape of boots and shoes; now they make them better

* In 1863, this company bought of the government 2,000,000 of envelopes at 3 cents., 15,000 at 6 cents., 30,000 at 10 and 18 cents.; besides 70,000 postage stamps at 3 cents., and 12,500 at 6 cents. I borrow these figures, which were verified on the spot, from an interesting book which I have already quoted: "Across the Continent." New York, 1869. By Samuel Bowles. This author gives also fragments of a sermon which I will quote extracts from later on.

here than anywhere else. Their production of silk stuffs also promises well ; but their cotton goods are inferior. To sum up all, we may rest assured that what is already done is nothing but a beginning of what will be done hereafter in this rising city. Natural riches abound, and form elements for a healthy and flourishing trade independent of the gold-fields. Neither capital nor hands are wanting : for the Chinese who swarm here are excellent workmen. In woollen manufactures they are preferred to all others. Generally, they reckon that one white man does the work of two yellow ones : but in some factories the workmen are entirely children of the Celestial Empire. Like the commercial man, the Californian trader is distinguished by largeness of views, boldness of conception, and a natural disposition to venture large means to arrive at great results. One might fancy that the size of everything in nature inspires men with grandiose ideas. This is one of the principal charms of the country, and one of the causes which bring back most of those who have lived here for some time.

Its real riches, as I said before, do not consist in gold, but in the fertility of the soil. If the statistical information I obtained be correct, only a sixth part of the available land is as yet under cultivation. Its principal products will always be cereals. Already the crops not only supply the wants of the country, but are sufficient to export flour to Japan, China, and Mexico. It is evident that this exportation will increase year by year. It appears to me doubtful, however, if the corn of the Pacific states can ever seriously be put in competition with the cereals of the inexhaustible granaries of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other central states. Their natural outlet would be the southern states of America and the extreme east. The agricultural pursuit which answers best here is gardening. The quantity of vegetables and fruit produced from this soil is something fabulous. Vine-dressing is also increasing, and I have heard that the wine made in San Francisco is really excellent, though as yet it is little drunk. I do not fancy, however, that the vintage of the country can ever compete with that of France. One thing to be set against this extraordinary produce is the ever-increasing price of land, especially on the borders of the railway which runs through the southern part of California and Oregon, and unites the Bay of San Francisco

with Portland.[†] Speculation, of course, has something to say to it; but even without this momentary augmentation, it must be remembered that the value of land always corresponds with the value and amount of production; and no one can deny the present brilliant results of cultivation; or think that future hopes of still more surprising returns are altogether chimerical.

The more commerce, trade, and agriculture prosper in this colony, the stronger is the reaction against gold-digging. This question has often been discussed before me. I have even heard men, who might be looked upon as authorities in such matters, declare that the cost absorbs the profits, and that you bury in the earth as much gold as you get out of it. As a proof, they cite the very small diminution in the value of the precious metals, in spite of the enormous quantities produced by the gold-fields of America and Australia. But it appears to me that this fact may be explained by the immense increase, during the last thirty years, of all those European products of which gold acts as the representative sign; and also, though in a less degree, by the constant exportation of money to China.

Whatever may be the cause, however, the feeling against mining gains ground every day. The grievances on this head are endless, and each man will give you a fresh one of his own. To begin with: the intending gold-diggers arrive alone, without any capital, without any guarantee of character or morality, and generally belong to the least respectable class of emigrants. When once they have set to work at the mines, they naturally fall into the ways and habits of those around them. As the rights of property are badly defined, constant quarrels arise, among the miners themselves in the first place, and then between the miners and the farmers whose land runs nearest the mines. The whole existence of these men is, in fact, a constant protest against the fundamental conditions of civilised life. As to the government, it has neither the means nor the

[†] I purposely abstain from quoting the figures given me, which seem to me exaggerated. I do not wish, either, to weary my readers with statistics, which have no value but when they come from official sources and are scientifically grouped. I have no intention of furnishing a complete study on the state of California. I am only trying to gather together, in one clear picture, the varied information I received on the spot.

will to bring them within the pale of the law. But this is not all. Experience has proved that except in very rare instances, due mainly to chance, individuals cannot compete with companies. Sooner or later the miners are ruined, give up the diggings, and become the terror of the settlers—real banditti—and a running sore in Californian society.

On the other hand, the companies, both large and small—and there are upwards of three thousand of them—run fearful risks. Enormous gains are frequently followed by as tremendous losses. Their transactions are, in fact, nothing but a huge game of chance, of which one of the characteristics is the uncertainty and rapidity of gain and loss. It is, therefore, a reasonable conclusion that gold-digging in all its branches is a permanent source of demoralization. Looking at it from an agricultural point of view, it is, of course, the utter destruction of a quantity of arable land which would indeed be precious, if, instead of being burrowed into and destroyed, it were simply cultivated. To have the least idea of the extent of the devastation of the soil, you have only to visit the mining districts. Wherever the hydraulic process has been in operation on any large scale, the most fertile land has been converted into a chaos of rock, gravel, and mud. But from the very excess of the evil the remedy will arise. The hour is at hand when agriculture, which is developing itself with giant strides, will be strong enough to dispute the soil, and that victoriously, with the mining interest. It will bring about a revolution which the respectable part of the community is already earnestly desiring. "Mining is a curse," are the words in everyone's mouth. It would be difficult to express this conviction more eloquently than was done the other day by a Protestant minister preaching in San Francisco. "Don't let us deceive ourselves," he exclaimed. "History has proved that society can never organize itself satisfactorily on an auriferous soil. Nature itself is in bad faith. It corrupts, seduces, and cheats a man. It laughs at the sweat of his brow. It transforms his toil into a game of chance, and his word into a lie."

San Francisco turns its back to the Pacific, which, in spite of its proximity, remains invisible. The distance from the Queen-City to the ocean is nevertheless not more than five or six miles. The town looks upon the bay, which, stretching towards

the south-east, disappears inland. It is an oblong basin surrounded with hills, wooded in some parts, and in others covered with vineyards and gardens. From the streets of the upper town, if only the thick curtain of fog would sometimes rise, the view is as unique as it is beautiful. Sometimes, but rarely, and only in the early morning, the sun bursts through the thick dull clouds which shroud the neighbouring heights. Then, wrapped in your greatcoat, and shivering with cold, you see, as through a black frame, a little bit of bright blue sky, and the smiling hill-sides of Santa Clara and San José. You have at least had the satisfaction of having had a glimpse of summer. The town is built half on an artificial shore, which, with incredible labour and expense, has been rescued from the waters of the gulf, half on the eastern slopes of the "Coast Range" mountains, that great granite dyke, which, running from north to south, stops the waves of the Pacific. One single opening has been made in it by nature, it is called the "Golden Gate." Francis Drake was the first to cross its threshold. It gives access to large ships, but at the same time to the icy winds, charged with vapour, blowing violently from the north-west, that is, from the North Pole, during the three summer months, which beat in rain against the rocky chain that binds the coast, but afterwards, rushing through the Golden Gate, ingulf themselves in the bay and accumulate above San Francisco those leaden, heavy, grey clouds, which make winter in the midst of summer—winter confined to the suburbs of the town, and surrounded by that tropical heat which, at this season of the year, sets the plains of California almost on fire. This singular contrast never ceases to strike me; I have been here for three weeks, and I have only once or twice seen a few pale rays of sun, and that only for a few moments.

The largest half of the town, as I have said, is perched on the flank of the mountain—that is, on the steep incline of a granite rock covered with a thick bed of gravel and sand. If the "pioneers" had marked out the plan of the streets in conformity to the lay of the ground, it would have been easy, by taking advantage of its very irregularities, to make good carriage roads and picturesque terraces. But the first founders of this city were either Yankees or Missouri men, who would not hear of anything but straight lines and right angles. Just fancy the

curve of a huge wave lashed by the wind and broken into a thousand little cavities. That is the look of the 'ground. Then, as a man who is used to command the elements and remove mountains, you say: "I choose that these rocks and inequalities should disappear, and be converted into plains"—and so they are, in your mind's eye! Then you take a rule and a square, and map out streets and avenues, and "blocks" and squares, exactly after the model of all other American towns. Boston is an exception—but Boston was built by the English. If San Francisco were to be rebuilt now, it would be on a totally different plan. The cosmopolitan element which begins to prevail would have set its seal on the place. But the idea of an American is simply to go ahead—not to be deterred by difficulties, but to attack them in front, and take the bull by the horns. Thanks to this bold determination, the result is marvellous, but I cannot call it successful. Everyone allows that nothing can well be worse than the construction of San Francisco. In the streets the circulation is impeded at every turn; and the houses are not only ugly, but positive caricatures. After having laid out some straight streets and built houses on either side, they found that, owing to the shape of the ground, they could not be made accessible for carriages, so they were compelled to lower the level of the streets till they became like deep ditches; while to get into the houses, flying staircases were added, which seemed positively to be hung in mid-air. It reminds one of the excavations and rubbish left sometimes near the approach to one of our great capitals by the making of a new line of railroad. Nothing can be more ugly, untidy, and inconvenient. Very soon it was found out that, from the nature of the soil (being chiefly sand and gravel), the action of the wind on these aerial habitations, perched in this way on the ledge of a precipice, very seriously endangered the foundations. Serious accidents were the result. More than once it has happened that the "breeze" from the north-west, after having undermined the foundations which these excavations in the carriage-road had laid bare, simply threw the houses down into the trench below. The expense of all these repairs was so considerable, that at last this absurd system was given up. To rise to the different levels, as the houses are built on the sides of the mountain, they now make use of steps. But

the result is, that if you go in a carriage, you have to make a tremendous round. When you look up from the lower town, the eye is struck, and I would almost add shocked, by the optical effect of these straight lines, broken by the level of the ground. Everywhere else, if you are looking at a long line of avenue, the houses and trees on each side seem to be lowered towards the horizon. Here, owing to the extraordinary way the ground has been dealt with, they ascend. One would think it was a fault in perspective! But nature never commits such errors. It is man who by his work makes her appear guilty of an infraction of her laws.

The houses, with a very few rare exceptions, are all built of wood. Wooden buildings placed on sand! It does not sound solid. But what is characteristic of this hardy race of occupiers is the coolness with which they answer your sinister predictions by—"Well, if they fall, we've only got to build them up again."

Do not fancy, however, that these men are too busy about making money to care for the comforts of life, or that they disdain the fine arts. In the designs of the new buildings occupied by the rich bankers and merchants (which are all of the style which one might call "*American Renaissance*"), I saw several attempts at real beauty of form and proportion. I do not say that these attempts have been always successful. What I complain of is chiefly the material of which they are built. To take a lot of beams and planks, cover them with plaster, and give them the colour of marble or cut stone, is to commit a sin against good taste which any eye accustomed to study architecture would at once detect. But the interior of these houses is very fine, spacious, and comfortable; they are handsomely furnished without being overdone. Very few knick-knacks about—Californian taste disdains them. But, on the other hand, they possess some very fine works of art. You find statues and pictures which came from the best studios in Rome. The Oakland Villas are deservedly admired. All those I saw deserve their reputation. The house of Mr. B. is worthy of a merchant prince. That of General K., my pleasant companion across the Atlantic, is a perfect gem of elegance and good taste. Both house and garden are his own creation, and nature and art have been equally lavish of their treasures.

But to come back to San Francisco. I like the modest houses of smaller men, which are not without their merit. Hardly ever is a little garden wanting—a perfect basket of roses and fuchsias. The gardens of the larger proprietors, though not very extensive, are admirably laid out. The mildness of the climate in winter allows of a constant change of flowers, and their lawns are well watered and carefully mown.

The great hotels and the public buildings are alike everywhere in America. There are also some really fine churches. The most sumptuous ecclesiastical edifice, however, is undoubtedly the Synagogue. I put it first, because, from its position on one of the highest points of the city, it attracts the eye before all the Christian churches, and attests likewise the local importance of the Jewish element. “St. Mary’s,” the Catholic cathedral, is a fine and noble Gothic structure. “St. Ignatius” bears the name and the style of the order it represents. Besides these, there are the Church of St. Francis and the convent chapels. The Protestants have likewise each churches for their particular sect. Nor must we forget the two *joss houses*, or pagodas of the Chinese worshippers. What seems to me significant is that all these religious edifices date their construction from 1854 to 1856. It was the moment of the establishment of the Vigilance Committee. When they began to call the rogues and murderers to account, the peaceable inhabitants began to remember that they were Christians; collections were made, and the re-establishment of order coincided with the laying of the first stones of the churches. The schools likewise date from the same era; but the architectural decorations of these latter buildings seemed to me exaggerated and out of place.

Montgomery and Market Streets form the great arteries of the lower town. They intersect the commercial and industrial quarters, and are consequently always busy and thronged. The other streets are more or less empty. The greater part of the rich merchants live in the upper town. The uniform colour of everything is dust, which fills the whole air; the shade varies from yellow ochre to pale brown, and under the shadow of the summer fog-clouds to dark grey. The buildings, the pavements, the macadam of the streets, are of the same dingy uniform tint. A sepia drawing, done on yellow paper, with the shadows

in Indian ink, could alone give you an idea of the colouring. The streets are filled with sand and the houses with dust.

You will say that this is not an attractive picture! but, strange to say, one has not been a week in San Francisco without getting used to it. Almost all the stranger residents, especially the Germans, have but one dream when they first arrive, namely, to make their fortunes as fast as they can, and then to return home. But when the hour of departure comes, they have somehow changed their minds, or rather their feelings. They end by staying on; or if they go home for a short time, they generally end by coming back again. This Californian life has evidently a charm which no one can resist. Everything is on a large scale, and everything is easy, at least in the minds of people who think themselves capable of everything, which is here the predominant idea. Everyone has plenty of elbow room. The space is infinite, and that space belongs to you. The future likewise is yours. This conviction, which is thoroughly ingrained in men's minds, favours their bold conceptions, guides them in moments of trouble and uncertainty, cheers them in discouragement, and enables them to bear up against every trial. The moral atmosphere is like the air you breathe, and acts upon body and soul like a glass of champagne. The life you lead is the same. You are in opulence or in misery. If the latter, why then, work! You are the master of your own destiny. And so they do work, and speedily become rich. In the "early days," and not so very long ago either, it was a common thing to see *gentlemen* standing at the corners of the streets offering their services as porters. You saw them dressed in one of Poole's best coats, carrying sacks of flour, trunks, pianos, and the like, for a dollar at a time. Now, we are far removed from this exceptional and primitive state of things. Everyone has found his place. Hands are not wanting: only the price of hand labour, which seems fabulous to us, remains the same. But do not imagine that living is as dear as certain travellers wish to make you believe. In the very best hotels you pay three gold dollars a day—that is, about 17½ francs. Everything is included in this charge, except wine; there is no extra charge of any sort. For that, they give you an excellent room, and feed you to repletion. The cooking may not be exactly according to your taste;

but the food of all kinds is of the very best quality. More than this, you have all the luxuries and comforts peculiar to American hotels. If I want a drawing-room, I have a magnificent apartment given me, thoroughly well warmed, and lit (alas!) with six gas-burners, day and night, for five dollars. In London, Paris, or Vienna, it would cost twice as much. Miners, and people who have no pretension to elegance, find excellent board and lodging for half a dollar a day. This will give you, without exaggeration, the average of the prices of the necessities of life. Another thing which struck me very much was the rapid strides that have been made in every kind of scientific appliance. In the public buildings, in the counting-houses of the merchants, in private houses, in public schools, in workshops, in factories, everywhere, in fact, they have introduced the very last and best results of physical and mechanical science. Ventilation, for instance, which is in its infancy among us, is admirable here. The methods of lighting, and warming, and laying on water, and all other domestic arrangements, leave nothing to be desired. Compare the great Pacific steamers with those of the Atlantic, and you will see that in point of comfort and luxury these last are terribly behind-hand. New York and London are evidently distanced by San Francisco. This fact would be astounding, even where a desert on the one hand and an ocean on the other did not completely isolate a town from the rest of the civilized world. But the explanation lies in this: that here everything has to be created from the very beginning. There is no bad system of the past to be set aside or put up with for a time. The past! Why, there is none! That is the secret of Californian life. Add to this, that money is always at hand for everything. That is, one has it or not, as the case may be; but if at this moment your exchequer is empty, to-morrow it will be full. So it comes to the same thing; for everyone has credit. They do not, therefore, draw back before any question of expense. On the contrary, they take advantage of every new invention which has sprung out of the speculative heads of the Old World or of the States.¹ They appropriate them at once, and introduce them on the largest scale.

¹ It is thus that Californians call New England, and, in general, all the Eastern States.

The climate also has its charms. It is a continual spring, especially during the winter, which knows neither ice nor snow. In summer, it is true, cold fogs prevail, but that is only in the town. During this season, delicate persons always leave it. To escape the rigours of the months of July and August they have only to cross the gulf and take refuge at Oaklands. The journey occupies less than an hour. Here they find the most deliciously warm temperature without any great heat, as this favoured spot is situated between the foggy region of the Golden Gate and the burning plains of the interior.

And here we must not forget to mention the immense abundance of fish, flowers, and fruit at San Francisco. They are within the reach of everybody. The very sight of these treasures of nature piled up in the public market-places, and on all sides, rejoices one's heart. Oranges, too, are sold in immense quantities. They are imported, however, from far; from the Southern States, or from Los Angeles and San Diego; but the greater portion are brought by sailing ships, which take twenty or thirty days to come, from Tahiti and the South Sea Islands. At every step you take in the streets you are reminded of the great distance which separates you from the Old World. The extreme east and west meet here. At San Francisco, one begins to understand that the earth is round, and that extremes meet. I am taking a quiet stroll through Montgomery Street. Some servants, German cooks, are returning from market. The Germans are very numerous here. Sometimes one hears nothing but German talked round one. A few steps further on, the inexplicable sounds of the children of the Celestial Empire fall upon my ear. Two of them, livid with anger, are, I suppose, abusing one another. They don't fight with fists, for that in China is a mark of respect, but with their heads, which they shake furiously. Their comrades, making a ring round them, are laughing heartily. What a hideous lot they are! At the corner of the street, I come upon a group of Irishmen and Irishwomen, unmistakable from their dialect and peculiar characteristics. The women are all tall, with black mantillas. The Mexicans have not disappeared altogether: they live in a separate quarter of the upper town. They are of mixed blood; but the Andalusian, that is, the Andalusian type, prevails. The genuine Americans, by which

I mean the Yankees, are numerically small. In the beginning, they were more or less the masters. They are still at the head of every movement ; they originate ideas ; they guide commerce ; but they are no longer masters of the position. Other elements have come in to dispute their ground ; first the mass of stranger emigrants—Irish, Germans, and Chinese ; then an ever-increasing proportion of English capitalists. France is represented by certain respectable commercial houses of the second order. She furnishes besides to San Francisco, as to all other parts of the globe, dressmakers, hairdressers, cooks, and sometimes actors. But French people, as a rule, do not like emigration. They prefer making smaller fortunes and stopping at home. The little Austrian colony is composed almost exclusively of Dalmatians. Some amongst them have set up in business and done very well. Others are pedlars, fruitsellers, or whitesmiths. These good Austrians are a brave and peaceable race, generally respected, never having any rows amongst each other, and rarely with men of other nationalities ; and they give little or no trouble to our excellent consul. Ah ! Monsieur Mücke, I am afraid you can't say the same of me ! I know how I have abused your patience, your kindness, and your time. But what pleasant moments do I not owe you ! and what agreeable reminiscences I shall carry away !

Germany sends an important contingent to this cosmopolitan population, important by their numbers, but still more by the qualities which in all latitudes distinguish her sons. They are laborious, sober, and economical. They possess two virtues which are wanting to the Anglo-American : they know how to wait, and they content themselves with small profits. They also work for a cheaper rate of remuneration, and live for half the sum.

From a social point of view, they are superior to their fellow-countrymen in the States. Their children know and speak habitually their parents' native language, and remain Germans while still becoming Californians. I went one evening to a play acted by a German company. The theatre, which was about the size of the one at Leipsic, was crammed full. In the States, as I mentioned before, the second generation *Americanize* themselves ;¹ but here, only walk into a counting-house

¹ See p. 42.

in Montgomery Street, and you would swear you were in Bremen or Hamburg. Become acquainted with any one of these families, which is easy enough, for the German of San Francisco is most hospitable; a member will be charmed to take you home with him, provided it be towards the end of the day, after he has shut up his counting-house. The way is long, for we are going to the upper town; but there is the tramway, or else one goes on foot, which is a capital constitutional. If it be still light, you go through the Chinese quarter, which, it must be owned, is not very safe after nightfall. By scrambling up an endless succession of steps you reach the upper regions; and if you are exposed to all the winds of heaven, at any rate you enjoy a glorious view. In this part of the town the Germans and Mexicans prefer to live. You clamber up the last staircase, which is a perfect ladder (having previously climbed up a steep street like a trench), and then find yourself in the porch of a house, where you can fancy yourself at once in Germany. The mistress of the-house, whilst doing the honours, never takes her eye off the two neat, clean, young German girls who are waiting at dinner. The meal is excellent; we have all the dishes of the "Vaterland" admirably cooked. Whilst one devours a Frankfort sausage, or a Westphalian ham, emptying at the same time a bottle of Liebfrauenmilch, one thinks of one's absent brethren, and a tear glistens in the eye of more than one of the guests. Wherever and whenever he may be, a German is always sentimental. It seems to me that the men take to the ways of the New World more than the women. These remain essentially German; they are excellent managers, good musicians, and their souls are full of poetic dreams—*häuslich, poetisch, musikalisch*. They manage the house, care for and educate their children, are not above putting their hands to culinary occupation, and, notwithstanding all these employments, they still have moments to give to Goethe and Schiller. In the evening they always make time for a little music—a symphony of Beethoven's, played with more feeling, perhaps, than brilliancy, or a *lied* of Schubert's, sung by one of those round silvery voices which seem to be the special property of German throats. The arrangement of the rooms, the graceful vases of flowers in the drawing-rooms, the choice pictures or engravings on the walls, all bear the stamp of honest and

honourable lives ; maintained by labour, it is true, but ennobled and embellished by a serious education and a taste for and cultivation of the fine arts.

One night, rather late, I was going away from one of these houses, where I had passed a most agreeable evening, and being, as I thought, sure of my way home, I refused the escort of my host. "Turn round the Chinese quarter," was said to me on all sides, and off I started. But the night was dark ; a damp, penetrating fog added to the obscurity ; and in San Francisco, from Germany to China is but a step. All of a sudden, I find myself in a narrow, dirty street, evidently inhabited by the yellow race. I hurry my steps, but in the wrong direction, and here I am in the very midst of the Chinese quarter. As far as the thick darkness will allow me to judge, the streets are completely deserted. The lower houses are wrapped in sombre shadow. Here and there red paper lanterns swing from balconies, equally painted red, coloured lights glimmer on the wooden pavement, shine through the chinks of the beams, and finally disappear. At every step I stumble against the signboards—long narrow strips of wood, suspended perpendicularly on iron triangles, and blown about by the wind. The sinister creaking of their hinges is mingled with dull, confused noises of various kinds. Inside the houses, I hear whispering, as the signboards have betrayed the presence of an intruder. I descend as fast as I can. In some places the darkness is complete, and I can only go on by feeling. In others, momentary and vivid lights, coming from God knows where, creep along the wood-work of the gilt shop shutters and light up some grotesque monster, or the cabalistic red and black letters on one of the signboards. Further on, by the pale red glare of a solitary gas-burner, I begin to guess, rather than perceive, the distance I have yet to go in this infernal place. The wind increases in violence ; driven by the gusts, the clouds and fog sweep down into the street and hide even the stones. Seen through this misty veil, the monster signs take the form of horrible-looking human beings, ranged in double rows, furiously agitated or driven against each other, and performing I know not what satanic dance. I pass by an open door, a feeble light streams from it ; I hear the sound of voices and dice ; it is a gambling-house. A man placed as

sentinel is glued to the wall. On perceiving me he rushes in to give the alarm : he took me for a police inspector. I hurry on as quickly as I dare on the slippery steps. I begin to see at my feet one of the broad cross streets of the lower town. Already my ear is rejoicing at the sound of a carriage or some belated omnibus ; a hundred steps further and I shall be once more in a civilized country ! At this very moment, at the corner of a blind alley, I am attacked by a band of women. These harpies hang on to my clothes, seize me with their horrid bony fingers and nails like birds' claws, and peer at me with faces besmeared with white, red, and yellow paint, and with that peculiar odour of the children of the Celestial Empire which is certainly not a perfume. Fighting my way as best I can, and digging with my elbows right and left, I at last manage to rid myself of them, and followed by their screams and imprecations—luckily, their mutilated feet prevent their running after me—I reach, at last, the exit from this hell, my face streaming with perspiration ; and after half an hour more I arrive safely at the hospitable door of my hotel.

The Chinese quarter, neglected and badly looked after by the police, who, however, know well how to keep order in the other parts of the town, is the theatre of all the worst crimes committed in San Francisco ; but the guilty are generally white men, fresh from the mines, who go there to keep their Saturnalia, gamble away their doubloons, "eat" a yellow man, and rob the passers-by without distinction of colour. They are the last survivors of that race of malefactors whom the Vigilance Committee exterminated with so little ceremony.

This disagreeable nocturnal promenade was followed by several others, made, however, during the day time, and in company with persons who have relations with the great Chinese merchants. There are between eighty and a hundred thousand Chinese emigrants in California, of whom fifteen or twenty thousand reside at San Francisco. Some of them have founded large and important commercial houses here, and bear an excellent reputation. People praise their honesty, their intelligence, and the facility with which they at once seize and adopt the ways of American and European commerce. They import silk, tea, and objects of curiosity. One of the most eminent is Fang-Tang. Settled here ever since the first im-

migration of his fellow-countrymen (in 1852), he has succeeded in amassing a large fortune, and that by honest means. His two wives and the younger children remain at Canton. From time to time, he crosses the Pacific to pay them a visit. The Chinese emigrants very rarely allow their families to accompany them ; so that one only sees the least respectable of their fair sex in America. However, since last year, a good many of the residents have sent for their wives. Fang-Tang also is disposed to bring his two better-halves over, "in order," as he told me, "to set a good example." The arrival of a few respectable women will raise the moral tone of the Chinese colony and remove its provisional character. Families will then remain in the country, will increase and multiply, and finally form an integral portion of the population of the Pacific States. This would bring about a revolution rich in consequences, of which we can hardly as yet measure the result.

Until now, the Chinese have been nothing but birds of passage. Not one of them ever dreamt of settling himself in America for life. They all come from the south of the Celestial Empire, from the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si ; and are of a superior class to the coolies exported from Macao to Chili and Havanna. They are for the most part peasants in easy circumstances. Some of them have a certain amount of education ; others are artisans. A great many bring with them a certain amount of capital ; all, vigorous arms and willing hands, minds ready to embrace every chance of success, and a firm determination to make a little fortune. All of them leave their native land with the hope and intention of returning there. They make provision for their remains, in case of death, that they may be transported to the village where they were born. To have their bodies sent home is one of the first conditions of the contracts entered into by them with the government, or the companies, or the individuals who wish to employ them. Also, every steamer and every sailing ship bound for Hong Kong or Canton carries back a large cargo of corpses. These emigrants are divided into companies, of whom the presidents or heads reside at San Francisco ; and these men, according to what Fang-Tang tells me, have great influence over their fellow-countrymen. They receive them on their arrival, provide for their wants, arrange any little disputes or

quarrels among themselves, so as to prevent their being summoned before the American courts, and exercise, with the consent of the contending parties, a certain judicial power, even in criminal cases. They give relief to the sick, facilitate the emigration of the living and the return of the dead ; try, in a word, to soften the somewhat hard lives of their countrymen. Without their constant and paternal intervention, the too well justified animosity of the Chinese against the whites would break out in acts of open violence, and would probably endanger the very existence of the colony. I cannot find terms severe enough with which to reprobate the conduct of the Californians towards the Chinese. These last are virtually put out of the pale of the law. Before the courts, their evidence is refused. Those who work at the mines are taxed to the extent of four dollars a month per head. At the gold diggings, the most bloody scenes periodically recur. The white miners chase away the Chinese, expel them from the claim they have legally acquired, and kill them if they attempt to resist or defend their just rights. Without the least provocation on their part, the Chinese are constantly beaten and robbed. But this is not the worst ; no notice is taken of these iniquities. There is not an instance of any verdict of any jury being given in their favour or of any punishment being inflicted on the guilty. Besides, how prove the fact ? No white man will give evidence against one of his own colour, when it is in favour of a Chinaman ; and the Chinese themselves are not allowed as witnesses. That rough men, given to excesses of all sorts, and stimulated by jealousy and the thirst for gain, should allow themselves to behave in this way towards a weaker race, and think every atrocity permissible, is not to be wondered at. But how is it possible to justify the conduct of members of the legislature, judges, juries, composed of well-educated men, who, perfectly aware of the important services rendered by the Chinese, and which they themselves are the first to profit by, are not ashamed to pander in this way to the bad passions of the multitude ? But, alas ! it is one of the running sores of this great republic, especially since the introduction of universal suffrage. Very often justice and morality yield to mob law, and the weakest goes to the wall. Fang-Tang has very often spoken to me of the sad position of his people, but always

with a sober reserve worthy of a diplomatist of the old school. "The Americans do not consider us as men," he said to me one day. "This is not right, *not good*. They would like to exterminate us, like rats or any other vermin that is very bad. But," he hastened to add, "there are some Americans who think and speak differently, only they do not dare act as they feel."

The origin of this extraordinary hatred is a question of dollars and cents. The white miner receives, besides his food, three, three and a half, or four dollars a day. The Chinaman is not fed, and is content with seventy-five cents, or one dollar, or at most a dollar and a half. It is the same with every other branch of industry. In the towns, the Chinese act as domestic servants, and are excellent cooks and washermen; in the country they excel as gardeners. The beautiful terraces which are now being made, and the earthworks in different parts of the Sierra Nevada, are all the result of Chinese labour. The fact is they are the best workmen possible. Without their concurrence, the Pacific line of railway would never have been completed in so short a time. On board the steamers of all the great companies, the sailors (bad ones, I must own) and all the waiters and stewards for the passenger service are Chinese. In the factories likewise, they replace the white men more and more. Everywhere, in fact, their competition makes itself felt. The masters, and all those who are in want of hands, very naturally employ them; for they are even better workmen than the whites, and work for half (or less than half) the wages. And as they are very numerous, and as the immigration goes on increasing, their competition weighs in the labour-market and begins to lower the price of the white workman. This is their only crime. They are forced to expiate it by being the victims of acts of brutality, which arrive even at murder; of legal enactments, which are the shame and disgrace of American legislators; and of decisions of juries, which are as contrary to justice as to common sense. And yet they hold on—nothing seems to discourage them. Each of the great steamers which plies monthly between San Francisco and Hong Kong brings between eight and twelve hundred Chinese passengers. A far smaller number return home in the same ships. These are emigrants who have served their time. They carry away in their trunks the fruit of their long and patient toil; in their

minds, a sovereign contempt for our civilisation ;[†] and in their hearts the bitterest hatred of the Christian.

The Irish, who are more numerous than either Germans or Chinese, are valuable from their physical strength and the multiplicity of occupations to which they can turn their hands. The lowest trade is not despised by the vigorous sons of Erin ; but you meet them in every sphere of life. The Occidental Hotel presents a very fair picture of their social position in California. The proprietors,—men who are respected and looked up to by every one for their high character and the large fortunes they owe to their industry,—the clerks, and every one employed about the place as waiters or servants, are one and all Irish. They fill every grade in this vast establishment, and fill it well.

The Anglo-American population belongs, in a great measure, to the Episcopal Church. This fact, which is difficult to explain, deserves to be mentioned, from the contrast which California presents in this respect to the rest of the States, where Presbyterians, Methodists, and Unitarians form the majority of those who are not Catholics. The Germans are mostly Protestant rationalists. There are also many Jews among them ; but few Catholics.

The Catholic population numbers upwards of fifty thousand. All the Irish and Mexicans, and a large number of the Anglo-Americans, belong to this communion. If these statistics be correct, they form the third of the San Francisco population. The priests are almost all European, either Irish or the sons of Irishmen, and Italians. The clergy is mainly recruited from Europe, and in a small proportion from Canada. America, absorbed by the pursuit of this world's goods, has few vocations. It is the same with the nuns. The mother superior of the great monastery of Notre Dame de-Namur at San José told me that, to fill up the vacancies caused by death or sickness in the ranks of her saintly daughters, she is obliged to have recourse to the houses of their order in Belgium, or else to go herself and fetch fresh novices from France, Germany, or England.

The Jesuits have two large colleges—St. Ignatius in San Francisco itself, and Sta. Clara in the town of that name, which

[†] I know that this assertion will be contested by many European residents in China. But on this subject I think they are the victims of illusion.

is situated forty miles to the south of the capital. At St. Ignatius they board and lodge a hundred boys, and have five hundred and fifty in their day-school. At Sta. Clara the number of boarders is much larger. In both houses the fathers are Italians. The studies embrace the usual university classes. Latin and Greek are not neglected; but the greatest attention is given to the study of the exact sciences, especially mathematics, chemistry, and mechanics. The pupils have much more liberty and take the initiative more than is allowed in similar establishments in Europe. These are the only concessions made to the American spirit. In all other respects they have preserved the doctrines, practices, and habits of European colleges. One fancies oneself once more in Europe, in fact, when one has crossed the threshold of one of these great and flourishing seminaries. And curiously enough, it is mainly to this circumstance that they owe their great and increasing popularity. A rich American merchant, a Protestant, said to me: "I have placed my sons there, in the first place, because the course of studies is better than in any other college; and, in the second, because the young men there learn to obey and have good and gentlemanly manners. When they leave it, you would fancy they had come back from a voyage to Europe!" This opinion is confirmed by universal testimony,^{*} and by the fact that the Jesuit college in California, and that of Georgetown, near Washington, reckon among their scholars a large number of Protestants, and even Jews. The prejudice so widely spread in Europe against the members of the Society of Jesus is utterly unknown in America.

If the Irish form here the principal Catholic element, and if the Germans, representing the Reformed or Protestant rationalist doctrines, are the natural-born enemies of the Celts, the antagonism between the two races, proverbial throughout the States, is here mitigated by the intense mutual hatred of the Chinese. But Irish, Germans, and Chinese seem destined to grow in Californian soil, to spread and multiply, and perhaps eventually to contest the actual superiority of the Anglo-American race. San Francisco, consequently, bears the stamp

^{*} "Modern convents and colleges holding up the Cross . . . now offering perhaps the best education of the coast to the children of our Puritan emigrants."—"Across the Continent," by Samuel Bowles, p. 277.

of a thoroughly cosmopolitan city. The houses, streets, and public buildings may still remind you of America, but the greater portion of the inhabitants are born in far-distant lands. They have brought with them other ideas and other customs. Germans, Celts, and Mongols in presence of each other! Surely, since the great emigration of the fifth century, no such contrasts were ever seen in this world! What kind of people will come out of the contact of races so different in origin, religion, and civilization? How far will they amalgamate? What will be the influence, real though as yet unexplained, of this rich and virgin soil on those who reclaim it and bring it under cultivation? What moral and religious atmosphere will be formed around these future generations? These, and such as these, are the secrets of Providence. I shall not attempt to strive to divine them.

At New York, on the very first day of his arrival, a stranger is taken to the Central Park; at Washington, to the Capitol; at Chicago, to the Granaries; at San Francisco, to Cliff House. These are the respective great "lions" of those famous cities. For my part, I give the palm to Cliff House. It is impossible to see anything more strange or more attractive. Saving a little *café*, of which the terrace serves as an observatory, nature itself has undertaken the details of the picture. The hand of man has had little or nothing to do with it. M. Mücke took me there in his gig, drawn by a "trotter" such as America alone can produce. He tears along the macadamized road in a straight line past the waving heights of the Coast Chain. We have left behind us the last houses in the town—now the cemeteries transformed into gardens. Further on, the country bears the aspect of a succession of downs deprived of all vegetation. Not a tree was in sight; a low curtain of black clouds hung over the sandy shore and prevented our seeing the ocean. But we heard its roar. The noble animal, which made the six miles in I don't know how many minutes, stopped at the door of a house. We went in, and passing through the building, came out into a veranda and found ourselves face to face with the infinite.

The sea breaks against the natural terrace which supports the house; to the right, towards the north, stretched the

rugged mountains of the Coast Range; to the left, is the shore—before us the great Pacific. At a short distance three great rocks rise out of the sea. The middle one is covered with sea-birds, black and immovable, like the stones on which they are perched, and of which they seem to form part. On the two other rocks are grouped some colossal monsters. One is asleep—the others appear to be at play. Some of them are frightened, and barking furiously. These are the celebrated seals. They abound on the innumerable reefs of the Californian coast; but the privileged inhabitants of these three rocky islands enjoy the special protection of the State. A law has been passed to leave them undisturbed. Swimming round and about the rocks are heaps of these beasts, apparently sporting, pushing one another and scrambling up the rock or falling down heavily into the water. When wet, their coats are a dark grey; but when dried in the air, they have the tawny, light brown shade of a lion. It is altogether a strange, wild, fantastic scene! Above the coast is a line of fixed clouds; towards the ocean an ever-shifting curtain of fog hides the line of the horizon. But your imagination pierces through this veil. You contemplate in thought the vast Pacific, which alone divides you from the extreme East and rolls its waves from one pole to the other. To complete the magic effect of this panorama another sea monster, a huge whale, suddenly appears on the scene, although he keeps himself at a prudent distance. At this moment my meditations are cut short. I hear a great noise, and turning round, perceive a quantity of beautifully-dressed ladies and smart men, all armed with telescopes, who, coming out of the “kiosk,” rush towards the balustrade to see the new-comer. Through the open doors I distinguish tables loaded with good things and all the *paraphernalia* of greediness. My dreams are dispelled. I find myself in presence of all the littlenesses of civilization, and no longer alone face to face with the savage grandeur of nature.

CHAPTER XI.

YOSEMITE.—FROM THE 13th TO THE 22nd OF JUNE.

Way of Travelling.—Modesto.—Mariposa.—The Virgin Forest.—The Big Trees.—The Valley of Yosemite.—The Falls.—Coulterville.

AN excursion to the *Big Trees* of Mariposa and the Yosemite Valley is not an easy thing. Nevertheless it has become the fashion with the inhabitants of "Frisco." Any man who pretends to be "somebody" either has made this expedition, or announces to his friends that he is about to do so. I have not met many people who have visited these inaccessible regions : but every one tells me he is going—next year. As to roads, there are only tracks ; but the railroad which is in process of construction, and which is to unite the mining districts with the main lines, will soon make them superfluous. In the meantime there is a public conveyance, always full of miners, which comes and goes regularly.

For the comfort of tourists, everything has to be created. One gets on as one can. Two rival companies have been formed to encourage the country propensities of the plutocrats of Montgomery Street, and the roving instincts of the foreigners whom the Yokohama steamers and the Pacific Railroad bring to San Francisco. Their agents go from house to house, and from hotel to hotel, to expatiate on the charms of this expedition, to promise you every comfort and facility, and finally to take down your name. When a sufficient number of excursionists have been secured, say twenty or thirty, you pay your fare : relays of horses are sent on to certain *ranchos* ; and on a certain day you start. The distance, going and returning, is 440 miles. The price of the tickets, partly by rail, partly in a

carriage, and partly on horseback, is eighty gold dollars, or 480 francs. Of all ways of travelling I think it is the least agreeable. One gives up one's liberty and passes ten days in the most intimate relations with perfect strangers. But here you have no choice. It is the only way of reaching that part of the Sierra Nevada, or to travel at all with any kind of comfort or safety.

June 13.—We left San Francisco at four o'clock in the afternoon. After shivering all day, we found spring at Oakland, and summer at the next stage. At Lathrop we left the main line of the Central Railway, and went by a side one called *Visalia*, because it is to end at this town, which is situated in the south of California, between Los Angeles and San Diego. Visalia will some day be the flourishing capital of the county of Tulare, which will become, they say, the richest granary in the south. At this moment it is a great uncultivated tract of waste land, covered with forests and marshes. But here people always talk in the future. At this moment the new railway, which crosses the valley of St. Joachim in all its length, stops at Modesto, twenty miles from Lathrop. The hotel at this little town, and the company one meets there, amused me by its local colouring. It is purely Mexican : you might be at a thousand miles from San Francisco. Men in *sombreros* and Andalusian gaiters are talking and smoking on the steps. Miners in blouses are indulging in potations at the bar. Everyone is armed to the teeth. The agent who directs our little caravan has the greatest difficulty in finding places for us at the *table d'hôte*. Then everyone seeks his little den for the night. But the thin boards neither keep out the noise nor the smell of tobacco and absinthe which infects the air. Soon, however, the house is converted into one great dormitory. To the noisy voices of the first part of the evening succeed the heavy breathing and deep snoring of the energetic civilizers of the West. The distance from San Francisco to Modesto is 101 miles.

June 14.—We are called before daylight to start in two *char-à-bancs* named diligences ; at five o'clock we are off. Our road leads straight towards the mountains. The ground—a vast plain covered with wild flowers and wheat scorched and browned by the sun—looks like an immense dust-coloured carpet, and

gives to our carriages a motion like a ship at anchor in a roughish sea. The fat old gentleman in front of me becomes violently sea-sick. The other passengers turn pale. The heat and the dust add to our discomfort. I do not see a trace of a road. Our four horses drag us across the fields, and woe to us when they take it into their heads to trot! What an idea of a party of pleasure! Nevertheless there is some fun in it. There are three or four grave and silent Yankees, with their wives; but there is a large family party from Omaha, who form the noisy element;—a young lady, the very type of the “fast girl” of the period, with a lot of young men, her brother and his friends, all “swells” of the Far West. There is also a father and mother, but they are only accessories. I cannot take as much part in their lively conversation as they seem to wish, being absorbed in the care of my unhappy *vis-à-vis*, always prostrate with sea-sickness. At Hormitas, where we stop and dine, the young lady obtains the first place in the dining-room. I watch her as she installs herself comfortably in her chair while her parents are in vain seeking for places elsewhere. On leaving the town, one sees, through a golden, glittering mist, the bluish outlines of the Sierra Nevada. Very soon after, the road—for here there really is one—winds through a little valley, on each side of which rise the out-works of the great mountains. Beautiful groups of oak-trees relieve the eye, weary of the dust and glare. Everywhere we come upon the devastation consequent on the hydraulic process used by the miners. Further on, we enter a thick wood. At six o'clock in the evening we arrive at Mariposa. This is one of the principal head-quarters of the mining districts. Hard by is the famous Fremont Concession. Here gigantic fortunes have been made and lost. To-day, however, the tide is low, and the look of the people is the same. Our carriage stops at a little inn kept by Germans. As a fellow-countryman, the innkeeper and his better half receive me with open arms. In the dining-room, a group of miners and men of sinister looks seated round a table are fighting for their supper with the flies. The air is stifling, and impregnated with horrible smells. Fortunately, at seven o'clock they make us continue our journey; but this time in little carriages adapted to the mountain routes. I take advantage of the fact to change my companion, and luckily I fall on

my legs. An old gentleman with European manners, who, at our different halting-places, has often watched me with a kind of compassion, takes me under his protection. He is a great proprietor of factories at Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. He has often been in Europe. "In an evil hour," he says, "he had the unhappy fancy to try the New Pacific Railway: and, still greater folly! to go and see the *Big Trees* of Mariposa." His companions are a general of the Virginian militia (a Southerner and good-looking, gentlemanly man), his son, and another young man. Admitted into this pleasant circle, and no longer obliged to watch over my fat New Hampshire friend, or to parry the shafts of my *fast* young lady from Omaha, I breathed more freely, and was at liberty to enjoy the fresh evening and the beautiful scenery at my ease. The road passes through a narrow gorge covered with magnificent fir-trees, and then plunges into the forest. From time to time the great yellow Californian plain peeps out through a clearing or between the branches of the trees, whose tops are now brilliantly coloured by the setting sun. But very soon the fast-gathering night adds to the darkness of the forest. At last, at nine o'clock, some feeble rays of light and the furious barking of a lot of big dogs tell us that we have arrived at our destination.

We are in the heart of a virgin forest at the *rancho* of Messrs. White & Hatches, planters in easy circumstances, who are good-natured enough to receive the tourists. The house has the look of a cottage; all the rooms open on the veranda. A soft lamp lit up the little drawing-room, which was prettily and tastefully furnished. The supper was quite excellent. It is fair to add, that we were too hungry to be particular. What delighted me most of all, however, was the lady of the house. It was impossible to be more amiable or more ladylike. She had the kindness to give me up her own bedroom, which was a perfect model of cleanliness and elegance. The bed was hung with snowy-white curtains. The furniture consisted of a bureau and an arm-chair; on a console table was a guitar and some music and an open volume of Tennyson. The walls of this dainty little chamber were composed of rough planks: above the door, a Venetian blind, for want of shutters and glass, (for glass is a precious article in these parts), which remains open day and night; the whole a germ of civilization

with a rough outside husk. From Modesto to the *rancho* of Messrs. White & Hatches they reckon eighty-four miles.

June 15.—The song of the birds, whose concert seems to come down straight from heaven, and the freshness of the early dawn penetrating through the Venetian blind, woke us early. At half-past six we were in the carriage. The road rises rapidly, and the passengers get out and walk along the little paths which have been water-courses in the rainy season. The forest gets more and more dense. Hardly a ray of daylight can pierce through this Gothic dome supported by thousands of tall, red, slender columns, which, running to a prodigious height, hide their capitals under a mass of foliage. The thicket swarms with animal life. The eye loses itself in the black depths of the gorges. Here and there, flickering lights throw an uncertain gleam on the flowering shrubs, on the purple, pink and white azalea blossoms, on the white graceful bells of the mahogany flower and on the shining leaves of the arbutus, with its velvety cups of flowers. A few steps further on the twilight yields again to the night. But all of a sudden, by an invisible opening, the sun sheds its dazzling light over the whole scene. Then the forest bursts upon you in all its beauty under a very shower of golden dust. What are these trees which, by their size, impose upon the eye and charm it by their endless variety? I recognise our European oaks, our maples, our larches, and many others belonging to our hemisphere: but the varieties of firs peculiar to California predominate. As to the mountains, we are in the midst of them, but we cannot see them. Arrived at a ridge,¹ an accidental dip in the ground enables us to cast a last look on the plain, which, by an optical illusion, seems to rise on the horizon like a straw mat hung against a wall. A blue line marks the middle chain of hills, and another, towards the north-west, the Coast Range. The air is full of a kind of transparent haze, by which both earth and sky are mingled into one. Towards the east, at our feet, and on the side of the Sierra Nevada, of which we have climbed the first spurs, are masses of tree tops: above us, red trunks crowned with thick verdure. There is no trace of rocks except some low and rare blocks of black granite. Here, as in the north, where it is crossed by the railroad, the Sierra

¹ Five thousand three hundred feet above the sea.

Nevada, with its rounded summits, resembles the Jura more than the Alps.

At ten o'clock we descend into a little, flat, circular valley, carpeted with velvety green. The trees have been cleared, saving here and there where a magnificent fir has been left. Mr. Clark's *rancho* is the last civilized spot in these regions. Here also ends the carriage road, so-called. Nothing was more striking than the little house of our host compared with the giants of the forest which shaded it. From this planter's farm to the *Big Trees* is only a couple of miles. But we have to wait for the arrival of the people whom this morning we were lucky enough to leave behind; the "big fellow," as the guide irreverently calls him, with his party; and the Omaha set, the young lady with her adorers, brother, and parents. At last all the party are assembled, and we start, well mounted on some little Indian horses (*moustangs*), harnessed and saddled in Mexican fashion.

The *Big Trees* of Mariposa¹ well deserve their world-spread reputation. A law lately passed and voted unanimously by the legislature, shelters them both from speculation and from the devastation of the mining companies. Unfortunately, however, it cannot protect them from the incendiary fires of the Indians. But none of these trees can be cut down. There are more than four hundred, which, thanks to their diameter of more than 30 feet, their circumference of upwards of 90 feet, and their height of more than 300 feet, are honoured with the appellation of the *Big Trees*. Some of them have lost their crown and been in part destroyed by fire, that scourge of Californian forests. Others, overthrown by tempests, are lying prostrate on the soil, and are already covered with those parasitic creeping plants which are ever ready to crop up round these giant corpses. One of these huge hollow trunks makes a natural tunnel. We rode through it in all its length on horseback without lowering our heads. Another, still standing and green, enables a horseman to enter it, turn round, and go out of it by the same opening. These two trees form the great attraction of the tourists. Like the Russian pilgrims in Pales-

¹ Discovered in 1855. They have been so often described of late years that I should be afraid of wearying my readers by repeating what has been so often said before.

tine who have bathed in the Jordan, the tourists, after having passed on horseback through the tunnelly trunk of one of these trees and the interior of the other, strong in the consciousness of having done their duty, think of nothing but instant departure. The greater part of these trees are marked by the inscriptions of different celebrated persons. One of them bears the name of Ferdinand de Lesseps.

Situated at 8,000 feet above the level of the sea, the ground on which it has pleased nature to create these giants is a deep hollow of the mountains covered with a thick virgin forest. Each generation presses upon the heels of the other, from the little shoot which has hardly sprung into life, up to the venerable patriarchs to whom popular opinion attributes thousands of years. Death and infirmities spare no created thing. In the same way, here, side by side with vigorous life, are marks of decay and destruction. In some of these trees life has evidently died out gradually and naturally. But there are also younger saplings which have perished from unknown causes; others which thunder, the fire of the red skins, or the tornado, has destroyed before their time. But the living form the great majority.

The *Big Trees*, with their smooth, dead-red trunks and short, horizontal branches, are of a coniferous race, well known in Europe. One sees specimens in all our botanical gardens and in most of the "pinetums" of private persons. The first discoverer, an Englishman, gave them the name, which has stuck to them in Europe, of "*Wellingtonia*." This name, which was offensive to the Americans, was changed by them into "*Sequoia Gigantea*," after an Indian chief of Pennsylvania, who distinguished himself by his kindness to the whites and by his civilized habits. These "*Sequoias*" would have a far grander effect to the eye if they were isolated, instead of being crowded with other trees, many of which have attained to almost the same size. Without the help of a guide, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish them from one another. The great indefinable charm of this spot lies in the poetic beauty of the site and the extraordinary fecundity of nature.

But after poetry comes prose. Mr. Clark's little house is full to overflowing. A party of excursionists, who have made the journey in the contrary sense, are just arrived from the Yosemite

Valley, and must share with us the few tiny rooms. The little parlour and the steps of the veranda swarm with people. No one cares to lie on the grass, which, in the forest, is very unlike the lawn of civilized regions. To walk in it, you must have boots *ad hoc*, not reckoning the serpents, which are not boa-constrictors certainly, but which one prefers to avoid if possible. The ladies sit on the benches, the men on the floor, or leaning against the beams. The "fast" young lady has already taken possession of the new arrivals. By glances and signs, by seductive attitudes and noisy laughter, or, if necessary, by smart repartees or sarcastic speeches, she knows not only how to allure, but how to keep her admirers round her. It is a perfect study of village coquetry and a nice specimen of the gallantry of the Far West. "You are shocked," says my Pittsburg friend to me; "but don't be alarmed. That young lady is perfectly aware of what she is about; and her father, who makes believe to be asleep, has probably already chosen his victim, and is only waiting for the moment when he shall pounce down on the young man he has selected and demand his intentions."

The distance from White & Hatches' *rancho* to that of Clark is twenty-four miles; to the *Big Trees* and back twelve miles.

June 16.—On horseback by seven o'clock in the morning. A special guide, whom we have been lucky enough to secure, enables us to leave the rest of the caravan behind. From San Francisco our route had been always in a south-easterly direction. Now we turn towards the north. The road, a narrow, steep and mossy path without stones, leads up by a precipitous incline to the high ridge which separates us from the Yosemite Valley. All round us the forest, as thick and vigorous as the one we passed yesterday, spreads far and wide its resinous perfume. Here and there columns of smoke mount straight up to heaven. Beautiful trees, half burnt by incendiary fires which a heavy rain alone could quench, lean groaning against immense trunks lying amidst the underwood already partly calcined by the flames. Everywhere there is the same diversity of age and size. In these virgin forests you are born, grow, live, decay and die in one huge family party. At eleven o'clock we have

arrived at 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. In this solitary spot is a poor little hut or *chalet* inhabited by a planter and his family. It is called "Half-Way-House," because it is half-way between Clark's *rancho* and the entrance to the celebrated valley. The heat is quite overpowering.

After a short halt, followed by a three hours' march, always in the forest, and inclining constantly towards the north, we arrive at the edge of a precipice. 2,000 feet above us, out of the depths of the mountains, a silvery white thread winds its way downwards. This river, or rather torrent, is La Merced. That dark gorge beyond, deep, jagged, and precipitous, filled with big oaks and firs, which are not far behind the *Big Trees* of Mariposa, is the Yosemite Valley, the object of our journey. The culminating point from which we look down on this strange, wild scene, as from an observatory, is called the *Peak of Inspiration*.

In front of us, on the opposite side of the Yosemite, one single immense block of square granite, with a flattened summit and perpendicular flanks, rises out of the valley beneath. The Mexicans gave it the name of *El Capitan*. Further on, towards the north-east, on both sides of the abyss, rise smooth vertical walls of rock, diversified here and there by peaks and domes, with narrow aerial terraces, out of which spring giant firs. The horizon is bounded by a complete wall of granite, higher than the mountains which surround the valley; and of which the top appears perfectly straight. This is the highest ridge of the Sierra Nevada. We make our way down by a narrow, stony, steep, but not dizzy path. It skirts the *Peak of Inspiration*, and winds through the forest. From time to time, through the trees, we see the boiling waters of the cascades, the noise of which follows us all the way. One of these, called the *Bridal Fall*, falls in one single column of water the height of 900 feet. We took two hours to arrive on the banks of La Merced, and one hour more to gain our halting-place. From Clark's *rancho* to Yosemite there are twenty-four miles.

June 17.—The Californian legislature has had the happy inspiration to buy this wonderful Yosemite Valley, and so to exclude the miners. To preserve untouched the beauties of this spot, they have given up the treasures which are buried in its soil.

Three emigrants have been authorized to settle in the valley. To the cultivation of their fields they add the few dollars which the tourists (who, as yet, are not numerous) leave in their hands. Thanks to these men, one finds in this out-of-the-way spot both shelter and wholesome though plain food. During the hottest hours of the day one remains sitting in the veranda, unless one prefers the shade of the forest, which adjoins the houses. A few rustic arm-chairs are placed for the convenience of travellers. Just before you, the Yosemite dashes down from the top of a rock 2,600 feet high. This celebrated waterfall is one of the largest, I think, in the world, and is the glory of the valley. It is divided into three cascades, of which the highest is 1,600 feet. The compression of the atmosphere caused by the waterfall, and the action of the current of air due to the vertical configuration of the rock, slacken the fall of the foaming liquid and give it the appearance of innumerable rockets from a parachute. In calm weather, a noise as of thunder tempered by distance mingles with the rustling of the trees. At the foot of the rock the rounded blocks of granite form a kind of circus. It is upon them that this mass of water dashes itself into atoms, which in their rebound fill the gorge with a luminous gauzy steam. Seated in the veranda, it looks like a white cloud hung just above the tops of the trees.

A tourist who has come from a long distance to enjoy the solitude of a virgin forest is soon weary of the commonplace conversation of a set of strangers, and still more of the noisy jokes of uneducated youth. Ever since the morning our whole caravan has been here. Divided into parties, mounted on little moustangs and guided by their owners, my travelling companions have started off to see what they call the lions of Yosemite—the different waterfalls, the *Mirror Lake*, and the rocks of the *Cathedral*. For myself I intend to see only what interests me, and to see it alone, without even a guide. The proprietor of the house pleases me by his patriarchal manner. Except on the subject of dollars, I feel great confidence in him; so I ask his advice. “The valley,” he says, “is full of serpents, bears, and Indians; but the Indians are friendly, and the serpents and bears won’t do you any harm unless you attack them. Avoid the thick tufts of grass and moss, so as not to walk on the reptiles, and go in peace.”

A rough bridge is thrown over La Merced. The green and transparent waters of this torrent, full of trout, remind me of the *Gründtraün*: the *Captain* of the *Bachenstein*: the high ridge of the Sierra Nevada, of the *Todtengebirge* seen from Aussee. It is just like the Styrian Valley, only seen through a magnifying glass. Aussee, it is true, has no waterfalls, and Yosemite no lake; yet the resemblance is striking. It is the same crystal water, the same contrast between the smiling vegetation of the valley and the severe nakedness of the rocks which surmount it. Only, here, everything is colossal. In the Swiss Alps there is far less resemblance. There, above the sharp rocks which inclose the torrents, smiling terraces and green pastures are seen, although they may be afterwards in their turn surmounted by glaciers. Here there are no intermediate stages—there are neither green pastures nor icy peaks. The huge rocks rise all in one piece from the depths of the gorge up to the sky, which they cut in an almost straight line. Any peaks or inequalities in their outline are rare, and as they do not attain to the height of the great wall on the ridge, they are not so striking. The scene, therefore, is less varied. The classic simplicity of their shapes contrasts with their enormous size. The people say, that in order to appreciate the grandeur of the nave and cupola of St. Peter's at Rome, you must see them many times. Here the traveller feels just the same. Nature, as a first-rate architect and gardener, has chosen to put such harmony in the proportions of this landscape, that it is only by calculating heights and distances that the eye can take in the marvel. But having done so, one is filled with astonishment, admiration, and respect for the powerful Hand which, in modelling these rocks, has stamped upon them the impress of His own grandeur.

I crossed a smooth greensward, and found myself in a thicket, where I already felt the fine rain which the evening breeze brought from the neighbouring cataract. Some half-naked Indians were watering their moustangs in the river. Another group surrounded a man who was distinguished by a more careful toilet. He wore a pair of trousers and a police-cap: only he had forgotten his shirt. This was "Captain John," the chief of one of the most miserable tribes in America. He was holding a pistol in his hand and aiming at a huge bird,

which was sitting quietly at a little distance off on a branch of a fir-tree. The captain fired and missed. He was evidently put out. His subordinates looked at one another and laughed in their sleeves. Human nature is the same all over the world.

The approach to the Yosemite Falls is not an easy one. It was only by jumping from block to block, by scrambling on the slippery moss, and by crawling painfully through the fissures of the bare rock, that I found myself at last, soaked through with spray, on the edge of an abyss hollowed out by the action of the water and hidden from view through a thick cloud of foam. There was nothing new, perhaps, in the sight. But the profound solitude and the savage grandeur of the scenery give to this spot a character peculiarly its own. From where I was standing one only saw the lowest fall and the upper part of the highest: the middle one was hidden by its rocky basin. To get up there would be impossible. No one but a chamois could attempt it.

The soft shadows which for the last hour had shrouded the valley began to creep along the crenellated wall which bounds the horizon before I could tear myself away from the contemplation of a spectacle so monotonous and yet so varied at the same time. Bright zig-zag lines of water, sparkling on a sheet of dark green, would stop, as if hesitating, in the air, and then dash down the abyss, to be instantly replaced by other columns, following the same impulse, obeying the same laws, meeting with the same obstacles, and sharing the same fate—like a silver ribbon of fine tissue on which the same design is ever produced—and yet each of these separate streams had its individuality. I watched millions of them tearing along down the steep rock—no two were absolutely alike.

My descent from the waterfall was accomplished without accident. Followed by the dull roar of the cataract, I again came to the thicket. But it was now pitch dark. How shall I ever find my way? There are plenty of paths; but they all lead to a river clear as crystal—too wide to jump across—too deep to be forded. No signs of any other way out. The night wears on and I make up my mind to sleep out of doors. But what is that sinister whistling? Is it a serpent? I listen breathlessly. There is a strange rustling among the leaves. Some heavy object is drawing near me through the overhanging

branches. Great God ! Can it be a bear ? My only weapon is a parasol. At this moment, bursts of laughter and a ringing voice which is familiar to me, break upon the silence. I follow the direction of the sounds, and making my way through the bushes, fall into the path, leave the thicket, and find myself face to face with the *fast young lady* and her joyous escort.

June 18.—The Sunday rest makes itself felt even in the heart of the Sierra Nevada. There is no church certainly ; but the master of the house, the mulatto he has engaged as waiter, the farm servants, and some Indian “helps,” have all put on their Sunday clothes, and are lounging on the arm-chairs of the veranda. The guests manage as best they can, sitting on the-ground or stretched on the hard beds of their cells. In spite of the heat— 24° Réaumur, and not a breath of air—I follow the course of La Merced. The valley gradually narrows. A fresh gorge, which is like a succession of little terraces, opens out to the south-east. It is by these steps that from cascade to cascade a powerful torrent falls into the valley. One of these falls, known under the name of the *Nerval Fall*, is the object of my walk—four hours going and returning. The character of the country is always the same : great blocks of shining granite, reddened in parts by the moss, and shaded-everywhere by gigantic trees. The grass is carpeted with flowers : but these minor details are lost in the magnificent and grand scenery around. The eye travels beyond them, or rather cannot be seduced by minor beauties. Involuntarily it rises to the tapering domes of the forest and, looking beyond and above them, stops half terrified before the grandiose aspect of those mountain Titans, who seem with one bound to reach up to heaven. There is little or no variety in the elements of the scenery, which are continually repeating themselves without ever becoming monotonous. The beauty lies in the simplicity of the outlines and in their supernatural grandeur. As to colours, the artist would only need three or four for his palette. Blue, for the Californian sky, that is, a tint of deep blue powdered with gold ; light grey for the rocks, with coldish tones bordering on yellow. Sometimes shades of light blue flickering over the shining cliffs in vertical lines. These are the reflections of the sky on the polished surface of the granite. The vegetation of an intense green, and of every imaginable shade.

There is neither the clear transparency of the higher levels of America, nor the vaporous tints which make the beauty of our Southern skies beyond the seas. One would fancy that the Master who created this wonderful picture had forgotten or disdained to put in the last touches.

June 19.—In the night a heavy storm cooled the air, which is very rare at this time of year. This morning, however, it is again very hot. Gusts of wind from time to time come tearing down the valley, driving before them the clouds of spray, and bowing the heads of the giants of the forest. The roaring of the wind mingles with the sighing of the oak and maple trees and the whistling of the pines and cedars. The clouds chase one another across the sky with marvellous rapidity. Sometimes there is a lull like that in the pulse of a fever patient. The great Yosemite cataract is really sublime. The wind has filled the vertical trench it has hollowed out of the rock, and so dislodged this column of water 1,600 feet high, which, flying from the storm, spreads itself into space like the gauze dress of a ballet-dancer. At five o'clock in the evening, the storm has sufficiently abated to enable us to take a ride. It was delicious to feel the soft showers on one's face from the branches of the trees, and to breathe the resinous air of the forest. Nature, regenerated by the rain after a long drought, seemed to have just come out of her bath; everything was joyous and fresh. Our little moustangs canter gaily across the prairies which skirt the right bank of La Merced. Then we turn into a narrow path which winds round the edge of the abyss, and requires steady heads and sure-footed steeds. The Virginian general and I, who are both used to such roads, get on without any difficulty, but the rest of the party and the guide (the latter not without certain maledictions on the "old fellow" who retarded our march) remained behind to help our Pittsburg friend over the most perilous places.

Nothing could be more beautiful or picturesque than La Merced, at our feet, surmounted by the Peak of Inspiration. Two distinct roads lead into the Yosemite Valley: one, to the south, by which we first came, and which at this moment we can follow with the eye from the edge of the great precipice down to the spot where it enters the forest; the other, in which we now find ourselves, escalades the valley towards the north.

The ascent took two hours. A little hut in the heart of the forest served as a resting-place. This spot is called *Crean's Flat*, after the hardy colonist who has made it his home. The elevation is 6,500 feet above the sea. The cold was intense. Night was coming on, and the largest portion of our party had not yet made their appearance. Has some accident happened? We begin to get anxious. The storm bursts forth afresh amidst torrents of rain. At last, about midnight, our luckless excursionists turn up, the ladies more dead than alive, exhausted with fatigue, soaked to the skin, and cursing the weather, the place, and the whole human race.

June 20.—Although we are only going to make a very short day's journey, the signal of departure is given at four o'clock in the morning. "Why?" I ask our guide. "Because Mr. Coulter will have it so," was the reply. Now Mr. Coulter is the arranger of all these excursions, one of the Californian pioneers, the founder of the town where we are to pass the following night, and which on the map is marked "Coulterville." Like his foundation, this great man has had his ups and downs. To-day both are at their lowest ebb. The town is falling into ruins, and Mr. Coulter, as a last resource, keeps horses to let out to the tourists whom, from time to time, he can pick up at San Francisco. A carriage sent by him is waiting for us a few miles from *Crean's Flat*, at the spot where the road becomes possible for a carriage. We are on one of the great spurs of the Sierra Nevada. The road, by following the sinuosities of the ridge, gives the coachman, whose seat I share, an opportunity of showing off his powers of driving. With him, boldness, not to say rashness, is greater than skill, and, in spite of the nature of the ground, we go like the wind. At every moment I expect to roll into the ravine. The works on this road (which is being made up to the Yosemite Valley) are executed by Chinese labourers. We came upon several groups of them who were doing their business admirably. These children of the Celestial Empire had good, intelligent countenances, and the appearance of men above their condition in life.

At two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at our destination, that is, at a little dirty inn kept by a German couple. What has become of the great hotels which once were the glory of

Coulterville? Deserted streets full of filth and mud, houses half fallen down and abandoned, such is the picture presented by this once flourishing city, and such are the alternations in a miner's life. One solitary building struck me by its look of prosperity. This was the counting-house of Wells, Fargo, and Co. The agent gave me a brief history of the town. He is a Yankee by birth. His statements are clear and to the point. He takes a practical view of everything, but only looks to the exigencies of the day. He does not go to the bottom of things: and in this respect is a very fair specimen of the ordinary Anglo-American mind.

I continue my walk through the town, always pursued by Mr. Coulter's agents. Two steps from the inn is a church; a little further on a cemetery, divided according to the faith of each section. To judge by the extent of this necropolis, one must allow that Coulterville has more dead than living inhabitants. The Catholic cemetery is distinguished by its crosses. There are about a dozen tombs of Italians, containing their remains and those of their wives and children. On some of these sepulchres verses are engraved. A husband weeps for the loss of his young wife in a sonnet worthy of Petrarch. The rhymes might be improved, but the feeling is there all the same. I met several Italians also in the town. Some are engaged at the mines, others keep shop, but all are dying of hunger, and cursing the day when they left their homes in Piedmont and Lombardy to come to this place. I go and visit one of these mines, but the fearful heat drives me back to the shade of my hotel, for all about the town they have cut down the trees.

The wife of the inn-keeper, a Bavarian miner, and a perfect plague of flies keep me company. Complaints and maledictions alternate with short bursts of gaiety inspired by a hope of a return of good fortune. The woman said: "We live upon the miners who dine here every day; when they can't pay us, we must still feed them. If we didn't, it would make them furious (and it's not a wise thing to enrage a miner); and besides, if they were to die of hunger or go away, we should be ruined just the same." "How are we to pay you," the miner says, "when we haven't got our wages? My companions and I are all in the same boat. The owners of the claim

engaged to give us three dollars a day besides our food : for six weeks we've not had a farthing. If we give up working, they will be ruined themselves, and we shall lose all the money they owe us." So it goes on. Everyone here is over head and ears in debt, tossed about between despair and illusion ; and condemned all his life to the fate of a gambler.

In the dining-room, the father of the landlord, with the authority which great age gives in our German villages, is talking to a group of men, who, covered with sweat and dirt, are just returned from the diggings. They will sup with us in precisely the same state. They take up all the chairs and benches which run round the room. The excursionists remain humbly standing. These strange manners, so incomprehensible to new-comers, have ceased to shock me. One gets accustomed to everything. What everyone seems to take as a matter of course one ends by submitting to, without even thinking of resistance. In these savage regions, those who are by way of representing civilization do not generally shine in point of education. They have only brought with them into the forest or to the mines strong arms, (often) remarkable intelligence, courage, perseverance, and above all, a thirst for equality. To prove this, more than to satisfy it, they pretend to be your superiors. Those who depend upon them follow their example, and have a like pretension towards their masters. What is the result? How are men to be happy living in a narrow circle and constantly goaded on by the wish to be the equals of all the world? Their whole lives are a series of bitter deceptions, and aspirations which can never be realized. The consequence is that they all look out of humour and sad. You see things which simply would be thought impossible if you had not witnessed them yourself. For instance, the general rule in the Sierra Nevada is that your grooms, your coachmen, your bullock-drivers, your servants all dine first. They have precisely the same food as the travellers, and are served at the same table. Their masters stand patiently behind them till their servants' dinner is over. Everywhere these men affect the most absurd superiority. Their insolence would really be insupportable if there were not a comic side to it. Sometimes, however, this pride is but a mask. It does not resist the temptation of a dollar adroitly slipped into the hand of one of

these "gentlemen." Having done this, not only do their countenances relax and vouchsafe an agreeable smile, but they will push affability so far as to bring you some water to your room, brush your coat, and blacken your boots. During this expedition, the travellers were obliged to make their ablutions in public, and in the open air, passing one after another under a cock placed at the side of a rustic well; and if they wanted either their clothes or their shoes cleaned they had to do it themselves. I asked my Pittsburg friend why he didn't do like me. In reply, he merely coloured, and looked at the tyrants of the place in silence. What strikes me most, certainly, is less the insolence of the miners and servants than the respectful, humble attitude of my companions. Amongst them are men who, by social position as well as education, belong, in the Eastern States, from whence they come, and certainly in Europe, to the upper classes of society. When we are alone or only amongst ourselves, they talk openly enough of the infamous treatment to which we are subjected. But in presence of the sovereign of the *rancho* and his vassals, prudence prevails over impatience or natural indignation. Not only do they hold their tongues, but they do so with a gracious smile. They are more than loyal subjects; they are devout courtiers of the powers that be. If I notice this curious fact, it is certainly not from a wish to find fault, nor to add to the number of criticisms, often both stupid and unjust, which one reads upon America and American life. Each of us, camped in any little town of the Sierra Nevada, or in no matter what other forest of the Far West, would do the same. I give these examples to prove that, in America as elsewhere, unlimited individual liberty and social equality are a chimera; and that, in the way of submission and etiquette, a petty village king is more exacting than the greatest monarch of old Europe. From Yosemite to Coulterville there are forty-seven miles.

June 21.—We are called again at four o'clock. The farm-servants and our coachmen breakfast first, as usual. Behind the chair of each of the servants a traveller is patiently standing; he is watching for the moment when the place will be free and he can take possession of it. After the servants have finished their breakfast quite at their ease—and they take their time

about it—one of the coachmen gets up, and, turning round to us, says, brutally: "Now, eat fast." Another adds: "We'll give you ten minutes. Those who are not ready then will be left behind."

Mr. Coulter settles where each of us is to sit. I have my place assigned to me next to the coachman. He is the grandson of a German, and can speak the language of his ancestors. Whilst his horses are trotting along at the rate of eight miles an hour, he tells me his history. He is the proprietor of two pairs of horses and gains a hundred dollars a month. To live, with a wife and two children, costs him, he says, six or seven hundred dollars a year.

Twenty miles from Coulterville we come down into the plain, scorched, yellow and desolate as before, saving a few fine evergreen oaks scattered here and there. For several hours we follow the course of the Tolomini: the vegetation on its banks is luxurious. This river is called the Tagus between Abrantes and Santarem. Looking back, we saw the last of the Sierra Nevada range, the grand, imposing rounded masses of rock, wooded at the base, reminding me of the western flanks of the Lebanon.

The sun is merciless, and I begin to ask myself how I can possibly bear the heat of its rays much longer. Fortunately, at each stage, a good Samaritan, for half a dollar, condescends to throw some cold water on my head. Thanks to this preventive treatment, I arrive in the evening at Modesto station alive and even in good condition, and an hour after, by the railroad, at Lathrop, where we spend the night in an excellent hotel. To-morrow, by twelve o'clock, we hope to have once more returned to San Francisco. The distance from Coulterville to Modesto is forty-eight miles; from Modesto to San Francisco, 101 miles.

Thus ended my excursion in the Virgin Forests of the Sierra Nevada. Although full of charm, novelty, and interest, this little journey, in consequence of the provisional nature of the present arrangements (which soon, however, will be brought to perfection), presupposes both good health and great patience. If you listen to your San Francisco friends, it is simply a pleasant walk, which everyone advises you to take—especially those who have not tried it.

CHAPTER XII.

SAN FRANCISCO TO YOKOHAMA.—FROM THE 1st TO THE 25th OF JULY.

Departure from the Golden Gate.—Dismal appearance of San Francisco from the Sea.—The Pacific Mail Company.—The *China*.—Monotony of the Passage.—Reflections on the United States.—Landing at Yokohama.

July 1.—At twelve o'clock precisely, the *China* leaves the pier of the Pacific Mail Company. The departing friends wring the hands of those they love for the last time, and then hurry on board. At one o'clock we have crossed the Golden Gate. Seen from the sea, San Francisco offers the strangest and least attractive aspect possible :—sandy hills divided into straight lines by large unpaved streets, both streets and hills seeming to rise perpendicularly from the sea, brown wooden houses, yellow sand, and a pale blue sky bordering on grey, with flakes of mist giving the look of a torn gauze veil over the whole. The rocky galleries of the coast extend to the north and south. But even here brown and yellow tints prevail. Thick heavy clouds shroud the tops of the mountains as with a baldachino. Cliff House with its three rocks (the sporting-place of the seals and birds) is the last peep of land visible from the deck of the *China*. Beyond and around us the Pacific spreads its green billows, over which dark shadows are creeping. The sea line and the Farallone Islands are invisible. The fog which awaits us has already hidden them from sight. One or two more turns of the wheel and we are surrounded by it. Nothing could be sadder or more lugubrious than our departure.

July 2.—Weather splendid ; wind north-east. The crisp waves intensely blue, with darker purplish shades. Gigantic gulls follow the wake of the ship, and flutter above the deck.

In the deep clear sea, great flat fish are swarming, called by the sailors "Portuguese men-of-war." This name probably dates from the time when Great Britain usurped the supremacy of the seas. The ships of Vasco da Gama and his companions were not models of construction, but they had heroes on board. That which was then a term of derision reminds navigators of to-day of the fallen greatness of a once chivalrous nation.

July 3.—The line of steamers which runs between San Francisco and Hong Kong, touching at Yokohama, is of recent creation. If a three years' experience allows one to form a deliberate judgment, then the problem, so long considered chimerical, as to whether they would be able to go across the vast Pacific with paddle-wheel steamers, seems to have been successfully solved by the American company. But there is only one departure a month ; and thirty-six or forty passages (going and returning) are not enough, perhaps, to give a positive result. However it may be, as yet they have had no accident whatever. The boats start and arrive with as much regularity as a railway train. It is with a certainty which makes one shudder, that, on the 1st of each month, at the moment of quitting the Californian shores, the officers on board say to the passengers : "On the 24th, at nine o'clock in the morning, you will land at Yokohama." One of their steamers, it is true, only five days after leaving San Francisco, had something the matter with her machinery, and could only go with one wheel. Nevertheless, the captain had the rashness to go on and the good luck to arrive at the port of Yokohama after only nine days' delay, having used up all his coal and been terribly straitened as to provisions. Another steamer was on the eve of perishing on the Japanese coast in a typhoon. The question is, are there really sufficient guarantees given by the company for the safety of the passengers and merchandise embarked in these vessels? On this point opinions differ. English and French naval and military officers and commercial men of San Francisco whom I have heard discussing the question, positively affirm the contrary. American sailors, however, on the other hand, pretend that no navigation can be attended with less danger, and that no ships are better calculated to brave any which may exist.

The objectors advance the following reasons: the Pacific Mail Steamship Company receives an annual subsidy from the Washington Government of five hundred thousand dollars (more than two millions and a half of francs.) This subsidy is insufficient, because, compared to the expenses, the traffic and the number of first-class passengers are small. To cover the outgoings, which are enormous, the company, which is compelled to despatch a steamer on the 1st of every month from San Francisco, and on the 12th from Hong Kong, is obliged to reduce the number of officers and men to the minimum of what is strictly necessary. The companies of the Transatlantic European lines and the French Messageries employ at least double the number. As to the boats and material, the difference is in the same proportion. The American company does the whole service with only four boats, each of which, going and coming, must traverse the enormous distance of fourteen thousand four hundred miles (60 to a degree). The result is, that these boats wear out very quickly; and that when in harbour, the very short time during which they are at anchor does not allow of a proper inspection of the machinery, or even of indispensable repairs; so that in this respect there is always great risk. More than this, to reduce the expense, the whole crew, saving the officers and engineers, are Chinamen. Well the Chinese are second-rate sailors: in bad weather they lose their heads, and in cases of real danger they are wanting in both courage and discipline. The servants on board are equally Chinamen. To which must be added the large number of passengers of this nation, especially in the vessels coming from Hong Kong. The white passengers are comparatively few. In certain eventualities this state of things might give rise to grave difficulties. From San Francisco to Yokohama the run is 5,000 miles without a break, or any possibility of putting in to a port in case of accident or running short of provisions. They are therefore compelled to lay in an enormous quantity of coal in case of any delay in the passage arising either from accident or bad weather. The consequence is that these boats for the first few days are terribly overloaded and unwieldy. They lack buoyancy, an essential quality in the gales which in certain seasons prevail on the Californian coast, and which blow during almost the whole year off the

shores of Japan. But there are still graver considerations worthy of the serious attention of the Central Government and of the company. They refer to the construction of these ships. They are all paddle-wheel boats of 5,000 tons, which can only go by steam. Their masts are small and weak, and they are obliged to be so, for the solution has not yet been found of the problem of how to proportion sailing to steam power in steamers of that size bound for such enormous distances. It is true, that steamers run directly from England to Australia. But they are, in reality, sailing ships, which take advantage of the trade winds and currents ; and only when these fail, or in a dead calm, have recourse to steam. The screw is but an auxiliary : the sails are the essential. These passages then are accomplished under the most favourable auspices. But these conditions are entirely wanting in the Pacific boats. First, from the fault of construction which I have already pointed out. But this is not all. The Pacific has none of the advantages of which skippers know how to avail themselves in the Australian waters. In the North Pacific there are neither trade winds nor regular currents. In these waters, the winds generally blow in a circle on the line invariably followed by the steamers in summer (the 36th degree), because it is the straightest and shortest ; the east wind prevails ; while eighty or 100 miles further north the wind blows furiously from the west. The sailing vessels which trade between the Pacific states in Asia, and, in exchange for tea, carry to Japan corn and flour and wood for building purposes from the Californian and Oregon forests, always take a northern course to escape the calms further south. This accounts for the fact that you never see a sail from the deck of any of the company's steamers.

To sum up all—the means at the disposal of the company are insufficient for their task ; the disproportion between the white and Chinese element is a grave inconvenience ; and lastly, and this is the main point, to carry on this service regularly, by steam power alone, you must have enormous boats overloaded with coal ; for in case of accident to the machinery, or a falling short of fuel, their sails would be utterly useless. Looking at the nature of the boats at the disposal of the company, however good they may be as mere steamers, it would be infinitely wiser to divide the passage in half and put in at

Honolulu. The voyage would certainly be a little longer, but the risks run would be reduced to a minimum. To compel these steamers to cross the whole Pacific in one run is to ignore the rules of prudence and court disaster.

To this the Americans answer : the means of the company are amply sufficient. Their boats are allowed by everyone to be models of perfection. They wear out less quickly than the steamers of the Atlantic companies because they go slower, their regulation speed being only 240 miles in the twenty-four hours, while the boats of the Cunard and other companies make 300. There is sufficient time allowed at the two ends for the necessary inspection, cleaning, and repairs. On all the waters of the globe you will not find ships better kept or better appointed. The service is not reduced to a minimum. There are no superfluous hands, it is true, no mass of waste paper, or red-tapism, or distinctions of rank or etiquette beyond what is absolutely necessary. The captain does not fancy himself an admiral or a commodore. After having given his instructions to his chief officer, he is not above visiting himself three or four times a day (according to his instructions) the machinery, the kitchens, the cabins of the passengers, everything, in fact, down to the hold. Compared to your European lines, it is true, every officer does double work ; but then, he is paid double. Our system has all the advantages of simplicity ; and in case of danger, offers greater security than yours ; for every one of our agents has a sense of responsibility, and does not think he is too fine a gentleman to do things himself, nor leave everything to his subordinates ; for the very simple reason that he has not as many at his disposal. The crew is composed of Chinese ; and it is true that a Chinese sailor is not worth a white one. But in point of discipline, we prefer them infinitely to the American or European sailors who hang about the Pacific ports. These belong, as everyone knows, to the very dregs of the population. They are mostly quarrellers and drunkards, who, the moment we cast anchor, break their engagement and make off. The Chinese sailors, on the contrary, are noted for their gentleness, submission, and obedience. We have never had an instance with them of any row or insubordination. As to the passengers of this nation, the arrangement of their cabins is such that in case of a mutiny, we could put them at once under

lock and key. They are not armed ; and the captain, in case of need, has always plenty of revolvers to distribute among his white passengers, who, on setting foot on deck, promise to place themselves under his orders, if necessary. Besides, for the reasons we have before mentioned, the ships of all the great English houses at Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Calcutta are manned with Chinese or Malays. The pretended danger, therefore, caused by the preponderance of the Chinese element, is a chimera.

But now to come to your great objection—the construction of our ships. It is true that steam is the essential element, and it necessarily must be so when it is a question of traversing such immense spaces with the regularity of a clock. It is also true that with us the sails are but accessories, and it would be better if we could make more use of them ; but, as it is, in case of any derangement of the machinery, they are invaluable. Our small masts are then replaced by bigger ones. Each boat is furnished with a double supply. You may see them lying on the deck. Therefore, even supposing that it were impossible to work the ship even with one wheel, one would always have the chance of reaching either Yokohama or San Francisco, or at any rate of keeping afloat in our usual course long enough to be helped or picked up by one of our own boats. For remember, our service is done with such regularity and such nautical precision, that, unless in very rare instances, caused by thick fogs, the steamers from San Francisco and Japan meet regularly at a certain point in the ocean on a day and hour calculated and known beforehand. As to provisions, they are always amply supplied. And as to coal, it is not correct to state that our boats are overloaded on leaving the port. They are always, on the contrary, carefully organized in this respect. At sea one must always contend with the uncertainties of the elements—it is the case with every species of navigation. But, in reality, there is only one enemy we really fear, and that is, fire. The most minute and ingenious precautions are taken to guard against it, which we recommend to other companies. You might well take a leaf out of our book ! But what is better than all our arguments is the experience of more than forty voyages ; that is, eighty times crossing the Pacific, with all the dangers of the Chinese and Japanese waters. In the last three

years, our boats have made more than six hundred thousand miles. They have all come back safely to the Golden Gate without the loss of one man or one case.¹

There is the *for* and *against*. Who is right? It is not for the ignorant to decide. Well, we'll persevere, come what may. And, as we are fairly off, let us persuade ourselves that the company is right, and that there is no safer way of crossing the Pacific than in one of their boats. Certainly, nothing can be pleasanter, so long as the ocean answers to its name, and I suppose that is the rule in this season and in this latitude. During the winter months the steamers follow a more southerly course. The distance is then increased by 200 miles. In fact, during all the year one may reckon on a calm sea and a clear sky, always excepting a narrow zone of 300 miles on the Californian coast and another of 500 or 600 on the Japanese. Between the two, nature smiles on us—smiles, I must say, which rather resemble yawns. Above, below, around us, everywhere, everyone sleeps—men, air, and sea.

¹ This proud appeal to a short but brilliant past has since been cruelly contradicted. On the 24th of August, 1872, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, in the roadstead of Yokohama, the *America*, the glory of the company, just after having accomplished her eleventh voyage, was burnt to the water's edge. The *China* brought the sad news to San Francisco. The inquiry into the cause of the disaster threw no light on the subject. From the testimony of eye-witnesses, it appears that in less than seven minutes after the first flames were perceived, the whole ship, from prow to poop, was one sheet of flame. At the last moment, the captain, terribly burnt, threw himself into the sea and was saved by the commander of the *Costa Rica*, one of the steamers of the same company. Three European passengers and more than sixty Chinese, all bound for Hong Kong, were burnt or drowned. The Chinese, determined not to lose their savings, dawdled a little, and then threw themselves all together on a ladder, which broke with their weight. The gold found upon their corpses proved that not one was returning poor to his own country. The *Bien Ville*, hired by the company to serve the New York and Aspinwall line, also took fire on the 15th of August near the Bahama Isles. Scarcely had the crew left the ship when she blew up and foundered. Out of 127 persons on board, forty were killed. Another steamer, bearing the name of *America*, was also burnt a few hours after leaving the port of Nagasaki. The same summer, another great steamer (of which I forget the name) was wrecked in the Japanese inland sea on her way from Yokohama to Shanghai. These two ships did not, however, belong to the Pacific Company, which has lately increased its staff and the number of its boats, as well as of its voyages, which have become bi-monthly. Altogether it is in a very flourishing condition.

July 4.—The sky is pearly grey. The vessel is all painted white; masts, deck-cabins, deck, tarpauling, benches—all are white. This deck, from poop to prow, is all in one piece, and makes a famous walk. Almost all the morning I am alone there. The first-class passengers get up very late; the second-class, that is, the Chinese, not at all. They go to bed at San Francisco and never leave their berths till they reach their destination. You never see one of them on deck. The sailors, having done their duty, disappear likewise. And how easy that duty is in such weather! On leaving the Golden Gate, the sails were hoisted, and have remained untouched ever since. The breeze is just strong enough to fill them and to keep us steady. The result is a complete calm. The smoke ascends up to heaven in a straight line. So the sailors have a fine time of it. They sleep, play, or smoke downstairs with their companions. The two men at the helm—these two are Americans—are equally invisible, for a watch-tower hides them from sight, as well as the rudder and the officer of the watch. I have thus got the deck of this immense ship entirely to myself. I pace it from one end to the other: four hundred feet backwards and forwards. The only impediment is a transverse bar of iron, as high as one's head, which binds in the middle the two sides of the ship. It is painted white like all the rest, and is difficult to see. In every position in life, there is always the worm in the bud, a thorn in the flesh, or, at any rate, some dark spot. On board the *China* the dark spot for me is that detestable white bar. Not only am I perpetually knocking my head against it, but it reminds me unpleasantly of the frailty of human things. It is very thin, and yet, if I am to believe the engineer, it is this bar alone which, in very bad weather, prevents the enormous shell of the boat from breaking in half. There are moments when one's life hangs on a thread: here it hangs on an iron bar. That is better, perhaps, but it is not enough.

July 5.—Yesterday evening the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the United States was celebrated. The Americans spoke with ease and freedom, mingling little touches of somewhat commonplace eloquence with sallies of wit, in which they are rarely at a loss. Everyone seemed

suddenly to wake up from the state of drowsiness in which we had been plunged.

This morning the weather is more beautiful than ever. Everything is blue and gold. The sea reflects the same wonderful shades of purple and blue which struck me so much the second day of our passage. The pendulum of the machine rises and falls with slow regularity. The waves swell and break gently, like the breast of a sleeper. Around me, save the murmur of the wheels, and now and then the flapping of the wings of the sea-gulls, which have followed us ever since we left San Francisco, the silence is profound. Down below it is the same. From time to time I hear the sound of a guitar: it comes out of the barber's shop. The artist is a mulatto. At the other end of the saloon cabin, the purser is whiling away the hours with a similar instrument. The passengers, shut up in their cabins, or stretched on arm-chairs in the saloon, are reading or sleeping. They only appear on deck very late in the day. We are not many first-class passengers; only twenty-two in all:—two English tourists, very agreeable young men of good family; two merchants of the same nation, established at Yokohama, one accompanied by his wife; some Americans, one a rich Boston merchant, another a young doctor, who, after having practised in the Sandwich Islands, is going to seek his fortune in Japan; two Italian silk-worm seekers; and two Spaniards trafficking in human flesh, who are established at Macao, and pack off coolies to Chili and Havanna. During my long residence in Lisbon I always found a peculiar character in the faces of those men who had become rich by the slave trade, and a certain particular expression which was the reverse of pleasing. I found this same look in one of these Spaniards even before I knew his trade. Involuntarily, the passengers, though so few, divided themselves into two coteries, the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin. There is also a young coloured woman, a widow, with the head and face of a Madonna. She is going to join her future husband, who is a hair-dresser at Yokohama. She has a little girl, deaf and dumb, who makes the most horrible and inarticulate sounds possible. But the tenderness and indefatigable care of her mother are so touching that everyone bears willingly with the presence of this afflicted little creature. It is maternal love

which works this marvel. And then people disbelieve in miracles!

The yellow race is represented by my friend, Fang Tang, and by two other Japanese, dressed up in European costume, in which they look horrible. The one, a former governor of a province, only speaks Japanese; the other, a young student and the son of a daimio, it is said, seems not to have profited much as a linguist by his stay in England; however, he managed to get out the words: "*England all good, Japan all bad!*" This is the total result of his European education. It promises him, certainly, unmixed happiness in his own country.

The most interesting person among us, without a doubt, is the old Parsee merchant of Bombay. A baker by trade, but a princely baker, he produces the very best bread for the European residents at Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Before the steamers were established, his ships coasted in all the Chinese and Japanese waters. He is a considerable personage. His fine head, his venerable white beard, his dignified manner, his extreme politeness, even the sober but picturesque dress he wears, harmonise with the bent of his mind, his vast experience, and his high social position. Everyone knows that in Mussulman society merchants are the first class. Our conversations are long and easy, for he speaks English perfectly. He told me that he wished to see something of European civilization, and for that reason went to America. He has only visited San Francisco. That was quite enough. After having convinced himself that I was not an American, he owned that he could not find terms severe enough to speak of what he had seen. "What scandals in the streets! The women—and what women! And the men: what a lack of dignity! It is not so in my country. An Oriental loves his neighbour; he is good, obliging, decent. Never in the streets of our town will you be shocked by the sight of drunkards and bad women. The American thinks of nothing but himself: he is vulgar and rude to the last degree, and gives himself up publicly to every kind of excess." It was with positive impatience that he waited for the departure of the return boat, which was to enable him to escape for ever from so antipathetic a spot.

Our captain, Captain Cobb, born in the Eastern States, like all the other officers is an excellent seaman, polished in manner,

and most attentive and kind to the passengers. More or less, he gives the like tone to his subordinates.

Mr. O., the chief engineer, of an old and good Spanish family, a native of the Canary Islands, and brought up at Havanna, forms a singular contrast to his Anglo-American companions. He is a mixture of a caballero and an ascetic Castilian. One has only to look at him to see that he is a man in a thousand. This first impression is confirmed by his conversation. Still young, he owes his place entirely to his merits. His leisure moments are devoted to serious studies. His cabin, which opens on one side to the deck, and on the other to the machinery, is a very fair indication of his turn of mind and the higher aspirations of his soul. A well-chosen little library, where theological and scientific works stand side by side with classical authors and the writings of Donoso Cortès ; two pots of plants, which his wife gave him before his departure, and which, by dint of care, he has been able to keep alive in spite of the deleterious effect of the sea air ; and the portrait of this young lady. Can you conceive anything like the poetic sadness and solitariness of this abnormal existence ? He loves his profession, it is true, and lives on good terms with his comrades. But, a fervent Catholic, he passes his life with men whose last thought is religion ; passionately in love with his young and beautiful wife, he sees her once in three months for eighteen days ; devoted to speculative studies, he finds himself compelled, almost the whole day, to watch a machine and count its revolutions.

The doctor on board, a Southerner, and a man of a certain age, is a philosopher. He looks at everything on the worst side. His speciality is to examine the reverse of the medal. His great originality and a kind of caustic wit, redeemed by a fund of good humour and immense experience, give a peculiar charm to his conversation. In general, the great attraction of foreign travel is to meet men of a totally different stamp from yourself. Birth, education, ways of seeing and acting, experience of life, everything in them is different. The doctor is, likewise, the librarian. Every day, at a certain hour, he distributes the books you ask for. There is a good collection of classical English authors, and what is very useful to me, the best and most recent works on China and Japan.

Do not let us forget the purser, the man who holds the purse strings, an important personage for the passengers, and placed in a higher position in the American boats than the stewards of European vessels. He is a smiling, agreeable gentleman, who neither expects nor will accept any "tip," and who, from time to time, shakes hands with you affectionately. I like ours very much, but I should like him better if he would play the guitar a little less.

The head waiter is a native of Hamburg. He and his white comrade lead an easy life. They confine their labours to overlooking the Chinese men and pass the rest of their time in flirting with the ladies'-maids. These are the only two idlers in the service. Thirty-two Chinamen do the duty of waiters, on the passengers and at table. Although short, they look well enough with their black caps, their equally black pig-tails, which go down to their heels, their dark blue tunics, their large wide trousers, their gaiters or white stockings, and their black felt shoes with strong white soles. They form themselves into symmetrical groups, and do everything with method. Fancy a huge cabin in which the small table of twenty-two guests is lost, with all these little Chinamen fluttering round them and serving them in the most respectful fashion, without making any noise. The Hamburg chief, idly leaning against a console, with one hand in his trousers-pocket, directs, with the forefinger of the other, the evolutions of his docile squadron.

July 6.—Every day, at eleven o'clock in the morning and at eight o'clock in the evening, the captain, followed by the purser, makes the rounds of the ship. In that of the morning, all the cabin doors are opened, only excepting those of the ladies. But the moment these have gone out, the eye of Providence—that is, of the captain—visits them with equal care. If any allumettes are discovered, they are pitilessly confiscated. This morning, the captain invited me to accompany him, and I could convince myself with my own eyes of the perfect order and discipline which reign everywhere. Nothing was more tempting than that department which one generally avoids, the kitchens. The head cook and his assistants, all Germans, did the honours of their domain. Every man was at his post, and only anxious to show the visitors the most secret corners of

his department. It was like an examination of conscience carefully made. The provision and store-rooms were admirable. Everything was of the first and best quality ; everything was in abundance ; everything was classed and ticketed like the drugs in a chemist shop. The Chinese quarter is on the lower deck. We have about 800 on board. They are all in their berths, smoking and talking and enjoying the rare pleasure in their lives of being able to spend five weeks in complete idleness. In spite of the great number of men penned into so comparatively small a space, the ventilation is so well managed that there is neither closeness nor bad smells. The captain inspects every hole and corner—literally everything—and-everywhere we found the same extraordinary cleanliness. One small space is reserved for the opium-eaters or smokers, and we saw these victims of a fatal habit, some eagerly inhaling the poison, others already feeling its effects. Lying on their backs and fast asleep, their deadly pale features gave them the look of corpses.

July 7.—Contrary to our usual sleepy habits, we are all to-day in a state of excitement and agitation. The *China* is to come to the point where it ought to meet the *America*, which was to leave Hong-Kong five-and-twenty days ago. Our topsails are filled with little Chinamen, whose eager eyes are fixed on the horizon. The captain and officers are standing close to the bowsprit, their telescopes pointed in the same direction. Even my Spanish friend has left his engine, his flower-pots, and his wife's portrait to gaze at the blue sea slightly rippled, but, as usual, without a speck of a sail. No *America* ! The captain's heart is in his shoes ; he consults his charts, his instruments, his officers, all in vain. The day passes without the steamer being signalled. The dinner is silent and sad. Everyone seems preoccupied, and the captain is evidently anxious. It seems that the directors of the company make a point of their two boats meeting. It is to them a proof that their captains have followed the straight course, and that the San Francisco boat has crossed, without any accident, a third of the Pacific. The passengers gladly avail themselves of this precious opportunity to write to their friends. For the captains themselves, it is a question of honour. They like to show

their skill in this way, and their cleverness in being able, despite the variable and imperfectly understood currents of the Pacific, to make a straight course across this enormous sheet of water.

July 8.—At five o'clock in the morning the second officer rushes into my cabin: "The *America* is in sight!" I throw on my clothes and tumble on deck. The morning is beautiful, and this colossal steamer, the largest after the *Great Eastern*, draws near majestically. The usual salutes are exchanged, and the *America's* gig brings us an extract from their log, the list of the passengers, the newspapers from Hong-Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama; and, which is essential, takes charge of our letters for America and Europe. A few moments after she resumes her course. What a grand and imposing sight! At six o'clock she has already disappeared behind the horizon. At the moment of meeting, we had run exactly 1,500 miles—that is, half the distance between England and New York.

The Chinese and Japanese papers are very interesting. They complain sadly of the stagnation of trade, and are full of alarm at the state of things in Japan, where the old feudal constitution has been virtually abolished. From hence great discontent among the great daimios, who are making preparations for war. One of them has re-established a court ceremony which had fallen into disuse—that of trampling the cross under their feet.

These are, for me, so many problems. But the solution will be in the next number, that is, in Japan itself, if I can only find people willing and able to give me the desired information.

July 19.—The list of passengers on board the *America* is just posted up: it made me reflect. There are upwards of fifty Japanese of noble family. The reformed government of the day sends them for a year, at the cost of the state, to America and Europe. They are to acquire the rudiments of every kind of knowledge and civilization, which they are to bring back into their own country; just as the Italian silk-growers go every year to Japan to procure fresh silkworms. To judge by our two young Japanese who have just returned from Europe, I should venture to doubt the success of the plan. The old Parsee, who seems to know the "Empire of the

Rising Sun " better than most European residents, says to me : " The Japanese are perfect children. Good children, but, old or young, they are still children. Those who go to Europe take with them a quantity of money ; they fall into the hands of rogues and thieves, who lead them into every kind of mischief, and then rob them. The poor dupes come home crest-fallen, with empty purses, and as ignorant as they went. Look at those two young men we have on board : they have learned nothing, and have spent a fabulous sum. One of them, the governor, owned to me that he was ruined." This fact was confirmed by my friend, Fang-Tang, who is an intimate friend of the functionary who has paid so dearly for his thirst for knowledge. The Chinese and Japanese languages, although sprung from the same Mongol root, have little or no affinity. But in Japan they have adopted, for centuries, the Chinese characters. Persons of the two nations can thus correspond without knowing each other's language. My two travelling companions make use of this method. Seated side by side, they spend hours in writing to each other, and exchanging notes. What on earth can they have to say to each other?

July 10.—To-day we have passed the 164th degree of longitude (Greenwich). It corresponds to the meridian of Vienna. In our cabin we have 21 degrees Réaumur. On deck, even under the awning, it is still hotter. It is horribly damp besides. The wind blows always from the east. Since we left San Francisco the sails have not been touched.

July 11.—I had a long talk to-day with a Southerner. His country was, of course, the subject. They were like the lamentations of the Prophets in the Old Testament. I have not yet met one of his countrymen who did not talk to me in the same strain, but rarely have I heard the sorrow of a patriot expressed in language more touching or more high-minded. After having described, in vivid colours, what the South was before the war, he drew a picture of what it had become since—one great open wound. A stranger who has not studied the question on the spot itself ought naturally to suspend his judgment ; but seeing the unanimity of the complaints, one asks oneself whether men with the best will in the world, even

with the help of time, which heals so many wounds, will ever be able to remedy evils which are considered incurable (under the present Government) even by the sufferers themselves. I own that the reasons adduced by the Northerners, who naturally do not look upon things in so gloomy a light, do not reassure me at all. They reckon on community of interests: but it is precisely the divergence of their interests which produced the secession: on the influence of time, which will modify the feelings of future generations; but on what are these hopes founded? Are they not chimerical? History shows few examples of a nation, which, rightly or wrongly, think themselves oppressed, being sincerely reconciled to their oppressors. She may accept her fate with resignation; but hopes and hatreds remain; hostile aspirations and a thirst for vengeance are transmitted from generation to generation. To this they reply: "First, that the Southerners are not a separate nation; then, although the territory of the Southern States is very large, the white population is comparatively small. The immigration increases. The new arrivals are the born antagonists of the ancient proprietors of the soil, that is, of our enemies. They will evict them. By and by, they will form the majority. The day will come when they will be masters. The original white population will have disappeared; anyhow it will not count. Therefore there is some sense in our saying that time will act in our favour."

I admit this argument. It is a solution which time alone can bring, and, saving separation, it seems to me the only alternative. But for the Southerners themselves it is destruction. They would perish little by little, like the first inhabitants of the soil, the Indians. As long as they live, they will resist the existing state of things, which seems to them unendurable. It will either be smouldering hostility or a declaration of open war. That being the case, I seek in vain for the elements of reconciliation.

July 12.—Towards the middle of last night we were just half-way between San Francisco and Yokohama. This morning, as usual, we counted our friends, the gulls. The greater number have deserted us. They went home in the wake of the *America*. Six have remained faithful. These are intending

to go right across the Pacific, flying during the day round and round the boat, skimming across the sea, or dipping the tips of their wings in the rising waves, on which they float and seem to sleep at night, only to join us afresh on the morrow.

July 13.—This evening we shall pass the 180th degree of longitude. That is the moment for navigators to settle their reckoning with earth and sun. Friday the 14th is to be suppressed, and we are to pass straight on to Saturday the 15th. For the boats coming in the contrary sense, from west to east, it is the reverse; they then repeat the day of the week and month. On board to-day this is the great topic of conversation. Few understand it, and no one can explain it clearly. A good many of the passengers seriously regret having left one day at the bottom of the Pacific.

July 15.—The fine weather, which has been so faithful to us hitherto, has deserted us. During the whole day a hot, fine rain fell without intermission. In the cabins and everywhere the air is like that at the mouth of a stove. The passengers begin to weary of the passage, and to reckon how many more days they will have to spend on board. The dinners are not looked upon with so much favour. There are a quantity of dishes, certainly, but they are all very much the same. There is a monotony in their very variety. The water used in the kitchen, like that which you drink, is sea-water distilled, which palls upon the taste and disagrees with the stomach. The damp heat and the loss of the sun are both causes of complaint. On all sides I hear grumbling. The Asiatics alone preserve their serenity. Towards evening the thermometer falls rapidly, and the captain foretells wind. Happily we are not yet in the zone of the typhoons.

July 19.—The bad weather continues. Last night the rolling banished sleep. To-day the monsoon blew violently. It seemed to blow out of the mouth of a furnace. After breakfast the captain takes me into his cabin and explains our position to me—that is, tells me what is our best and worst chance. “The monsoon is become a gale; but it is not that he fears. There are signs of a typhoon to the north-west. What course

shall we take? That is the question. Perhaps we are already in its periphery. Perhaps not. Very soon we shall know. In the meantime, there is no imminent danger." The navigation of the Chinese and Japanese seas is a lottery. Only the bad numbers are rare. Captain Cobb talks with the calmness of a physician who, on leaving his patient, only tells him a portion of his malady. While following his lucid explanation I forgot that we were the sick man!

At this moment the ocean was really magnificent. In the boiling sea, the foam was driven horizontally towards the east. The water was positively inky, with here and there whitish gleams of light. The sky was iron grey; to the west a curtain of the same colour, but darker. The thermometer was still falling rapidly. In the air above the waves I suddenly saw a cloud of white flakes. They were little bits of Joss-paper which the Chinese were throwing into the sea to appease their gods. I passed before the open cabin door of the engineer; he was watering his plants. The passengers were all gathered together in the saloon. Some of them were moved almost to tears. At twelve o'clock the sky cleared a little and the faces brightened considerably. I have often remarked that people when in danger, whether real or imaginary, are like children. The slightest thing will make them laugh or cry. The Bombay master baker, the Chinese merchant, and the two Japanese struck me by their imperturbability. The first whispered in my ear: "The company is very unwise to have a Chinese crew; the Malays are much better. Chinese sailors are scared at the least danger, and would be the first to make off in the lifeboats." Fang-Tang has an equally bad opinion of his fellow-countrymen. He says to me: "Chinese good men—very good. Bad sailors. Very bad!" I reply: "If we go to the bottom, what will happen to Fang-Tang?" He answers, "If good, place above; if bad, *below stairs*, punished."

July 20.—In the middle of the night the ocean suddenly calmed. The *China* has got out of the region of the cyclone. The weather is delicious—the sea like glass. But at four o'clock in the afternoon we suddenly find ourselves amidst colossal waves; and yet there is not a breath of wind. They tell us that this was probably, yesterday, the centre of the

typhoon. It has exhausted itself or gone elsewhere; but the sea which it lashed into fury is still agitated, like the pulse of a fever patient after the fit is over.

July 22.—The days follow one another with wonderful uniformity. Except the short episode of the storm, these three weeks leave on my mind the impression of a charming dream, of a fairy tale, or of an imaginary walk across a great hall, all filled with gold and lapis lazuli—not a moment of weariness or impatience. If you wish to shorten the tediousness of a long voyage, divide your time properly and keep to the rule you have laid down for yourself. It is the only way to become accustomed to this kind of life, and even to enjoy it.

In the morning, after your bath, take an hour's solitary exercise on the vast deck. Then read for an hour or two in your cabin. Afterwards, if you fancy it, take part in the hoop game. This is a very popular amusement on board the American steamers. The players try to throw some rings, formed of ends of cord, into certain numbered squares which have been traced on the floor with chalk. It is much more difficult than one fancies. The two young Englishmen beat all the rest. At five o'clock dinner is served in the great cabin. On board the *China* all is abundant, and even copious. After the meal, the Anglo-Saxons and Latins meet in the smoking-saloon. It is the only place where they talk freely. The Spaniard from Macao, the dealer in coolies, has taken a philanthropic turn. He sheds tears of tenderness at any moment. He pretends not to be able to listen without shuddering to the stories of his neighbour, one of the Italian silk merchants, a Garibaldian hero, and, if we are to believe him, a ferocious assassin of the Bourbons. But in the way of marvellous tales, no one can beat our young American doctor, who comes from the Sandwich Islands and is going to Japan. His adventures in the midst of the savages, and the massacres in which he has shared, are belied by the gentleness of his face and the modesty of his manner, but certainly reflect credit on the fertility of his imagination. All this is amusing enough during the smoking of one's cigar. But the most enchanting part of the twenty-four hours is the night. Never have I seen stars shine with such brilliancy. The Milky Way unrolls its luminous ribbon

across the sky, and is reflected in the waves. Our peasants say it leads to Rome. Here it leads to the Ocean Archipelago, that terrestrial paradise, the ideal of philosophers of the last century. Feeding on their descriptions, we imagine the natives luxuriating under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees, and revelling in all the most beautiful products of nature; while chaste Naiads plunge in the crystalline waters and weave *riva-riva* wreaths for their hair. But then rise up the spectres of Queen Pomare and the Rev. Mr. Pritchard! which dispel our poetical dreams and bring us back to the realities of life. During the first part of the night I am sure to meet the chief engineer, or else he stops me as I pass the door of his cabin to exchange a few words. I always see Fang-Tang closeted with the Japanese functionary. Both are looking at the stars, however; for the growing darkness has put an end to their talk upon paper. The Parsee, too, is still up, and delays seeking his berth. Sitting on his heels, he is thinking and stroking his fine white beard. I take up a place by his side, and he gives me his ideas on every kind of question—from the white bread which he furnishes to the English merchant-princes, down to the tortuous policy of the Tsungli-Yamen and the reform of Japan. Often we do not separate till the curfew-bell warns us of the putting out of the lights.

This is the way we have crossed the Pacific.

July 23.—To-day everything is changed: the sky, the climate, the feelings of the passengers, who already are counting the minutes till they can land; for only a few miles now separate us from our port of disembarkation. The atmosphere, charged with vapoury mists, wears no longer the same aspect. The sun is paler, the sky less blue. The westerly wind brings with it fantastic-shaped clouds, which still preserve the outlines of the mountains from which they have detached themselves. These are the first messengers sent us from land. Towards twelve o'clock the fitful gusts bring us others—a whole cloud of dragon-flies. These graceful little insects, with their slender bodies and gauzy wings, seem half stunned. The storm has driven them from their flowery bushes and chased them across the ocean. They alight on the deck, on the cordage, on the masts—everywhere. But they are welcome; no one touches

or harms them. The *China* is going to bring them back to their own land again. These are not the only shipwrecked passengers whom we shall bring home. On the last voyage, in the middle of the Pacific, some hundreds of miles from the Nippon coast, a Japanese junk, without her masts, had been sighted. A boat was sent, and they found by the side of five or six decomposed bodies two men who still breathed. Their cockle-shell of a barque, on the way from Hiogo to Yokohama, had been caught in a gale which drove them out to sea, and there they had been tossing about on the Pacific for nearly six months. The two survivors were saved and brought to San Francisco. A collection was made on board, which turned out to be very large. Now the *China* is bringing them home. They are on board with us. They are two fine youths, and quite beside themselves with joy. In a few days they will return to the parental roof in the dress of English sailors, with their pockets full of dollars. They will be the rich men of their village. What a turn in the wheel of Fortune!

To sum up all in a word, we have had a glorious passage. The east wind, helped by steam, has brought us quickly to the haven where we would be. In fact, we might have landed at Yokohama yesterday or to-day. But for the last forty-eight hours we have slackened speed, for the orders are severe. A captain who should arrive before his time, even if it were only by a few hours, would be dismissed the service. I hear everyone around me blaming these restrictions. I own I think them wise and prudent. The following are the reasons assigned: the consumption of coal increases with the increase of speed, and that in a very large proportion: without counting the expense, therefore, the boats would have to be overloaded at starting. If the time of the passage had not been fixed, the captains of the four boats would rival one another in speed, to the detriment of the vessel and the machinery. "Don't forget," they added, "that we are Americans, and wish for nothing better than to go ahead." Besides this, the merchants of Yokohama and Hong Kong depend on receiving and expediting their correspondence on a certain day, and that is only possible by giving such a margin to the boats as shall make allowance for the insuperable delays which now and then must arise from bad weather or contrary winds. On their side, the

company is anxious that the steamers coming from San Francisco and Hong Kong should not meet at Yokohama, because they would then have to be laden and unladen at the same time, and so they would need to double the requisite staff of officials and coolies. Now this coincidence would often happen if the Californian boat were less than two-and-twenty days on the passage. Add to this that the Government of Washington, which has a right to interfere, as it pays the subvention, hearing that the boats might shorten the run by two days, would perhaps be tempted to force the company to do so, and thus reduce the time originally allowed by the contract.

Towards evening, a three-master hove in sight. She had all her sails spread and was making for the north-east. Except the *America*, this is the one and only ship we have seen since we left San Francisco. The voyage is drawing to a close. To-morrow, in leaving the *China*, we shall say good-bye to America. Let us look back for a moment and give a summary of our impressions.

Yes, it is a great and glorious country. Yes, you have reason to be proud of her and to give your blood, if necessary, to preserve her independence. Composed of such varied races, and with a soil hardly yet reclaimed from savage nature, you already possess the quality which is the first condition of the growth, prosperity, and glory of a great people—I mean patriotism. The civil war, which I deplore, has proved it. I am not now asking if it might not have been avoided: if you, Northerners, are using your victory with moderation: if you, Southerners, should not take the hand of your brothers, provided it be offered sincerely: if it would not be worth while for the one side to renounce a portion of the advantages it has gained by force of arms, and for the other, the powerless hatred called forth by the remembrance of irreparable wrongs: if, on both sides, you should not, above all, strive for a reconciliation, if it were possible to realize it. All these questions, especially the last, which touches the vital interests, not only of the South, but of the great republic of which it threatens the very existence, I set aside. You have too recently emerged from this fratricidal struggle to be disposed to listen to such counsels. Even were they addressed to you by a voice of far higher authority than mine, you would repudiate them. I take

no count either of the distinction of parties. I do not understand them. For me there are neither Democrats nor Republicans, only Americans. I affirm that on both sides during this terrible civil war, you have displayed the same virtues, the same courage, the same perseverance, the same self-abnegation. On this head there are neither conquerors nor conquered. You all are members of one family, worthy of one another—a nation full of life, youth, and strength, and, unless through grave errors, with a glorious future before you. These same virtues bear you up in another and more profitable struggle, in the struggle with savage nature. With the sweat of your brow you have, in less than a century, fertilised more than half a great continent. Thanks to the boldness of your conceptions and the vigour of your arms, you have worked wonders. The world sees the fruit of your labours, and the world is filled with surprise and admiration.

If we, children of old Europe, we, who without shutting the door on the progress which is to modify our future, cling to the present, and to the logical, natural continuation of the past, to our old recollections, traditions and habits; if we do homage to your success, obtained under the shield of institutions which on all essential points are contrary to ours, this is a proof of our impartiality; and our praises are therefore the more flattering. For, do not let us deceive ourselves—America is the born antagonist of Europe. I speak of the America of the United States, and of Europe such as she exists, such as she has been formed by the moulding of centuries; and not such as visionaries would like to fashion her, either after your image or after a model of their own invention. The first arrivals, the precursors of your actual greatness, those who sowed the seed, were discontented men. Intestine divisions and religious persecutions had torn them from their home and thrown them on your shores. They brought with them and implanted in the soil of their new country the principle for which they had suffered and fought—the authority of the individual. He who possesses it is free in the fullest acceptation of the term. And, as in that sense, you are all free, each of you is the equal of the other. Your country, then, is the classic soil of liberty and equality, and it has become so from the fact of being peopled by the men whom Europe had expelled from

its bosom. That is why you, in conformity with your recent origin, and we, by a totally different genesis which is lost in the night of time, are antagonistic. This antagonism is more apparent than real. Amongst yourselves you are neither so free nor so equal as we imagine in Europe; and the old society is not so hampered or divided into castes as you seem to think. But do not let us discuss this question. It would lead us too far; and as to our reciprocal convictions, they would go for nothing. I will content myself by saying that the more I travel and the older I grow, the more I am convinced that human beings and things everywhere resemble one another at bottom: and that the divergences are principally on the surface. I see everywhere the same passions, the same aspirations, the same deceptions, and the same weaknesses. It is only the form which varies.

But you offer liberty and equality to everyone. It is to the magic charm of these two words, more than to your gold-fields, that you owe the influx of your emigrants, and the enormous and ever-growing increase of your population. Russia and Hungary have still miles of uncultivated lands. Algeria only needs and clamours for hands. But no one goes there. The English emigrate to Australia, because it is another England, and especially an England far more like you than the mother country. The great mass of emigrants, therefore, turn their steps to North America. Why? First, to find bread, an article which in our over-populated Europe it is no longer easy to procure; next, to obtain liberty and equality. I am not quite so sure whether you are able to offer them the latter, in proportion to their dreams of those two great blessings, which human nature, from its cradle, has so eagerly coveted. But you certainly offer them space. It is space which makes your fortune and which will make theirs; because you are endowed with all the qualities necessary to work it, and the Celtic and German races possess the same and develop them through your teaching and example. For other countries do not lack space. The Pampas, for instance, and all those uncultivated regions of the republics of South America, are only waiting for men to develop their riches. But even without the obstacle of climate, the inhabitants are not up to the rugged struggle with nature; and although they too have inscribed on

their banners the words "Liberty and Equality," the world is not thereby taken in. Soldiers of fortune, periodically defeated and replaced by rivals, equally hold in their hands this pretended liberty: and equality consists in submission to the will and caprices of these ephemeral masters. The emigrants, therefore, go to you. They seek, as I said before, for bread, individual liberty and social equality: and they find space, that is liberty to work, and equality of success if they bring with them the necessary qualifications.

I said that all the world admired you. But all the world does not love you. Those amongst us who judge of you from an exclusively European point of view, see in you nothing but the enemies of the fundamental principles of society. The more they appreciate your works—and unless they are blind, they cannot do otherwise than appreciate them—the more, in fact, they admire, the less they like you. I should add, that they fear you. They dread your success as a dangerous example to Europe, and they try to stop, as far as they can, the invasion of your ideas. But they form the minority. Your friends are more numerous. These see in you the prototype and the last fruits of civilization. You have all their sympathy: and they have the greatest wish, if not politically, which they do not always like to own, at least socially, which they openly proclaim, to transform themselves after your example. There is a third class, whose who are resigned: their opinion is the widest spread. Although they do not like you, they are willing to submit to you: to submit to your principles, your habits, your institutions. Fatally but inevitably, they believe that Europe will become Americanised.

As for me, I share neither these hopes nor these fears. I do not believe in this pretended fatality, and these are the reasons for my scepticism.

First, I maintain that these fears, these hopes, this blind faith in imaginary decrees of Providence, are founded on an imperfect knowledge of America. In vain do we devour whole libraries, and read every book which has ever been written or published by eminent men on the United States. No sooner does one set foot on your soil, than one is struck by the fundamental difference existing between the reality and one's preconceived ideas, arising from what one had read. Everything

is totally different from what one expects. Such is the first impression of all Europeans who come to your country, whether as simple visitors or as residents. They come with prejudices against you in one way, and for you in another ; and hardly have they disembarked before they find themselves involuntarily compelled to modify both. European democrats are invariably disappointed. The luxury and social inequalities of New York scare them. To those who are not democrats the same sight causes a pleasant surprise. The Germans, socially and politically the most advanced of all the immigrants, arrive in America as ardent republicans, but they very soon perceive that your republic is very far from coming up to their ideal. They also have found things quite different from what they imagined they would be. I might multiply examples of this sort. Diversity of taste also enters a good deal into their judgment, and there is no arguing upon differences of taste. Therefore let us not dwell upon them any longer. All I wish to say is, that America seen through the magnifying spectacles of books, and America seen on her own soil, are two different and distinct things, and that to found such important calculations (as they regard the entire transformation of Europe) on the idea which each man has formed in his own mind of America and the Americans, without personal observation or knowledge, is to give oneself up to illusions, to more or less clever joking, but not to lead to any serious results.

Compared to Europe, your country is as a sheet of white paper. Everything has to be begun ; everything is new. In Europe one rebuilds, or restores, or modifies, or adds (if one has space, which is more and more rare) a wing to one's house. But unless you demolish what exists, you don't rebuild the foundations ; for what abounds in America is what we need most—space. To become American would be to presuppose the entire destruction of Europe. I have too high an opinion of the practical spirit of our children and of the generation which will succeed them to believe in so radical an overthrow. I also note with pleasure, that if some Europeans have taken you for a model, there are very few Americans, and I have never met one who has the pretension to put himself forward as an example. What would you say, gentlemen of Boston or New York, if we were to propose to you to do like the Califor-

nian pioneers, and cut down the fine oaks in your parks as they level the trees of the virgin forests round their *ranchos*? You would naturally reply: "That was what our ancestors did, but we have got beyond that: everything in its proper place and in its proper time."

There is another reason why, in spite of the admiration you excite, you cannot serve as a model. How choose as a model a thing which is incomplete? which is modified day by day by the hand of Time, that indefatigable artist, and with the help which Europe, and for the last twenty years, Asia, never ceases to furnish? In traversing your enormous territory, one finds everywhere (except in the South, which is sick) the same strength, the same health, the same exuberance of power; only the degrees of development vary in each locality. Taken all in all, nothing is complete. You are at the growing age; you are not yet fully formed.

What will you be when you come to maturity? You do not know, and no one can predict, for history offers no example of such a genesis. The nations of the globe, and those of Europe in particular, be they little or great, have a common origin, and the same blood flows through the veins of each one of its members. They have various nationalities; but these races live side by side, each preserving his particular character. They have in common a sovereign, a central power, a fixed legislation, territorial divisions of provinces, and a host of minor interests; but they have kept their own respective languages and customs, often their religious and historic rights, and are not physically amalgamated. Where such an amalgamation has taken place, it has only been by slow degrees, the result of a process which has lasted for centuries. As a general rule, each nation had its religion. In these days, in the greater portion of the European States there is no State religion. Almost everywhere the principle of liberty of conscience has been proclaimed, and an attempt is being made to introduce it into their laws. But this great revolution is not yet practically accomplished, and we cannot yet judge of its effects.

This is a picture of Europe considered with reference to the origin of the nations which inhabit it, and to the different races of which it is composed.

But North America offers a totally different spectacle. In

the beginning, it is true, there was a certain analogy. The Anglo-Saxon element predominated. The majority of the immigrants were English. The Dutch, who hardly counted numerically, and the French in Canada and Louisiana, were not in a position to dispute the land. The Indians retired into their forests as wild beasts fly before cultivated districts. The English then were masters of the sea-coast, and the name of "New England" was appropriately chosen, and is even still, in some senses, true. The descendants of the first English colonists, from their numbers, could easily absorb and incorporate among themselves this small number of heterogeneous elements, and so form a nation in the ordinary sense of the term. In the limited space they then occupied, it was easy for the English to impart the language, habits, and ideas of the mother-country, with only the modifications resulting from political separation, and from the republican form of government which they had chosen as most suited to the soil. But in these last thirty years, this state of things has been considerably modified. The English immigrants, if you exclude the Irish, who are of another and an antagonistic race, no longer form the majority. The Germans have invaded the Western States, and increase day by day towards the Pacific. Then the Chinese! Is it likely, if this influx of anti-English elements continues, that the Anglo-Saxon race can in the Far West, maintain the political and social preponderance which it enjoys on the borders of the Atlantic? Would it be possible for its influence to prevail on the Pacific shores, and successfully oppose the ever-growing importance of the Irish, German, and Chinese elements? This is problematical, to say the least of it. But who will replace the Anglo-American? What new race will spring from this mixture of Celts, Germans, and Mongols? We cannot tell—no one can—we only know that great changes will be the result. Have I not a right to say, then, that you are not yet fully grown?

There remains the unsolved problem as to liberty of conscience, the right of each one to adore the Supreme Being according to his own fashion. Until now, this system, which seems to me the only possible one under existing circumstances, works well. The Catholic priests whom I have seen praise the liberty they enjoy. They say they would not change places

with the clergy of any other country in Europe. I suppose the Protestant ministers think the same. But that proves nothing. Life is easy here for everybody, for everyone has space. To prevent a disagreeable meeting, one has only to walk on the other side of the street. It is wide enough for everybody. On this great question of space, looked upon from a religious point of view, there is no better example than the history of the Mormons. They give offence in New York State ; they are ill-treated, and pass on to Ohio. They are not more popular there ; and, rather than be expelled by force, they go and establish themselves in Illinois, on the borders of the Mississippi. The same fate attends them. This time they are chased by artillery. They would all have been killed if they had not taken flight. Fortunately, there was room for everybody. They could, without disturbing anyone, carry their *penates* elsewhere. In Utah, too, the situation is becoming critical, and already they talk of a fourth exodus to Arizona. This proves two things : first, that in America there is room for everyone ; and next, that liberty of conscience is only true for the one who is the strongest, and who drives away the weakest with blows or fire-arms. But the day will come, although it is now far off, when this illimitable space will be narrowed, and when it will be difficult, by flight, to escape the pursuit of those who do not share your religious convictions. Therefore, even in your country (let it be said in passing), the question of liberty of conscience has not yet been definitively settled.

To sum up all I have before said : you have the great advantage of space, which is wanting in Europe ; and you are at the growing age. One never can tell if the man will justify the hopes entertained of the youth. But such as you are I love you, and I will tell you why.

North America offers an unlimited field of liberty to the individual. It does not only give him the opportunity : it forces him to employ all the faculties with which God has endowed him. The arena is open—as soon as he enters it he must fight, and fight to the death. In Europe it is just the contrary. Everyone finds himself hemmed in by the narrow sphere in which he is born. To get out of this groove, a man must be able to rise above his equals, to make extraordinary efforts, and

to have both abilities and qualities above the average. What with you is the rule, with us is the exception. In Europe, if a man has fulfilled the duties of his state,—which are always more or less limited by circumstances,—and has obtained the ordinary reward for his labour (which reward is also limited by circumstances), he thinks he has amply answered to the requirements of his position. Why go out of the ordinary path? Why struggle for extraordinary objects when success is uncertain and the recompense small? Looking at the enormous competition, it is quite enough for him if he can gain a respectable livelihood. I don't say there are not some ambitious and restless spirits who make a noise in the world; but they are few compared to the masses of whom I am speaking. Let us give an example. I know a great country where manufactures would be capable of immense development. But if I were to exhort the principal manufacturers to augment their production, to introduce this or that machinery, so as to compete in the market with other countries, they would reply: "What would be the use? We have a sufficient market at home." They are content with small profits: small, I mean, in comparison with the immense gains they might make with a little more exertion. It is less trouble and less risk to go on in the old way. From this point of view, perhaps they are right; but the commerce of the nation remains below that of its neighbours.

Now in America, in every sphere of human activity, super-human efforts are made. Competition, which is rather a hindrance than a stimulant, is far less; but emulation is more keen, for the results are far greater, and far more easy to obtain. In Europe a man works to live, or, at most, to arrive at comparative ease; here he works to become rich. Everyone does not attain to this, but everyone tries for it. Such supreme efforts on all sides lead to extraordinary success. On the shores of the Atlantic, we see towns rivalling our greatest capitals in luxury, cultivation of mind, and (whatever may be said by facetious travellers) in the taste and refined habits of the upper classes: in the interior, prairies and virgin forests have become in a few years, thanks to the energy of a handful of men, the most abundant granaries on the face of the globe; from north to south, from one ocean to the other, magnificent lines of railway

have been constructed ;¹ on the rivers, steamboats like floating palaces ; even in the most remote corners of this immense continent you find pioneers at work, clearing the ground and paving the way for fresh conquests. And if you compare these wonders with the numbers of heads and arms which have achieved them, your astonishment will be still greater, so marvellous is the disproportion between the one and the other. Hardly have the emigrants left our crowded Old World and set foot on the soil of the great American Republic, than, from the atoms they were, they have become individuals, each called in his measure to participate in the common work.

This miraculous transformation, leaving out other causes which I set aside, is evidently due in a large measure to the political institutions which govern your great nation. To convince oneself of that fact, you have only to look at Canada. Except the old colony of Louis XIV., which has remained almost stationary in its happy, peaceful, bucolic isolation, the immigrants in Canada are almost exclusively English. The climate and the soil are analogous with those of the States on the Atlantic shore. One might fancy, therefore, that the results obtained would be the same as other English emigrants have accomplished in New England. But no. There is less energy and less progress in Canada. I do not say it as a reproach. Perhaps its inhabitants are all the happier for it ; but taking things altogether, and in a material point of view, there is an incontestable inferiority in the British colony, however flourishing it may be in other ways.

I could cite many other advantages and good qualities which you possess ; but I will content myself with bearing witness to the absence of prejudice which distinguishes you, except when the passions of the day fetter your usual freedom and clearness of judgment ; and to the largeness of your views, which corresponds with the greatness of your territory. There is nothing small, or mean, or petty about you. This is, to me, one of the greatest charms of America and the Americans. People who know you better and have known you longer than I, tell me that you have learned a great deal in the last few years, especially in the bitter school of suffering and trial entailed by

¹ In 1861 the United States had 30,000 miles of railroad ; in 1871 more than 60,000 miles.

the Civil War; that you have ripened; that you are less petulant, less confident in yourselves, and appreciate better the things which are good and wise in Europe; in a word, that your mind has spread, and has become capable of embracing more vast horizons. For my part, I can only be grateful for the welcome that I have received everywhere, and I believe there is no one that will not do homage to your kind and generous hospitality.

So much that is brilliant must have its dark shadow. Every mortal man is afflicted with the faults inseparable from his good qualities. And you are not exempt from this infirmity.

You have obtained, and are obtaining every day, enormous results; but it is at the cost of excessive labour, of a permanent tension of mind and an equally permanent drain of your physical strength. This excess of toil, of which I have already explained the reason, seems to me the source of serious evils. It must produce exhaustion, lassitude, and premature old age; it deprives those who give themselves up to it, first, of time, and then of the power of enjoying the result of their labours. It makes gain—money—the principal object in life; excludes gaiety; entails a sadness which is the natural consequence of over-fatigue; and destroys the family tie and home joys. To observations such as these the same answer is invariably given. "Yes, it is true; but time will modify all this. We are at the working stage. We are making our fortunes—later on will come the time of enjoyment and repose." I do not admit the truth of this reasoning. A sad and premature old age awaits men who have abused their strength. It is the same with individuals as with nations.

Another cause of your greatness is the unlimited expansion of individual liberty. But the liberty of the individual must necessarily be limited by the liberty of all represented by the State. From the balance of the two results their mutual guarantees. In the greater part of the countries of the Old World, the state claims too much and the individual obtains too little. With you, the fault is just the contrary. It is the conviction of most of your eminent men that you grant too much to the individual and too little to the state. The greater portion of the scandals and abuses which we see in your country arise from that source. The control of the organs

of public opinion is insufficient. What is wanting is the control of an admitted authority recognized by all the world. The complaints one hears on all sides are founded on facts of sad notoriety. I cannot do better than quote on this subject a passage from a book which has just come out, and whose authors are your fellow-citizens :—

“All commentary would weaken the value of this story, which brings with it its own lesson. The facts reveal to the observer the corruption of our social system. No part of our organization appears healthy when put to the test. The Stock Exchange is a hell. The offices of our great companies are secret dens, where the directors plot the ruin of their shareholders. The law is simply an engine of war for the use of the bad ; party spirit is hidden under the ermine of the judge ; the house of legislature is a market where justice and right are put up to auction, while public opinion is silent and powerless.”¹

Are these grave accusations exaggerated ? I do not know. All I can affirm is that I have heard similar complaints from everyone's mouth. The cry for reform is universal. But what kind of reform ? On what basis ? With what limits ? That is the difficulty. The great reform by which you modified the constitution left you by Washington and your first legislators has not been a success. By abolishing the census which they had the wisdom to establish, and adopting universal suffrage, you have more or less given up your great towns to mob influence, or at any rate, to the most restless, most ignorant and least respectable portion of the community. You see its effects. They are less sensibly felt in the West, because there everyone becomes a landed proprietor and consequently, to a certain degree, a Conservative. But in the towns the evil is great. The corruption and venality of which you complain are, to a great extent, the result of this reform. Sooner or later you will strive to mend matters. You will try to retrace your steps, but this is always difficult and often dangerous. And outside these social questions there is the great political

¹ Chapters on Erie, and other Essays, by Ch. and H. Adams. Boston, 1872. See article entitled “Les Chemins-de-fer aux Etats Unis,” in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 Avril, 1872.

[N.B.—The translator has been unable to reproduce the exact words of the text, not having access to the American original.]

one which calls for your most serious attention. From the St. Lawrence to the Potomac, from the Atlantic to the Missouri, there is not a man, I believe, who would not give his life to maintain the integrity of the Union. But to effect this, the moral conquest of the South, which will not be an easy matter, must succeed to the material one which has been accomplished.

The Far West, that is, the Pacific States, also call for your earnest consideration. Great progress but also great changes are being made there, and still greater ones are preparing. There is an enormous influx of strange elements, which, as I said before, will diminish more and more the Anglo-American character of the population. You cannot then reckon on community of blood, for it hardly exists; and besides, two facts in the history of your country disprove its power—first, your separation from the mother-country, and next, the insurrection in the South. Community of blood ceases to be a guarantee when there is not also a community of interests. You must aim, then, at creating that common interest. You must make the lives of your countrymen on the shores of the Pacific easy, and convince them of the great and permanent advantages they owe to the Union.

This great question of maintaining the Republic in all its extent is linked with another problem, which is still more difficult to solve. As it is necessary to secure to the individual, and to the state, that is, to the totality of individuals which compose it, the just amount of liberty which belongs to each, it is also necessary to balance the autonomy of the States with the legislative power of the Central Government. As a counterpoise to the autonomy of the States, Washington does not even represent the central link between the different members of the republic. Seeing the powers conferred on the president by the constitution, and the influence he exercises—an influence rendered all the more easy by the legion of functionaries and agents whom he nominates or dismisses, and who disappear with him at the end of four, or at the most, eight years; seeing also the means of action and of resistance which he has at his disposal *vis-à-vis* the central legislature, Washington represents the principle of personal government. Reforms are eagerly demanded, and they will be granted; but these reforms will probably be more extensive than those who now clamour for

them either wish or expect. It will probably happen to them as it often does to an architect employed in the restoration of a house. A party wall between two rooms has to be rebuilt; or an archway to be propped up. Nothing more; but in proportion as the work advances, unexpected damages are discovered; and sometimes he is obliged to strengthen or renew the very foundations of the building.

Public opinion cries out against abuses. But one must go to the bottom of the evil, and that perhaps will lead you further than you intend. In undertaking this arduous and delicate task, which, in your patriotism, you will be sure to accomplish, your difficulty will be not to sacrifice the central personal power to the autonomy of the States, nor the autonomy of the States to the central power. In the first case, you would compromise the integrity of the republic; in the second, you risk denaturalising the very essence of your institutions and opening the doors to a Cæsarism, which is the very worst form of government saving anarchy, which is not a government at all. As to the dream indulged in by some superficial minds, not in your own country, but in Europe, that you will end by establishing a monarchy, it does not deserve even a passing mention. You do not possess any of the necessary elements. Kings cannot be extemporized. Thrones are like the giants of your forests; they want a distinct soil and are the growth of centuries.

July 24.—It is hardly day-light, but already the passengers are gathered on the deck. Right and left, land is in sight: wooded shores, grassy slopes, and rich fields of a green worthy of Ireland; while the outlines of the mountains are hidden by clouds of white vapour which seem to have come out of a stove. Above this moving curtain is a colossal cone. Its summit is shrouded in fresh clouds. It is the Fujiyama, an extinct volcano, which lifts its crater fourteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. On nearing the shore, the eye perceives numberless little creeks, shaded with fine trees, and bordered with smiling villas, while multitudes of junks, some at anchor, some propelled with large oars or with gigantic sails, reminding one of the galleys of the ancients, pass close to the *China*. Standing on the deck, men, stark naked, save for a little strip of linen round their loins, ply their oars, and accom-

pany each stroke with a low and measured chant. These supple bodies, with their bronzed, shiny, tattooed skins, develop in their athletic poses a symmetrical beauty worthy of the chisel of a sculptor.

A little before eight o'clock we are in front of the Bluffs of Yokohama. The steamer slowly rounds the wooded promontories crowned by magnificent firs, and by the flags of the British Legation and of other foreign missions. A few minutes later, and we steam into the harbour. It is full of sailing vessels and steamers of all nations. Native junks, great and small, come and go. Further on, the graceful and imposing outlines of several English, French, and American men-of-war stand out against the sky. Before us, a long and handsome line of buildings, mingled with fine trees, stretches the whole length of the quay. This is the "Bund."

At eight o'clock precisely the *China* casts anchor. A little after nine o'clock, exactly as we had been promised at San Francisco, we step on the mysterious shores of the "Empire of the Rising Sun."

END OF THE FIRST PART.

PART II.
J A P A N .

CHAPTER I.

*YOKOHAMA.—FROM THE 24th TO THE 26th; AND FROM THE 28th OF JULY TO THE 3rd OF AUGUST; FROM THE 14th TO THE 18th OF AUGUST; AND FROM THE 18th TO THE 19th OF SEPTEMBER.**

First Impressions of a New Arrival.—The Look of the Town.—Commercial Movements.—Europeans at Yokohama.

THE impressions on arriving in Japan have been described, in the last dozen years, a thousand times over. The French, English, and German newspapers and reviews have all painted them in more or less vivid colours. There is not a commissioner nor a naval cadet stationed in the harbour who has not sent a notice or an article on the subject to the head of his department. There are also more serious works, like that of Sir Rutherford Alcock, the official founder of Yokohama, and other books, both amusing and instructive, like the clever report of Mr. Oliphant, and the charming "Voyage autour du Japon" of M. Richard Lindau. But all they have said is less than what one feels on being suddenly transported to a country where everything is absolutely new. One cannot believe one's eyes. At every step one asks oneself if it be not all a dream, a fairy tale, a story of the Thousand and One Nights; and the vision is so beautiful a one that one fears every moment lest it should disappear.

I will not attempt a useless description. Everyone, in these days, knows that the Japanese people are gentle, amiable, civil, gay, good-natured, and childish; that the men of the

* I have adopted the English orthography for the Japanese and Chinese names, as being the best known, the only one consecrated by use, and the least offensive to the eye.

lower classes have skins bronzed by the sun, and often tattooed red and blue like the designs on the lacquer-work of their country; that men of all classes have their heads shaved, saving a little tail which is agreeably balanced above the occiput; that, in summer, they leave off their narrow trousers, and content themselves with a simple tunic of silk or cotton, according to the rank of the individual, and when they are at home, with the *fundashi*. From the Mikado down to the lowest coolie, this waistband or sash forms the principal part of the toilet of every respectable Japanese. Everyone except the merchants, who are the lowest in the social scale, belong to some one, not as a serf or slave, but as a member of a clan, which, divided into a great many different castes, forms only one great family, of which the prince or daimio is the chief. He has his counsellors, his vassals, his samurais, or knights with two swords (the others having only one), his men of war, and servants of all grades. Each one wears on his back, and on the sleeves of his tunic, the coat of arms of the prince or the corporation whom he serves, a flower or certain letters inscribed in a circle. The sabres of the gentlemen, their inkstands, their pipes, their purses fastened to their waistbands,—all this is well known. One knows also, on the word of Sir Rutherford, that it is not prudent, and that there is even peril of death, in meeting one of these samurais when they are acting as escort to their prince, or when they are coming out of a house of entertainment heated by a few bumpers of *saki*. It is less generally known that the present government is striving to put down these feudal institutions. But the external appearance of the country is, as yet, but little altered. As to the women, all authors speak of them with delight. They are not exactly beautiful, for they are wanting in regularity of feature. Their cheek-bones are too prominent. Their beautiful, large, brown eyes are too decidedly of an almond shape, and their thick lips are wanting in delicacy; but that does not spoil them. What does almost destroy their beauty is the habit of the young girls, just before their marriage, of tearing out their eyebrows and blackening their teeth. They take these precautions as a safeguard against themselves. By sacrificing their beauty and rendering themselves less attractive, and consequently less exposed to seduction, they give their

husbands a pledge of fidelity. But they are gay, simple, and gracious, full of natural distinction, and, if we are to believe the young authors who have made their studies of manners in the tea-shops of Yokohama, extremely easy to live with. Their head-dress consists of two or three smooth bands of ebony black hair, gracefully twisted and confined by two large pins—only bad women wear more. Their toilet consists of a petticoat and a jacket, with a broad sash tied in a large bow behind. Their shoes are boards, adroitly fastened round the great toe by a thin little leather strap; but all this is well known through innumerable descriptions and photographs, and even by the paintings on those Japanese fans so common now in Europe.

But what no pen or pencil can ever truly render is the sight of the streets, with their busy, picturesque crowd of men and women smiling courteously at one another, and bowing profoundly to each other; or, if it be a question of some great personage, prostrating themselves on the ground; but with an agility and a dignity which takes off what might appear humiliating in the action, and only gives it the appearance of an excess of politeness and deference. Whilst you are walking down a street, of which the extreme cleanliness is the first thing that strikes you, and looking right and left, only regretting that you have not a hundred eyes wherewith to take in all these enchanting scenes, you hear the measured cry or chant of the coolies, bearing great cases hung on long bamboos, resting on their athletic shoulders. The perspiration is streaming down their tattooed limbs: except the linen waistband, they are entirely naked at this season of the year. They also are smiling. During their short halts to take breath, they chatter away and exchange compliments with each other. And then the houses! You know them well. They have been represented hundreds of times, and many of you saw in the Paris Exhibition a real Japanese house. But believe me when I say that all this does not give you in the least the idea of the reality. You should see these houses in Japan itself, inhabited by the natives themselves. You must look at the interior, which is easy enough, for the house is entirely open towards the street. You should see the light and shade flickering in these habitations, without furniture, it is true, but with beautiful mattings,

and a view beyond of the little garden, with its dwarf trees resembling, in spite of their stunted size, the giants of the forest, like children whom one has dressed up and disguised as old men. Here am I, after my protest and against my will, allowing myself to be tempted into giving descriptions, although I have declared them to be powerless even by far cleverer pens than mine! A thousand little problems of daily life are solved before one's eyes by a people of evident refinement, who feel the same wants as ourselves, but who satisfy them by totally different means. It is impossible not to admire a picture so charming in design and colouring: but when one comes to examine it closer, one finds that it is an undecipherable puzzle.

We must not forget the Europeans. Yokohama is the creation of the first English merchants, who arrived in 1858 after the signing of the treaties, to seek their fortunes in the Empire of the Rising Sun, which until then had been hermetically sealed to them. Whilst the minister of Queen Victoria, Sir Rutherford Alcock, was negotiating with the Siogun about the territory to be conceded to the Europeans, these latter, of their own authority, chose a desert shore on which to erect their houses and factories, close to a fishing-village called "Yokohama," or "Across the Sea-Shore." This spot had the advantage over that proposed by Sir Rutherford, of being more accessible to ships than any other port in the Gulf of Yedo. The Japanese ministers were in favour of the selection, because, hemmed in by the sea on one side and a marsh on the other, as well as by a river and a canal, this locality seemed to them to combine all the requisite conditions for being converted into a second "Detsima" or prison, when a favourable opportunity presented itself of ridding themselves of the strangers. This after-thought did not escape Sir Rutherford; but he was compelled, at last, to yield to the wish of his countrymen, and to the force of circumstances. In general, the opinion is, that the security of the moment will never be troubled, and people laugh at the sinister previsions of the late English minister. Because, in these last few years, no English resident has been murdered, they feel themselves as safe as if living in the Strand or in Charing Cross. I suppose that this is in human nature. When it has been fine for a month, a good many people will not believe in bad weather.

At the close of the long and happy epoch of peace which divided the reigns of the two Napoleons, many serious-minded, reflecting men no longer believed in the possibility of war. It was, they said, incompatible with that degree of civilization to which human nature had attained. If you doubted it, you were looked upon as a visionary and even a dangerous man. It is in these dispositions that I have found the English residents of Yokohama. I can only fervently hope that future events will justify these optimists, and prove that the prudent Sir Rutherford was in the wrong.

Hardly was the new town built than it was almost entirely destroyed by fire. This was on the 20th November, 1866. No trace now remains of this disaster. It is built in the shape of a parallelogram, crossed from west to east by three great arteries, out of which lead streets of minor importance. Along the sea-shore, parallel to the large thoroughfare, stretches the *Bund*, which is a row of fine houses, each with its little garden, either before or behind. To the east is the native quarter, which spreads itself out towards the north. At the entrance is the palace of the Japanese governor, situated at the corner of *Curio Street*, which is a prolongation of *Main Street*, and contains shops where every kind of bronze and lacquer-work, China vases, and other curiosities are sold. At the end, a gateway and bridge, carefully guarded by native troops, lead to the country beyond, and to the village which gave its name to the town. The road winds up a steep hill, and descends on a plain on the other side. A double row of houses skirts this road, which at a little distance joins the Tokaido, or the great royal highway of Yedo. To see a perpetually moving stream of human beings of all ages and conditions, one has only to take a walk between Kanagawa and Kawasaki. Formerly, to do this would have been an act of bravery, if not of temerity; but to-day there is no danger. This part of the Tokaido will soon lose its peculiar character, however, for a railroad, of which the works are already far advanced, will unite the capital with Yokohama.¹ To the west of the European town, beyond

¹ One portion of this railroad was opened with great pomp on the 12th June, 1872. No unlucky accident marred the solemnity, except that the principal personage, the Prime Minister Sanjo, was forgotten in the waiting-room!

the little river, are the celebrated "Bluffs," or heights, which, detaching themselves from the neighbouring hills, advance towards the sea : in the few last years they have been covered with a number of pretty villas. There is the (at this moment unoccupied) residence of the English Legation, the house of the English judge, and of most of the English and American residents, and the legations of other foreign governments. The greater part of these buildings are surrounded with magnificent trees, and enjoy a glorious view ; towards the north, above the hills on that side, the great volcano, Fujiyama ; towards the west and south, the Pacific ; towards the east, the long, wooded promontory, and the white line formed by the houses of Kanagawa. At the foot of these bluffs is the French barrack ; and on the summit, the barrack of the English troops. One knows that on the occasion of some troubles in the interior, the governor of the town, having declared to the diplomatic agents that he could no longer answer for the safety of the Europeans, the French admiral, Jaurès, disembarked his marines, and that a regiment of the line was sent for from Hong Kong. This military occupation still continues, although with certain modifications ; and I own that, whatever people may say, I think it is a wise precaution.

The commerce of the place is centered in the lower town. There are the great banks, the counting-houses of the principal firms, the offices of the three steam packet companies, the factories and shops, (more or less abundantly furnished,) and a large number of public-houses.

All these establishments prove the partly successful efforts that have been made to convert the newly-created factory into one of the great emporiums of the East. Nevertheless, symptoms of disquiet are evident. It is more difficult to point out the cause. It is evident that here, as in China, one is far off from the golden age of sudden and fabulous profits. The influx of European and American merchants, the establishment of new houses, and even the competition, which is every day more sensibly felt, of the Chinese themselves, to a certain degree explain this fact. There are also the fluctuations inherent in all commercial operations, the consequence of the late events in Europe. Nevertheless, the foreign trade is decidedly on the increase, though, during the last two years, the English

have not done so well. I hear a great many complaints, and they are easily to be understood. People do not exile themselves to the antipodes and run the chance of the climate to work hard and gain little. In that case they had better have remained at home. They were attracted by the brilliant prospect of great fortunes rapidly made. These illusions have been dispelled, and hence the discontent.

I do not, of course, venture on an opinion upon a matter which I have been unable to study deeply. But I fear that the calculations and hopes of some of the foreign merchants are founded on suppositions which a more accurate knowledge of the resources of the country would scarcely justify. The Japanese people are happy and contented with the conditions in which they are placed, or rather, in which they have been placed until now. Misery is unknown amongst them, but so also is luxury. The simplicity of their habits, an extreme frugality, and the absence of those wants which Europe could and would satisfy, are, it appears to me, so many obstacles to a vast exchange of European products with those of Japan. The tea of this country is not popular with us: and since the best silkworms' eggs were exported to Lombardy, the Japanese silks have diminished in value. Their mines remain, which perhaps conceal untold riches. But in the present state of things, neither the people nor the country is rich. Excepting English cottons, the inhabitants have no need of European articles; and even if they had, they would have no money wherewith to buy them. All this, it is true, may be changed, only it will not be to-day or to-morrow. Generations will come and go before these dreams can be realized. The existing governments are tending towards this end and advancing with giant strides. But, even if the nation should wish to follow, has it the power? That seems to me doubtful. The European merchants hope for it, because they wish for it. They pat the reformers on the back, hoping to profit by the change. But men who are well versed in such matters, and have no preconceived views or interests, fear, on the contrary, that these expensive innovations will become a source of impoverishment rather than of riches to the country; and that foreign trade has already attained the extreme limit possible under the given circumstances.

The official documents for the year 1870, compared with the preceding year, prove a notable increase in foreign trade. In round numbers, the value of the imports in the five ports permitted by the treaty represent upwards of thirty-one millions of dollars;¹ the exports more than fifteen millions; total, forty-six millions two hundred and sixty-three thousand dollars. The imports of English cottons alone amount to the enormous sum of seven millions of dollars; woollen stuffs to two millions. But the sum-total of the imports of European and American merchandise is only about thirteen millions; whilst, owing to the bad harvests of the two last years, more than eighteen millions of dollars' worth of food were imported from China in the shape of grain, rice, peas, sugar, and oil. Japan paid twelve millions of dollars for rice alone. Hence arose the diminution of demand for European goods.

The exports are less satisfactory. The principal product, which is silk, was unusually dull. The war between France and Germany and the deterioration of the Japanese silk explain the stagnation of this branch of trade. The export of tea, on the other hand, made by private houses for American consumption, rose from two millions to three millions eight hundred and forty-eight thousand dollars—that is, about double. These transactions involve a debt of sixteen millions of dollars, which the country will have to pay in specie. Since the new era, gold and silver have completely disappeared from circulation, and nothing is seen but paper-money.

An analysis of official returns proves a notable diminution in English trade and a slight increase in the transactions with France. Whilst in the same year the number of foreign ships has increased, the English navigation has diminished. This diminution is entirely in the coasting trade, which is now carried on exclusively by the steamers of the P.M.S.S. Company. These ships in themselves represent three-quarters of the navigation of America in the North Pacific.

We have seen how large a share in these transactions falls to the Chinese. All retail business is now beginning to pass through their hands. Lately, the *Costa Rica*, one of the steamers of the Pacific Company, carried from Shanghai to

¹ The dollar, at par, is worth 4 francs 50 centimes in French money; about 3s. 9d. in English.

Yokohama 1,800 tons of European and Chinese merchandise, of which 300 only were consigned to European and American merchants at Yokohama, and 1,500 to Chinese houses established in that port and at Nagasaki. There are a good many German houses here, but they trade chiefly with English capital.

As to the navigation, this is the order of the different flags according to the number of their tonnage : English, American, German, French and Dutch. The Germans carry Swiss and English goods in preference to the productions of their own country. They rarely come from a German port, but they do almost all the coasting trade between Yokohama, Hiogo, Nagasaki, and Shanghai. Their flag waves in almost every port, even in the most out-of-the-way harbours of China and Japan. On land and sea, German activity makes itself more and more felt. They, with the Chinese, are the most formidable rivals to English commerce. The French ships are far less numerous, and generally come straight to and from France. Their cargo is almost invariably French. In all commercial transactions, however, the London and Liverpool markets lay down the law. Among other things they regulate the price of silks. A considerable portion of the Japanese silks destined for the French weavers is sent to Marseilles by the Messageries Maritimes, then across France, and so to London and Liverpool, where they are bought by the Lyons manufacturers. Japan will only take Birmingham and Manchester goods. The Americans import flour and building materials from Oregon and California. In exchange they export tea, of which there is an enormous consumption in the Pacific States.

In external appearance, the commercial quarter of Yokohama does not certainly resemble in any way the great industrial centres of Europe or America. No chimneys vomiting clouds of black smoke ; no throng of cabs or omnibuses ; no press of business-men jostling against one another. Houses and passers-by have all a quiet, respectable, and somewhat rural look. The buildings, though adapted to the climate, have a decidedly British stamp upon them. The principal ornament of the streets are the fine trees, of which the heads appear above the roofs. For two or three hours in the morning and before sunset, there is a slight stir in the streets from the merchants going to

or returning from their counting-houses. The rest of the day, all is quiet and still, save that about twelve o'clock everyone goes to breakfast, and the shops and offices are shut. As in India and China, the "tiffin" is the principal meal; the dinner is but a ceremony. The only really busy days are those of the arrival and departure of the mails. On ordinary occasions, people think they have done quite enough by four o'clock, and that it is then time to amuse themselves. The young men leave their pens and rush off—some to take a ride, others to go boating. The fashion is for each gentleman to carry his own canoe (which is long and narrow), through the streets, and launch it himself in the water. Then, like all Englishmen, trained from boys to every kind of athletic sport, they seize their oars and start off like an arrow from a bow. It is a struggle of courage, skill, and strength. At that hour the Bund begins to fill with gigs or little light carriages built at Hong Kong, drawn by little Australian or Philippine horses, and filled with young couples—for here everybody is young—who drive rapidly towards the bluffs. They trot up the steep ascent, pass the racecourse (which is never wanting in any English settlement), and finally get into the "New Road," as it is called, which, by wooded hills and through green rice-fields and groves of bamboos, leads down to the bay of Mississippi. Everywhere you meet gentlemen on horseback, either mounted on the ponies of the country, or bestriding some huge English charger, a veteran of the last Chinese war;—English officers, French sailors, or gentlemen in white clothes, with solar topees on their heads, fresh from India. What adds to the charm of the scene is the smiling look of the country and the intense beauty, at this season, of the setting sun. The sky is positively crimson, with great clouds of Sèvres blue; the long promontory of Thanagawa is inundated with mother-of-pearl; and on the purple and violet sea, the pale shadows of the ships and junks stand out against the sky, the one rocked by the swell, the others gliding across the water like phantoms.

Englishmen form the great majority of the residents; then come the Americans, Germans and French. Italy is represented by silk-growers: they arrive in summer and return in November. The ladies are few. Last year Sir Harry and Lady Parkes were able to get about thirty together at a ball

given on the Bluffs ; but that was an event which is still talked of. A *fête* at the English club given to some English officers of one of the regiments which was ordered home, enabled me to admire the elegance, freshness and beautiful toilets of some of these young ladies, who had courage enough to dance with the thermometer at 30 degrees of Réaumur.

The natives whom one meets with in the European quarter are either servants or clerks. The place of *comprador*, which is such an important one in the European houses and banks, is invariably held by Chinese. From year to year these men play a more important part in this country. As servants they are much preferred to the natives. "The Japanese have adopted the civilization, religion, and even the handwriting of the Chinese ;" this was told me by a man who has long been resident here. Now they are trying to imitate Europeans. They cannot help copying others ; it is in their nature. Only compare a Japanese and Chinese servant. The former will watch the minutest habit of his master, and conform himself to it with the most wonderful facility ; only he must not act by his own inspiration, for he has no head. The Chinese remain always Chinese. They observe and copy less, but they do better when they are left to follow their own imaginations.

The Japanese, provided you keep them in their place and make them observe the etiquette of their own country, are gentle, merry, and very affectionate towards their master. If he beats them, they are not the less attached ; besides, the bamboo brings with it no dishonour. They are only children whom a father has chastised. But if you treat them as you would a European servant, they become familiar, rude, and positively insupportable. The Chinaman, on the other hand, can never be made to love the master he serves. He is proud, vindictive, and very susceptible ; but always of an exquisite politeness. At the slightest observation you make to him, he leaves your service, either under the pretext of the illness of his mother, or telling you, very respectfully, and with the peculiar smile of his race when announcing disagreeable intelligence, that there is between you and him an incompatibility of character. Having said this, nothing stops him, and he leaves you.

In one of the wide streets, behind a little wall and sur-

mounted with a cross, a fine church rises at the bottom of a court ; and before the porch, the statue of the Blessed Virgin. On one side is a low house, the humble domicile of the apostolic delegate, Mgr. Petitjean and his vicars, all belonging to the Paris Foreign Missionary College. Apostolic zeal and love have led them to these distant shores. The laws of the country, the jealous vigilance of the Japanese authorities, the hatred of Christianity (which has survived the transformations operated or meditated by the innovators), and the prudent counsels of the foreign envoys, have hitherto placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of their ministry. They are pastors without flocks, save such Catholic residents as have time to remember that they are Christians, and the Irish and French soldiers and sailors, who never forget it. Thousands of native Christians, cruelly persecuted at this very moment, vainly demand the religious consolations which these good fathers are forbidden to bring to them. There is nothing, therefore, to be done, but to pray, to wait, to hope, and to perfect themselves in the knowledge of the language, manners, and history of the country ; they trust that this new revision of the treaties will bring about good results ; and cherish the hope, which perhaps is not altogether a chimerical one, that the day is at hand when Japan, open to European commerce, will be equally so to the propagation of the faith.

To sum up all I have said, Yokohama is an important place. A great deal of work is done here, but not too much. There is a good deal of activity ; but not that exaggerated, feverish activity which characterises the great centres of industry and commerce in America. There is time left for rest, for rational amusements, and also for the regret which everyone seems to feel for their birthplace. A new arrival has not been twenty-four hours at Yokohama without finding out that all the world is home-sick. They work and play, it is true, each one according to his own taste and means. Below the rank of gentleman there is the rowdy ; for this element, though not so developed as in the Far West, is not altogether wanting—witness the drinking-shops and billiard-rooms, which are constantly filled with these noisy adventurers. But all sigh for “home.” Talk to them of Old England, and a cloud at once passes over their faces. Man is thus constituted. He is always looking for

some happiness in the future instead of seizing what is granted to him in the present. Life in these distant countries fosters this disposition. Living between the regret of what they have left behind and the hope of what they will get, their years are passed in suspense and agitation. Those who have become really rich (and they are the exceptions) leave with joy the exile where they have passed the best years of their lives. They decide to go home—they are *homeward bound*. What music in those two words!—magic words, which call forth the sighs of all those who hear them. But I fancy the happiest moment for these favoured mortals is the passage. It is the time of illusions. Hardly have they arrived in their own country, with its leaden-grey sky and murky fogs, than they begin to regret the bright Japanese sun, the beautiful cedars which shaded their house, the quantities of servants, the work, the animation—in fact, all the surroundings of their Yokohama existence. There, at any rate, they were *somebody*; they were at least better than a *chi-fu-chi*. In England they find themselves—*nobody*! In Japan they had the *mal du pays*—they were homesick; in England they long, at heart, to return to Japan.

“Man never is, but always to be blest!”

If they had to begin life over again, would they go and seek their fortunes at the antipodes?¹

¹ Here is the census of the European residents in Japan from the report of Sir Harry Parkes, April 29th, 1871:—782 English; 229 Americans; 164 Germans; 158 French; 87 Dutch; and 166 Europeans of all other countries. Total, 1,586.

CHAPTER II.

YOSHIDA.—FROM THE 3rd TO THE 14th OF AUGUST.

Japan, saving the Trade Ports and the Towns of Yedo and Osaka, always closed to Strangers.—Way of Travelling in the Interior.—Passage of the Odawara River.—The Baths of Miyanôshita.—The Pilgrims of Fujiyama.—The Temple of Yoshida.—The defile of Torisawa.—Hachôji.—Return to Yokohama.

TREATIES have not yet opened Japan. They have only given the European residents the liberty to reside and to trade in the five ports called “of the treaties :” namely, Yokohama, Hiogo (Kobe), Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodaté; and in the great towns of Yedo and Osaka. All the rest, that is, the whole territory of the empire, saving these seven points, is hermetically sealed. Around each “treaty port” there are a few square miles accessible to strangers. Posts on which are painted in English and Japanese characters, “Frontiers of the Treaty,” mark the boundaries. Beyond is forbidden ground. Only the heads of legations and consuls-general are, by virtue of conventions, permitted to travel into the interior. The prohibition for everyone else is strictly maintained. However, on the demand of the envoys, permission is sometimes given to visit the hot springs of Miyanôshita and of Atami, and to make the ascent of Fujiyama. In these cases, an armed guard, whom the Europeans call, I am told wrongly, *yakunins* (as this appellation belongs to officers of a superior rank) accompany the tourist, less with the object of protecting than of watching him. The most distant points granted by these permits are Subashiri, at the foot of the Fujiyama to the north-east, at about fifty miles from Yokohama; and Atami, on the sea-coast, to the south-west, at about sixty miles. Whenever they proceed with the

revision of the treaties,¹ this question of the closing of Japan will form one of the most important in the negotiations. Until now, no foreign legation has approached the subject officially: but when sounding the views and intentions of the Mikado's councillors, the answer has always been the same, namely, that "As long as the samurais (military men) remain armed, the shutting-up of the country must be maintained, even in the interests of the strangers themselves. To permit these last to travel in the interior would be to expose their persons and even their lives to the greatest dangers." When you answer to this: "Well, why not disarm the samurais?" the reply is: "This is a serious business; a question of interior policy which we are not allowed to discuss with the representatives of foreign powers." In this way they elude the discussion. "To disarm the samurais would involve a revolution. To allow strangers to travel in the interior before they were disarmed would only be to multiply assassinations. These have all been committed in the open territory; judge what they would be if we were to authorize strangers to travel in the interior!" This argument is unanswerable.²

Is there any great danger at present in travelling in the interior? On this point, opinions are divided.³ In diplomatic circles, the fashion is to look upon everything and everybody in Japan on the bright side. A liberal ministry, which assumes friendly relations with strangers, is in power. They must be coaxed, encouraged, helped, as far as possible, to carry out their benevolent, civilized, and enlightened views. Certainly, the list of murdered foreigners is large, and comparing the number of victims with the residents, it is even startling. But for some months, there have been no similar attacks. If two samurais, helped by a third, whom chance had brought upon the scene of action, *did* cut to pieces two Englishmen in the service of the Japanese government last January, why, those fools had only themselves to thank for it, for they had sent away their guards, and showed themselves at night in the

¹ This was done in 1873.

² By the last advices from Japan it appears that the disarming of the samurais has been effected in various parts of the empire.

³ If the last accounts are to be believed there is a notable amelioration in this respect.

streets of the capital with one of the women of the country. Certainly, Sir Rutherford had reason to say in his book that it was not safe to meet daimios travelling in the interior with their escort of two-sworded knights ; that even he ran the chance of a sudden and violent death. But then, you do not meet daimios as often as you did formerly, for the reason that they generally travel in steamboats and not on land. The samurais, besides, are not so hostile as they used to be. They begin to yield to the influences of civilization.

"But the terrible attack of those two fanatics in the streets of Kiyôto on Sir Harry Parkes, at the very moment when, surrounded by his soldiers and staff, he was solemnly going to pay a visit to the Mikado in his own palace?" "Oh, that was three years ago. Things have changed very much since then." In fact, to believe the official talk of the legations, all danger has disappeared.

The residents in Yokohama are equally confident. Nevertheless, some amongst them have owned to me their complete ignorance on this head. The Catholic missionaries, whose information is so valuable in other parts of the East, and especially in China, were not able to give me any precise indications. On one point alone everyone is agreed, that the people are good, amiable, and benevolent. As for the two-sworded gentlemen, why one had better avoid them as much as one can. The rest is unknown. Many things are, in this country ! A thick curtain is still drawn over it. The legations of the great powers have just lifted up a little corner of it ; but their means of information are limited, and, saving the English minister, who is at Yedo, they are all settled at Yokohama. Besides, circumstances impose great reserve on the heads of departments. If they were to insist too much on the dangers that might be run by their fellow-countrymen who wish to penetrate into the interior, they would cause a panic in the Yokohama factory, and wound the susceptibilities of the native authorities. If, on the other hand, they were to enlarge on the security which Europeans now enjoy in consequence of the treaty, they would indirectly encourage that spirit of adventure which is one of the attributes of the Anglo-Saxon, and would assume the responsibility of the murders which might be the result. They therefore keep silence. But as I have said, con-

fidence prevails at this moment in all circles, official, diplomatic, and consular.

August 3.—M. Van der Hoeven, the Netherlands minister, has proposed to me to join an excursion which he is about to make to Fujiyama. I hope to profit by this opportunity to explore the country which is hitherto so little known to the north and north-east of this extinct volcano. Our party consists of six; and amongst these we have the good fortune to bring with us M. Kempermann, a distinguished Japanese scholar, and the interpreter of the North-German Legation. Our preparations are at last made, and the government orders duly conveyed by couriers to the local authorities. The cook, in a cango, with provisions, plate, and beds, loaded on coolie shoulders, precedes us: and this morning by five o'clock, in magnificent weather, which, however, threatens intense heat, we get into our *char-à-banc*. It will carry us by the Tokaido or royal carriage road, which begins a league from hence, down to the banks of the river Odawara. From thence we shall go on horse-back, on foot, or in a cango. A band of yakunins,¹ our guardian angels and also our watchers, mounted on little screws of horses, surround the *char-à-banc*. Hardly had we got into this primitively constructed vehicle, than everyone, except I, who never carry any, begins to examine his fire-arms. My young neighbour pulls out of his pocket a formidable revolver. The way in which he handles it makes me, for the first time in my wanderings, tremble in my shoes.

The Tokaido is, as usual, very animated. Travellers on foot, or in cangos or norimons, men, women and children, warriors with two swords, and priests with shaven heads, follow one another without intermission. From time to time we meet a messenger. Like the greater part of the men we see, he has no clothes, save the piece of linen called a *pagne*. He is covered with a great round flat hat, miraculously balanced on the top of his head, and carries on his shoulder a long, thin bamboo stick. At one end is a little parcel containing his despatches, at the other his slender baggage. His little feet are shod with straw sandals. He runs with marvellous grace and agility: hardly does he touch the ground.

¹ Spelt *yaconin* by Sir R. Alcock. [Translator's Note.]

This Mercury in only a poor coolie in the pay of some daimio, or of the government, or of the post-office; for there is a post-office for letters, the service of which is very well done. Our yakunins are fine fellows. Under their black, lacquered, flat, paper hats, with wide borders, and in their ample, flowing, silk robes they look very well. On both sides of the road there are houses, shops, and trees. The villages meet. The largest is called Totska. At half-past eight we arrived at Fujisawa, a town celebrated for its temple. The country is beautiful. Wooded hills alternate with little valleys, which, closed towards the mountains, open out to the road. Mountains, valleys, gorges, all are of a brilliant green. Rice-fields cover the plains: the flanks of the mountains are cultivated in little terraces, stage upon stage, as well as the clefts of the hills, which are shaded by magnificent trees, pines, cryptomerias, Japanese laurels, and here and there tufts of bamboos.

We breakfast in a great tea-house. The *né-sans*—the young ladies, that is to say, the servants of the inn, so frequently mentioned in travels in this country—cluster round us. Although they are accustomed to see strangers here, there is still a great crowd of curious folks. At half-past nine we start again. An hour later we cross the treaty frontier, and passing through the suburb of Oitso, arrive at about one o'clock on the banks of the river, face to face with the feudal town of Odawara.

Here we left our carriage, and each of us was stretched on a plank, passing our fingers through little holes bored for that purpose. Then four naked men lifted us up, placed us on their shoulders, and dashed with us into the river. It is a most strange, exciting scene, and a little nervous besides. In the middle of the torrent, the water rose up nearly to the shoulders of the bearers. Forced to yield to the violence of the current, they let themselves drift, fortunately without losing their footing. The shores fly past us as if we were in a boat. Soon the sound of the surf breaking on the sea-shore mingles with the measured chant of the coolies, who, while struggling with the waves, look at us from time to time and laugh. Tossed about on these planks, we hold on with all our might. At last we reach the shore and are deposited on the sand. A few steps more and we are in the principal street of Odawara. At the entrance of the town, the mayor and his adjuncts, all in

official costume, receive us with due honours and make great "kow-tow:" then they lead us solemnly to a large tea-house, where our servants, whom we had sent on the day before, had prepared the "tiffin." For the last two or three years, Odawara has been visited by Yokohama residents; but the arrival of white faces is still an event. A number of the inhabitants of both sexes, and innumerable children, ran to see us eat. After our meal was over, a man appeared holding a beautiful lacquered box divided into four compartments, containing red, blue, black and white sand. Throwing it on the floor, as a farmer would throw his seed, he contrived to draw and paint at the same time strange ornaments, flowers and birds; and at last, amidst the loud laughter of the company, erotic subjects worthy of the secret chamber of Pompeii. The enjoyment of the young girls and women gave one a singular idea of the morality of the Japanese people. But the correctness of the design, and the harmony of colour of these sand pictures, executed in so strange a fashion before our eyes in a few seconds, were not the less admirable. To me, it was a ray of light; I seemed to understand all at once Japanese art.

At four o'clock we again started, but this time on horseback. Until now we had gone to the west; now our march was to be directed towards the north. The road follows the right bank of the torrent, allows us a glimpse of the great *château* of one of the daimios, shaded by magnificent trees, and then, becoming more and more steep, winds through the mountains, which are everywhere covered with an exuberant vegetation.

Nothing can be more picturesque than the little village of Yumoto, situated at the foot of a gorge. Here we left the Tokaido, which goes on to Kiyôto; and then, by narrow paths, on fragile bridges, between rocks covered with lichens and always rising higher and higher, we arrived at seven o'clock in the evening at the baths of Miyanôshita. The distance from Yokohama is fourteen *ris*, or thirty-five English miles.

August 4 and 5.—Miyanôshita, which means "above the temple," consists of a temple ("Miya") and a group of houses placed one above the other, their foundations resting partly on the sides of the rock, partly on a narrow gorge which opens out towards the north. In that direction, the eye catches the

eastern slopes of a fine chain of hills. All around are mountains covered with cryptomerias and every kind of coniferous tree, mingled with oak and maple. Everything is green save the grey roofs of the houses, supported by red pillars and showing, here and there, movable partitions papered white. Steps cut in the granite rock serve as streets. Round the houses little gardens are laid out in terraces, while limpid streams form miniature cascades. Tiny oaks, tiny firs, tiny cedars, dwarfed and twisted into various shapes according to the taste of the country, shade them. Little bridges formed of one single rock are thrown over small artificial torrents. All this is in questionable and somewhat infantine taste, and yet the proportions are harmonious, and a good deal of imagination has been shown in the design. If, from your balcony, you look out into the garden, you may fancy for a moment you are in a fine park. But see—there is a young girl passing, and she is taller than the oldest cedar. It is all a plaything; but we must own, a very charming one.

The mayor has lodged us in the finest apartment of the finest hotel in the place, but to do so, has turned out one of the native families. I detest these arbitrary acts of authority, but the mischief having been done, I profit by it like my neighbours. I am bound to say that the dispossessed party smile at us most agreeably. Our hotel is composed of several separate sets of apartments, united by a long corridor. While walking in it, one may study the home life of the Japanese. All the world is come for the water-cure. At the end of the corridor is the bath-room, where everyone meets and is covered by turns with hot water or cold; then each one goes back to his room, which is more or less open on all sides. There you are rubbed by blind men, or, if you have a wife, she undertakes the task. I saw a fat gentleman stretched on a mat, smoking and reading, while his wife, crouched at his side, spent whole hours passing her delicate hands backwards and forwards over the shoulders of her lord and master. Their daughter, a pretty girl, with her hair beautifully dressed, played an instrument rather like a lute. From time to time their servants crawled in on hands and knees to serve fresh tea and fresh tobacco to the father of the family, who was an official personage in Yedo.

In another room, our yakunins, squatted in a circle round some young girls, are singing and drinking *saki*. The kitchen swarms with women, cooking the dinner, watching the sauce-pans, and cutting up into pieces wretched fishes still alive. They are extremely clean, and go about their work most methodically. There is nothing to shock the eye. All the world laughs and talks. Everyone is merry, careless and easy-going. As the rooms adjoin one another, and are only divided by paper partitions the greater part of which are left ajar, you may peep into everything. Heads gracefully dressed, and finely-moulded, with naked arms and busts are seen through the half-lighted apartments. Here and there a ray of sunshine darts through a chink, and a golden shower of dust pierces athwart the darkness. Further on, you see daylight, and in the background trees, waterfalls, and here and there a few pedestrians ascending and descending the steep steps cut in the rock, and then disappearing in the green woods or in the little houses above.

August 6.—Our party was under way by six o'clock in the morning. If one could only unscrew one's legs, nothing would be pleasanter than a journey in a cango. This kind of litter, which belongs especially to the country, is an open basket, three feet long by two feet high: one must deduct the thickness of the big bamboo to which it is suspended. The roof is a poor protection from the sun; and the whole thing is so low that you are obliged to lie on your back, while the vicinity of the bearer before you obliges you to double up your legs under you. But one makes up one's mind to everything in this world, or else one must certainly not come to Japan, where everything is different from what it is anywhere else.

On leaving Miyânôshita, you cross the gorge, and travelling constantly towards the north, traverse a fine forest. After a march of two hours and a half, we made a halt at the village of Sen-goku-no-hara. At half-past nine we started again; we have left the shade of the wood, and it is under the burning rays of a pitiless sun that we ascend the last spur of the mountain chain which separates us from Fujiyama. The grass, which is as high as a man, is white on one side and

green on the other, which makes the mountains look now pale grey, now bright green, according to which way the wind blows. The path becomes steeper and steeper. Behind us, a little to the west, stretches a sheet of dark water between low solitary banks: this is the northern extremity of Lake Hakoné. At eleven o'clock, emerging from the defile, we come to the crest of the mountain, which is only a few feet wide, with a precipitous descent towards an undulating and fertile plain covered with meadows, plantations, hamlets, and villages. The light, soft green of the thick Alpine grass, contrasted pleasantly with the green of the foliage above our heads, which was dark in the shade and silvered in the sun. On the other side of the plain, towards the north-west, about four or five miles off, rises, in one sheer rock, 14,000 feet above the sea, that giant of volcanos, the holy mountain of the empire, Fujiyama. It reminds one of Etna seen from Taormina: only its flanks are less torn, its outlines less broken: and the exceptional heat of this summer has melted the snow which covers it half-way during the greater part of the year.

We travellers let ourselves glide along the grass. In a few minutes we are in the plain. Here we find all the sweet smells of spring and the fresh elastic air of the Alps.

At one o'clock we arrive at the village of Gotemba and halt at a picturesque tea-house. Then follows a charming walk across an English park, where shade and water abound. By degrees the trees disappear. We have come to the steppe which encircles the base of the volcano. In this lava region stands Subashiri, the village where we are to pass the night. We arrive there at half-past six. The distance from Miyanôshita is seven *ris*, or seventeen miles and a half.

All this day's journey has been delicious. When one travels in a cango, one shaves, as it were, the very soil. During the morning, when crossing the meadows, the grass, moss, and flower stems tickled my face. My eyes pierced through those mysterious regions which the pedestrian treads under foot, but which escape his sight. It was to me like a revelation. The sun sparkled amidst the shadows cast by the broad leaves. I watched the bees, the butterflies, and millions of little insects gliding and fluttering through the blades of grass or sucking the calyx of the flowers. And what flowers! Great blue-bells

gently inclining their heads over magnificent pinks; exquisite lilies, blossoming under a dome of long, thin leaves; and an endless variety of shades, and colours, and plants unknown in other hemispheres. Everything smiles in this country—the vegetation as well as human beings. Look at the poor fellows who are carrying you! They never cease chattering and laughing, though the perspiration streams down their bronzed backs. Every two or three minutes they change shoulders. It is the work of a second. We have each four coolies as relays. In climbing the hills those who are off duty help the others by pressing their hands against their backs. From one ten minutes to another they relieve each other, and never without a preamble of civility like the following: “Your highnesses must be tired.” “Not at all.” “Your highness makes a mistake.” And so on with renewed laughter and protestations!

August 7.—It is from hence, *i.e.*, the village of Subashiri, or by a little path more to the west of Hakoné, that Europeans, duly authorized, escorted and watched, make the ascent of Fujiyama. At this season, native pilgrims likewise throng there from every side; but their usual point of departure is from Yoshida. Beyond Subashiri is the mysterious land so little known to the whites. It is there, to the north-east of the volcano, that the town of Yoshida is situated, so celebrated for its temple, for the holiness of its site, and for the incredible number of pilgrims who, in July and August, come to pray there after having made the ascent of the holy mount. This place is the object of my journey. As for Fujiyama itself, I am quite willing to rest satisfied with the descriptions of my companions. I know very well that the pleasure will not equal the fatigue. A tolerably well-kept path, divided into eight stations or halting-places, where you may pass the night in a hut, leads to the mouth of the extinct crater. If, by an exceptional chance, the sky should be clear, you enjoy an extensive though rather uninteresting view. The great charm of Alpine scenery, seen from a great height, consists less in the extent than in the variety of the panorama. Half terrified, you gaze at the deep gorges of the giant mountains around you, measure the height of their peaks and the depths of the chasms into

which a false step might plunge you ; and then, to rest your eye, you cast a glance on the plain below, which, by an optical delusion, seems to raise the horizon to the very spot you occupy. Now this surrounding of mountainous peaks is entirely wanting at Fujiyama. Those that encircle it are not above 3,000 feet high. Seen from the crater, therefore, the country below bears the aspect of a large sheet of crumpled paper, generally green, but here and there marked with black and white lines : these are Yedo, Yokohama, and the innumerable towns, hamlets, and villages of Kuantō.¹

The preparations for the ascent have filled up the whole morning. At two o'clock my friends start off. At the same time (accompanied by the incomparable M. Kempermann, the only one among us who has the gift of native tongues), I mount my horse and plunge into an unknown country. The sun is cruel, the scenery monotonous. We follow the course of a ravine, or rather a deep fent in the soil. On emerging from this, we find ourselves in front of a little lake ; on the horizon is a chain of mountains ; to our left, the volcano. Our route lies north-north-east. On arriving at the banks of the lake, we accept for a few minutes the hospitality of the Mayor of Yamanonaka, a little village coquettishly buried between the slopes of the wooded hill and the lake. Our arrival disturbs the whole population. On all sides they run to look at us, with astonishment but in silence ; then they begin to laugh—but a frank, gay, amiable laugh ; we are evidently welcome. The last part of this short day's journey was delicious. The Fujiyama threw its deep shade across our path. At half-past five, after having passed before the entrance of the Great Temple, we arrived at the first houses of Yoshida. The Mayor received us and led us to a little temple with a great hotel in front, where he had retained the best rooms for us. The distance from Subashiri is six *ris*, or fifteen miles.

August 7 to 10.—The town of Yoshida occupies the slope of one of the spurs of the Fujiyama. The great street descends in a straight line. A stream, forming little cascades here and there, follows its whole length. The houses, with flattened roofs, pro-

¹ A group of eight provinces. The literal translation is "The east of the frontier."

tected by big stones, remind one of our Alpine *châlets*. Seen from a sufficient distance so as not to take in the details, the illusion is complete. One could fancy oneself in Switzerland or the Tyrol. Looking back in the direction of the street, the colossal cone of the volcano rises above the sacred woods which cover the neighbouring heights. Towards the east, in the far distance is a mass of rugged rocky mountains, some bare, some covered with the most luxuriant vegetation.

The temple hotel, where we are lodged, is an immense building, containing a multitude of rooms, each divided, as usual, into movable partitions. In front is a great courtyard. A garden runs round one side, above the wall of which one again sees Fujiyama. From my lodging, which abuts on the temple, I can, through the half-open sashes, perceive all that goes on in this vast caravanserai. I see a multitude of pilgrims, some great nobles and their suites, and, in the rooms adjoining the outer court, a legion of servants and armed men, all wearing on their tunics the heraldic devices of their masters. Beyond the court, troops of pilgrims, dressed in white, and incessantly ringing a small bell, never cease defiling up the long street. They are just come from Fujiyama. The master of the hotel, who is also the priest of the temple, puts his stamp on their clothes, and thus verifies that they have made the ascent of the Holy Mount. These vestments are handed down from father to son, and are considered precious relics.

My room, which is very vast, looks into a little court, and from thence into the sanctuary. There is an altar with candelabras, and in the middle the sacred mirror—no monsters or statues of false gods. A noble simplicity and a solemn silence reign in this spot, which is consecrated to an abstract idea and free from all the exterior attributes of Buddhist worship. The confused sounds from the street, the kitchens, and the pilgrims' rooms, reach this solitude tempered by distance. Magic and inexplicable lights wander in the vast space, creep along the panels, pierce through the paper frames, are reflected on the lacquered borders of the parquet floor, and lose themselves in the depths of the apartment. As in the Italian inns in the days of Montaigne, men of rank hang their shields up on leaving, either painted on wood or canvas. There is also a multitude of votive pictures which represent the givers surrounded by

.. their companions, Fujiyama covered with snow, sick persons miraculously restored to health, successful fights, or people miraculously escaped from thieves. Some of these pictures seem to go back to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The rise and fall of art and the difference of taste are distinguishable in these ex-votos, which are mostly coarsely executed, but which, nevertheless, betray some of the deepest feelings of human nature.

The innkeeper, as I have before said, is priest, or rather guardian of the temple, for, as I am assured, the Sintoo religion has not got any priests in the ordinary sense. The members of the present government are systematically opposed to the Buddhist faith, which is that of the great majority of the people. The dogmas of Sintooism are well-nigh forgotten; only a few of their learned men are acquainted with them. The politicians of the day have no knowledge of them, and willingly confound them with the doctrines of Confucius, which, in reality, are only a compilation of highly moral maxims. One knows that the great Chinese philosopher, when questioned by one of his disciples on the existence of another world, replied: "I have never been there, so I know nothing about it." Such is the faith of the present privy council of the Mikado: and it is thus that they understand Sintooism, which is patronized by them, and indirectly imposed on the people as the religion of the state. But this interpretation must be received with caution. Sintooism was certainly the old religion of the country, but it gave place to Buddhism, which, officially introduced into China at the beginning of the first century, towards the sixth invaded and, we may say, conquered Japan. The ancient faith professed by the Mikados was overrun by Buddhist forms and practices. As to the Sioguns, they were all Buddhists. This explains the rapid growth of this religion, imported from India *viâ* China: and one understands, too, how the dogmas and worship of the old religion fell into disuse and finally were forgotten. The official Sintooism of the day is simply the negation of all religion and the abolition of all forms of worship: it involves the destruction of the Buddhist temples, which has been already inaugurated by the demolition of a great part of the celebrated sanctuary of Kamakura, and by the confiscation with which they threaten the property of the priests; but it is not evi-

dently the old religion of the empire. In a great many temples the two forms of worship have been practised simultaneously. In others, as at Yoshida and its environs, several Buddhist ceremonies, pleasing to the masses, have been introduced, with a certain reservation. Nowhere are the dogmas, doctrines, and ceremonies of the ancient religion really preserved in their original purity.

Here and all round the base of Fujiyama, Sintooism is professed, but Buddhism is more or less practised. Our innkeeper priest is of a noble family : he has given up wearing arms out of respect to the functions of his ministry. Every afternoon he sports his official costume and appears in the great temple. His wife, a matron of great beauty, but wanting in dignity—alas ! I see her every evening the worse for *saki*—his two daughters, who act as servants in the hotel, and his son, a charming boy of fifteen, compose the whole family. This young samurai, armed with his two swords, is very proud of himself, and likes to show himself off before us in his knightly costume. His good manners are an index of his high-bred feelings. A little scene which took place on the return of my companions gave evidence of this. One of them wanted to carry away an ex-voto picture as a souvenir. The scruples of the hotelkeeper having vanished before a splendid offer for the picture, it was taken down from its nail and presented to the purchaser. But they had reckoned without the young samurai, who began to sob. “You have no right to sell that picture,” he exclaimed to his father. “It is the property of the temple ; it was a gift to our sanctuary, which belonged to our ancestors, and now to you, but which will some day be mine : and to let it be carried off by strangers ! What a shame ! What a sin !” And then his voice was broken by emotion. It is not necessary to add that the picture was put back in its original place.

The great temple is situated at a few steps from the entrance of the upper town, in the midst of a sacred wood of cedars and cryptomerias more than six centuries old. A long avenue formed of these venerable trees and a double row of stone lanterns leads from the high road to the “Fork,” that is, to the entrance-gate, which is isolated, and to which the ascent is by two beams slightly inclined, resting on two other beams,

horizontally placed one at the top of the other. This portal, of which the design is certainly simple, and, one must own, not over-graceful, as it reminds one of a gallows, is repeated in all the Sintoo temples, and gives access to an oblong, paved court. In the middle, and facing the temple properly speaking, is a platform, raised five or six feet above the ground, and covered with a heavy roof resembling a wide felt hat, with the edges turned up. A stage made of trestle-work, put up for the occasion and reserved for the priests, joins the platform to the temple. A flight of steps leads up to it: a gallery runs all along the façade. Behind the gallery a hall leads to the sanctuary, which is perfectly accessible to the eyes of the profane, and which contains the altar and candelabra, the incense-burner, and the sacred mirror in which the divinity is said to be reflected. A heavy roof seems to squash the sacred edifice. The frieze is richly sculptured, and retains some traces of gilding. In the court we admired some *itchos* (*Salisburia adimantifolia*) of a rare size and beauty, and a stone basin, roofed, with a bronze water-pipe, well moulded, representing a dragon-serpent. Every day in the afternoon we paid a visit to the temple.

The evening before our departure there was a great ceremony. The court was filled with people; on the wooden stage a little altar had been set up and decorated with flowers, which supported the mystic mirror; and a priest, robed in ample silk folds, with a helmet on his head, executed a sword dance with two swords. It was a fierce struggle with an invisible enemy. From being on the defensive he passed to the attack: then he drew back, turned on his heels, rushed forward again in pursuit of the demon, and finally is supposed to have vanquished him. The scene of action, which was the platform before mentioned, was not above twenty feet square. The priestly warrior was, therefore, often obliged to retrace his steps. His movements, which were full of dignity, were regulated by the plaintive sounds of a flute, together with the hoarse and lugubrious beating of a big drum. The musicians were an old man and a child, squatted on their heels in a corner of the platform. At last, the priest retreated into the interior of the temple. At this moment, half-a-dozen other priests appeared at the top of the steps and threw little pieces of copper money among the women and children.

The second ceremony.

A bonze appears on the threshold of the temple, and then, passing across the trestle-work stage, advances majestically on to the platform. His gait is that of a tragedian. He drags one leg after the other and stops between each step. He wears a kind of chasuble richly embroidered. His whole costume reminds one of our pontifical vestments. His head, which is not completely shaved—for he is a Sintoo, and not a Buddhist—is bound with a rose-coloured ribbon, of which the end, tightly tied, stands upright, oscillating above the forehead. He carries a bow in his hand, and on his back, fastened by a cross-belt, a quiver full of arrows. A profound silence reigns in the blue and flesh-coloured crowd—which all crowds are in Japan. One hears nothing but the monotonous song of the grasshoppers and the gentle rustling of the cedar branches waving in the evening breeze. Thousands of eyes are fixed upon the priest: but no emotion, no feeling of devotion, of recollection, or even of curiosity can be traced on any of these upturned faces. Those who are near us seem to think that we are more worthy objects of attention. They stare at us with a half-scared look. Two white men in the temple of Yoshida! The moment the priest's foot touches the platform the music recommences. The flute begins playing a recitative evidently of great antiquity. From time to time the great drum imitates the low growl of distant thunder. The bonze, after having marched round and round the platform several times, always as if he walked in buckskins, turns his eyes upwards, then rapidly bends forward, places an arrow in his bow, aims at the evil spirit he pretends to have discovered in the sky, lets fly the arrow and kills him. Directly, the flute sounds a hymn of triumph and of victory. The priest begins his walk again, discovers a fresh spirit, and exterminates him in the like manner, while the music goes on expressing the different phases of the fight. At last, after having delivered Yoshida from all these malevolent beings, the bonze intones a canticle as a thanksgiving, throws some beans into the air, prostrates himself before the mirror, and disappears.

I have not words to paint the expression or play of his face, the classical beauty of his attitudes, the startling effect of the music, or the grand and mysterious simplicity of the place.

The poses of the performer were, as I have said, classic : but they were not so only in the ordinary sense ; they reminded me unmistakeably of those well-known types of Greek statuary in the best times of art. The transitions from one pose to another were, on the contrary, in Japanese taste—that is, they were abrupt, jerky, rather exaggerated, and bordering on the ridiculous. That these ceremonies date from an era far anterior to our own, there is no doubt. That certain rhythmical movements should be found in wood sculptures and other pious statues of the Japanese, nothing can be more simple : but how explain the classical purity of their attitudes or their incomparable analogy with Greek art ? whilst in the manufactures of the country, no trace of this character can be found. Could it be simply chance ? I do not admit this commonplace way of explaining things which one can't understand. Can Greek art, in its golden age, have ever penetrated to the extreme East ? On this point we have no historical data whatever.

After having thus routed the evil spirits, the bonzes appeared anew on the threshold of the temple to throw money among the people. Encouraged by the benevolence of the spectators, we, in our turn, boldly mount the steps and exchange the usual compliments with the priests. These receive us with exquisite politeness, accept our humble offering, and giving us some rolls of little copper money, invite us to share in the distribution. Behold us then, transformed into bonzes, and throwing money among some hundreds of the faithful, who run, draw back, tumble down, and roll over one another in the most ludicrous fashion. I cannot say that this bit of burlesque was much in harmony with the sacred nature of the place ! Every one, including the priests, roared with laughter. Amongst these I recognized the warrior hero of the sword-dance, and the hunter of evil spirits. Stripped of their fine clothes and without their arms, they only seemed quiet, inoffensive, middle-class citizens.

After this somewhat profane *entr'acte*, they went on with the concluding part of the ceremonies. The priest assembled in the sanctuary. Seated in a circle on their heels before the altar, they pass a sacred vase from one to the other. The liquid it contains is poured into a saucer, and each one drinks

in turn. They sing in parts; then rise simultaneously, cross the outer hall, where they resume their sandals, and then retire. They wear white, blue, or red tunics according to their rank; the white are for those of the highest grade. On their head is the coloured ribbon or the black lacquered paper cap worn by men of rank when they go to Court. The sun is setting behind Fujiyama, lighting up with its Bengal fire the triple and quadruple ranges of mountains which rise to the east, which few Europeans have seen, and which we hope to cross to-morrow or the day after. The sky is bright pink, and azure blue clouds float in the air. It is only at Yokohama, and even there rarely, that I have seen similar effects of light. I feel as if I were in an ideal world, amidst enchanted regions, and I go to sleep to dream of the strange, mysterious, and poetic scenes in the great temple of Yoshida.

August 10.—My companions arrived yesterday from Fujiyama. They suffered terribly from the heat. On the other hand, they were able to pass the night at the very mouth of the crater, at 14,000 feet above the ocean. Their descriptions confirm those of other travellers. They distinguished Yokohama and Yedo; but the rest was only like a great carpet sprinkled with white spots; and a vast horizon of sea-clouds obscured the view towards the north. We are only going a short stage to-day, and are to start at half-past two in the direction of the north-east. Turning our backs on Fujiyama, we enter a large, wide valley. The mountains are all green: single rows of trees mark their outlines. In Japanese scenery, the same elements are repeated *ad infinitum*. All these heights end in sharp sides, as steep as the blade of a knife. Between the two slopes there is only room for a single row of trees. We pass by a number of little villages, all clean, tidy, and evidently prosperous. Everywhere there is the richest and most careful cultivation. In the narrow plains, which here and there wind between the mountains, are patches of rice, and quantities of mulberry trees. The road is but a path, well kept, and full of people. At every turn, we meet fresh pilgrims. They walk in great and small bands, all dressed in the same white dresses, and all ringing a bell. When rain threatens, they put on their straw cloaks. Some are followed by their servants. Female

pilgrims are rare, but are not altogether wanting. All along the road, charming details abound. For instance, at the second *ri*, near a little tea-house, a stone staircase leads to some beautiful tombs shaded by a fine group of cryptomerias. Further on, near the village of Tôkaichiba, we stop to see a foaming cascade. The wonderful vegetation which surrounds it forms its principal charm.

At half-past five we arrive at Yamura, a little town situated in the centre of one of the great silk districts. There are mulberry trees everywhere. The river rushes violently across the flowery meadows and flows swiftly along the edge of the rocks, covered with moss, grass, and trees of different kinds. Behind us, between the green peaks, the crater of Fujiyama is still visible. Our arrival is an event; all the population rush out of their houses, but keep at a respectful distance. It is everywhere the same scene. The babies cry, the children hide themselves behind their mothers, the young girls fly. The men even seem inclined to hold back; the matrons only are courageous. With them we open negotiations; then all the world becomes reassured; and after the first moments of surprise are over, we see kind and smiling faces, full of good-humour, and only anxious to be of use to us. They chatter and laugh, and group themselves round the travellers, whom they will not leave. They follow us everywhere in fact: at our meals, and even in our baths, unless we are cruel enough to shut the paper partitions. They especially delight to assist at our toilets. I am, of course, now speaking of the lower and middle classes, and not of the nobility.

At about a quarter of an hour from the town, near the river, my young companions have found a solitary spot where they gladly plunge into the fresh and limpid waters, when all of a sudden the whole population turns out, men, women, young girls and children. By chance, our yakunins, who like to amuse themselves, have escaped; it therefore rests with me to watch over the public morality. Arming myself with a long bamboo, I place myself across the narrow dyke which alone gives access to the bathing-place. I let the men pass; but am inexorable towards the fair sex. Vain hope! At the risk of rolling into the torrent below, these ladies turn my position, and clamber up the slope of the pier, many of them with babies

on their backs : a certain number attack me in front. There were some very pretty girls among them, and all were beautifully clean and neat. Their little feet, shod in tiny wooden pattens, their knees slightly bent, their arms stretched out and their hands folded backwards (as this race alone knows how to do), their heads bare, and a little thrown back, they overwhelm me with a torrent of words, mixed with merry little laughs, and fix their great, brown, almond-shaped eyes upon me with an imploring expression of sweet and gentle intreaty. The grace of their movements is a little spoiled by the twist of their limbs ; but in this country, grotesqueness is a characteristic both of men and things. Here again I could not help admiring the talent for imitation and the conscientious exactness of the Japanese artists. I have seen the same scene represented a thousand times in sculpture, lacquer-work, and painting, and even in the coarse pictures which you buy for a few pence. At last, weary of the struggle, I yield the passage, and the whole crowd of curious ladies rush forward and approach as near as possible the confused bathers, enjoying at last, with ineffable delight, the unheard-of, extraordinary, and fantastic appearance of five men completely white.

The distance from Yoshida to Yamura is four and a half *ris*, or about twelve miles.

August 11.—Departure at five o'clock. Direction, east. The valley winds between mountains 3,000 or 4,000 feet high. At two *ris* from Yamura we halted for a few minutes close to a temple surrounded by a fine wood. At half-past eight we arrived at the great and important market town of Saru-Haschi. Here we crossed a deep river embedded in the rocks. The bridge, which is hung at a great height, is of a peculiar construction ; the beams are placed horizontally one above the other, so that each end is a little longer than the other, and meet in the same way in the middle of the water. This is the celebrated *Monkey Bridge*. We have seen it represented in many of the votive pictures in the temple of Yoshida.

The country is always smiling, but still keeps its resemblance to the Upper Alps. Except for the vegetation, one might fancy oneself in the canton of Unterwalden. Everyone is struck with the analogy. We meet a number of pilgrim bands, all

singing and ringing their little bells ; but nothing in their faces betokens devotion. According to M. Kempermann, no religious sentiment leads these thousands of men to the Holy Mount. "It is a tradition—a physical exercise : the prayers, if any, are said mechanically. Neither head nor heart are concerned." This is possible, and to look at the men themselves, you would say it is more than probable, but it is not certain. After all, what do we know about it? Japan has only been accessible during the last few years, and only now at five or six points in its whole circumference. Its language is still a study. How can we read into the hearts of the people? how explain the origin and the keeping up of the innumerable temples scattered over the whole empire? Who built them? Who endowed them more or less liberally? Evidently not the people. Religious sentiments must then have pervaded the upper classes at some time or other. How and why, by what revolution, have these feelings been lost? Here are many problems to be solved.

Fine and flourishing villages succeed one another at short intervals. This makes one of the principal charms of the country. We are here among the highest mountains of Kuantō : nevertheless, everywhere there is careful culture, neat houses, traces of human activity, and of a very ancient civilization. The villages themselves are all alike. A limpid stream runs through the length of the principal street, at an equal distance from the houses. In many places it is edged with flower-beds full of enormous balsams. The houses are mostly new : which proves that, quite recently, a typhoon, a fire, or an earthquake—those three scourges which, like certain epidemics, are periodically reproduced—have here exercised their terrible ravages.

Fortunately, if Nature in her fits of anger destroys buildings in a few moments, men know how to build them up again in a few days. Warned of our passage, the mayor and his attendants meet us at the entrance of each village, make their prostrations, put themselves at the head of the column, and arriving at the other end of the place, take leave of us with the like ceremonial. Everywhere the people smile on us without saluting—but they prostrate themselves before the chief of the yakunins, who, during the exercise of his functions, represents to them the sovereign authority of the emperor. Ask a peasant in Europe

what is meant by a functionary representing imperial power ! But in this country the lowest coolie understands it. He knows the code of etiquette by heart, practises it scrupulously himself, and expects that the same will be done to him.

At Saru-Haschi, we leave the great valley we have followed ever since we left Yoshida. It serves as a bed to a river, which, taking its rise from the little lake of Yamanonaka, at the foot of Fujiyama, flows first towards the north, then from Yoshida towards the east, and from Saru-Haschi towards the south. If my great Japanese map is right, this river falls into the sea near the Oiso village (between Fujisawa and Odawara).

Arrival at Torisawa at half-past nine. Departure at one o'clock.

Here we came into a labyrinth of mountains—one of the most beautiful landscapes I ever saw. The path, which winds up abrupt heights and follows the crest of the mountains, is so narrow, that there is scarcely room for one man to pass. In some places, if I had been on foot, I should have gone on hands and knees ; but in a cango I have no fear. One must, however, have a good deal of faith in the legs of one's bearers. As they change shoulders every two or three minutes, the traveller finds himself hanging now over an abyss to the left, now over a precipice to the right. From that to Blondin's father-in-law there is but a step ! But how can one feel fear, when, in the most difficult and dangerous places, you see your coolies laughing and talking, and exchanging civilities with one another ? On both sides of the pass are precipices which the least false step on the part of your bearers would turn into your grave. But have the courage, if you do not get giddy, to look down into the abyss below, clothed as it is with flowering shrubs, and exquisite plants, which Nature (that great gardener) has arranged with such wonderful taste—and then turn your eyes upwards to the varied peaks which stand out against the sky above your head. It is an ever-varying panorama. In all directions are ranges of mountains ; I counted more than a dozen. It was like the ocean, lashed by a tempest, suddenly petrified, and carpeted with the most luxuriant vegetation. Nature has nothing small or petty about her. She is grand and graceful at the same time—and produces effects which both charm the eye and pique the curiosity. The villages are still numerous, but appear

less prosperous than those we saw yesterday. In several of them, we came upon a fair, or religious *fête*—that is to say, a mass of poles ornamented with flowers, papers, ribbons, and images. Everywhere, crowds of pilgrims. At half-past six we arrive at Uyenohara. The distance from Yamura is nine and a half *ris*, or twenty-five miles.

August 12.—Some rain fell and refreshed the air. At five o'clock we started in the same easterly direction. After we had crossed a large river in a ferry-boat (a branch of the one we had followed the two preceding days), we clambered up by a very steep defile the highest mountain—perfectly visible from Yedo on a clear day—of the chain which forms, as it were, the band of Fujiyama. The country maintains its Alpine character. From eleven o'clock to four we halted at the village of Komakino. On leaving the tea-house there, which was the prettiest I had seen, our coolies, to the great detriment of our members, amuse themselves by improvising a race. In less than an hour they have borne us to Hachôji. At five o'clock in the evening, in the midst of an immense crowd of people, we made our solemn entry into the town. The importance of Hachôji is due to its great silk trade. The inhabitants seem happy and prosperous; and the great street is remarkable for the beauty and elegance of its houses. The hotel where we are lodged, is large, spacious, and clean. Unfortunately, having exhausted our stock of wax candles, we were obliged to dine by the uncertain light of the Japanese substitutes for such articles, which are made of vegetable wax and give more smoke than light. But look at that young girl, the *nesan*, snuffing them with the pin which confines her silky, abundant, black hair—what grace, what distinction, and what real modesty in her manners! My young companions rave about her.

During this journey, which is drawing to a close, we have all been struck with the paucity of animals. We have scarcely seen a single bird, very few dogs, still fewer horses, no cattle; here and there some pigs and chickens, and that is all.

The distance from Uyenohara to Hachôji is seven and a half *ris*—that is, about twenty miles.

August 13.—Departure at a quarter past six o'clock. The

great street is still deserted : but yesterday the inhabitants had stretched out in it their great yellow oiled-paper umbrellas, ornamented with black inscriptions, to dry. We have the sun in our faces. It is still low, and changes the umbrellas into luminous transparencies. The morning breeze makes them turn on their handles. No painter could render the effect produced by the simultaneous action of the direct and transmitted rays of the sun : the tints of bright and dead gold which flicker on the earth, light up the bronzed legs of our porters and illuminate the door-steps of the houses, of which the inhabitants are still buried in sleep.

Ever since we left Yoshida we have been constantly marching towards the east : now we turn to the south.

We entered upon a vast plain, but a plain full of little dells and breaks, shaded by magnificent trees, and here and there fine thickets of bamboo. A labyrinth of little palms led to a quantity of smiling hamlets, literally buried in foliage. Thinking that our main column was following close behind us, I had left Hachôji with only one of my travelling companions and gone on ahead. After some hours' march, however, we found out that we were quite alone, and that M. Van der Hoeven had taken another route. We went on, therefore, as best we could, *tête-à-tête*, reduced to conversing with the natives by looks and signs, and resigned to put up with the cooking of the country. On arriving, however, at an isolated tea-house, we perceived two great swords, lying, according to etiquette, on the consol in the entrance-hall. Here then were some samurais, those two-bladed gentlemen who perpetuate so effectually in their country the chivalry of the Middle Ages, but who have the unfortunate habit of hacking Christians in pieces whenever an occasion presents itself. Evidently there could not be a better one than now. We had seated ourselves before the house, and my young friend improved the occasion, as usual, by taking some Japanese lessons from our lovely *nesans*, when the three knights made their appearance. They were three tall, strapping fellows, with caps of light-blue silk, rayed with white, and wearing on their tunics the arms of the prince they served, or the "daimio," as the young girls exclaimed, who hastened to bring the lesson to a close, and to escape ; not without having been subjected to some rough embraces from

our three cavaliers on the way. These men, holding one another's arms, stared at us insolently from head to foot (for they had evidently been imbibing copious libations of *saki*), came nearer and nearer to the place where we were sitting, and evidently determined to enter into conversation first and quarrel with us after. I saw my companion quietly putting his hand into his trousers pocket. I knew what that pocket contained; it was the terrible revolver which had already made me feel goose-skinny on leaving Yokohama. If he should show it to these three bravos, a scuffle was inevitable, and the issue would not be doubtful. Happily, at this stage of the proceedings, the master of the house intervened, and approaching the samurais with every demonstration of respect, and overwhelming them with civilities, persuaded them to go back into the house. At this moment our coolies, warned by the prudent innkeeper, made their appearance with the cangos. We got into them with joy, and off we went at a rattling pace. At ten o'clock we arrived at Tana, situated close to a fine river which, according to my Japanese map, is the same whose course we have followed from its rise in the little lake of Yamanonaka to Saru-Haschi. We crossed it in a ferry-boat, and found on the opposite bank a little barque and some boatmen, who offered to take us to Atsugi, the town where we were to pass the night. It was a beautiful and exciting little voyage. The river here forms a succession of rapids between two hedges of flowering shrubs. A multitude of aquatic birds, perched on the banks, looked at us without moving, and as if stupefied. Now is the moment to make use of the famous revolver. My companion thrusts his hands into his trousers pocket, which does duty as an arsenal, pulls out his pistol, aims at a group of great white birds, fires, and misses! The revolver won't go off! Certainly, this time it is clearly proved that this terrible engine of war is absolutely inoffensive and not likely to do harm to anything on earth. Why did I not make this happy discovery a little sooner? Each morning, on leaving our halting-place, amidst the crowd of servants, people belonging to the inn, and curious natives, I used to see this revolver being carelessly handled by our young traveller, and never, I own, without a sinister presentiment. It was enough to embitter the days of any peaceable citizen. Now I am reassured, and to-morrow at this time

we shall, I hope, have returned to Yokohama without having shed any innocent blood.

Towards six o'clock we saw, intermingled with fine trees, the grey roofs of a large town : this was Atsugi. We had the double satisfaction of regaining our caravan and our dinner, which was only waiting to be served.

The distance from Hachôji to Atsugi is seven *ris*, or eighteen miles.

August 14.—Departure from Atsugi at half-past seven. Arrival at Fujisawa at twelve o'clock. The country was like the one we passed through yesterday.

A carriage conveyed us to Yokohama, where we returned at seven o'clock in the evening, delighted with our excursion. The distance was twelve *ris*, or thirty miles.¹

* As the route we followed from Subashiri has been rarely taken, and, as far as I know, has never before been described, I althought it might be useful to mark exactly the hours of arrival and departure, though it is certainly an imperfect manner of calculating distances. These are marked in *ris* on the "Guides," which you can buy in every Japanese town of any size : only the *ris* are not always the same. Everywhere, however, our coolies marched at the quick pace of about five kilometres an hour.

CHAPTER III.

HAKONÉ.—FROM THE 22nd AUGUST TO THE 1st SEPTEMBER.

The celebrated Tea-house of Hata.—A bad Night.—The Lake of Hakoné.—The love of nature and the taste for art spread among the People.—Spirits travelling.—The Hot Springs of Atami.—The Holy Island of Enoshima.—Daibutsu.—The old Residence of the Sioguns.—Buddha in Disgrace.—A great Japanese Lady.—Kanazawa.

August 22.—Yesterday we left Yedo. My travelling companions are Mr. Adams, the English minister, and M. Satow, interpreter and secretary to the legation. By the same route which I had taken in going to the foot of Fujiyama, we arrived this afternoon at Yomoto, where the road branches off towards the north-east, on the road to Miyanôshita. We continue to follow the Tokaido, which, skirting the torrent, leads us to the village of Hata, celebrated for the beauty of its site, and for its famous tea-house and gardens. There are always the same elements in the picture ; but the use made of them by nature and men vary indefinitely. Where find words to describe them ? How escape repetitions ? How paint the scarcely perceptible shades of difference which yet make their principal charm ? In the photography of Beato I do not find the least trace of resemblance. How can I describe to you the beautiful wood carvings of the Hata tea-house : the lovely little cascades ; the garden paths which scale the abrupt sides of the mountain ; the goldfish and carp, worthy of the gardens of Fontainebleau ; and last, not least, the pretty *nesans*, who, every evening, by clapping their hands, bring back the fish into a hollow of the

rock to preserve them from the nocturnal visitors to these enchanted regions, the foxes and the jackals? All this has been told a hundred times; but when one arrives, one is both surprised and charmed, and one finds that the most glowing descriptions and the most successful photographs and sketches give but a poor idea of the exquisite beauty of these rural scenes, which are so strange and so poetical at the same time. From Fujisawa to Hata eleven *ris*, or twenty-eight miles.

August 24.—Can you conceive greater bliss than to lie on a scrupulously clean matting, in a lovely little room completely open to the garden, while a fine close rain falls from morning till night, giving a delicious freshness to the whole earth, and making you conscious of a renewal of health and strength? In addition to these agreeable sensations, I have the good luck to share them with men in every way distinguished and congenial, and who are better acquainted than almost any other Europeans with this strange country, which is still such an enigma. Always ready to answer my thousand and one questions, they sometimes take their turn of interrogation, and bring back my thoughts to our mutual friends in that dear and far-distant land which we each call “home.” Thus we pass the day. The servants we have brought with us and the masters and people of the inn only approach us with bows and protestations, more or less profound according to the rank they hold. They advance on all fours, then pause, with their heads stretched forward, their arms leaning on the ground, and their hands turned inwards, after which they squat down familiarly on their heels. As their masters are likewise lying on their mats on the floor, they are on the same level. However, these are forms of civility, and regulated by etiquette from time immemorial. In Europe, in the sixteenth century, and even later, similar demonstrations were looked upon as *de rigueur*. Persons of the same rank bowed to the earth before embracing one another. Children went on their knees before their parents to wish them good night. A page, although a nobleman’s son, was compelled to kneel when serving his master. The kissing of the hand in great ceremonies is still preserved in many European Courts. But the Yokohama merchants consider these demonstrations absurd and unworthy

of humanity, and have forbidden them to their Japanese servants, who, in consequence, freed from the rules and usages of their country, have become rude, insolent and insupportable. It is easy to destroy the forms of an ancient civilization, but it is not so easy to replace them by others.

August 25.—Yesterday evening, hardly had we gone to bed than we were awoke by the roaring of the storm and the sinister creaking of all the beams and woodwork of the house. At the same time we felt some severe shocks of earthquake. It was a combination of one of the most terrible typhoons which had ever ravaged the provinces of Kwantō, and one of those earthquakes which so frequently disturb the bowels of this volcanic country. To-day the anger of the elements is appeased. Hata has not suffered much, being nestled in the hollow of the mountain: but the idea of being squashed by the weight of the roof, and the impossibility of escaping—for during the night the Japanese houses are shut up like a box—caused us some moments of anxiety.

The weather has cleared. At eight o'clock we continue our journey on foot. The departure from an inn is always an animated scene. We pass through one room after the other between a double row of inquisitive faces. The master and mistress have received from our *comprador* the amount of their bill, and overwhelm us with compliments and blessings. The *nesans* run after you laughing, gesticulating, and wishing you a happy journey and a speedy return. On the threshold of the house you have to hunt for your shoes, which you have left on your arrival. There you find, waiting for you, the municipal authorities, the mayor and his attendants, and other functionaries, who, bowing to the ground, precede and escort you to the end of the village, where they take leave of you with similar formalities.

We still follow the Tokaido, which is here abominably paved, and in some places scarcely practicable for horses. The scenery is always the same. Trees of great variety and beauty shaded the ground, which was carpeted with flowers and long grass. After having clambered up to the top of a hill we descended on the Hakoné Lake. A colossal statue of Buddha rises over the edge of the water. Behind the god is an avenue

of magnificent and very old cryptomerias. Wooded promontories and hills covered with grass of two shades, white and green, are reflected in the still lake. This avenue leads to the little town of Hakoné, which is the object of our journey.

The distance from Hata is two *ris*, or five miles.

August 26.—On the eastern bank of the lake is the celebrated and very ancient Sintoo sanctuary known under the name of Hakoné-no-jinja. Like many other native temples, it has just been “purified ;” that is, to the great but passive discontent of the people, it has been given back to the exclusive worship of Sintoo. The statues have been destroyed or carried off, as well as the vases and ornaments of the Buddhist gods. Hakoné-no-jinja is situated on the slope of the mountain. The ascent to it is by a succession of stone steps. We saw some magnificent trees and some very curious and ancient pictures painted on wood and hung from the cornice ; the whole, however, was neglected, solitary, and abandoned ; for a people deprived of its gods are little disposed to bow before the official divinities of the moment. I am not going to allow myself to pass any judgment upon the matter. I have not any greater partiality for the one than for the other, but there are some things which are everywhere alike. A wise government will think twice before meddling with people’s consciences. It may succeed in destroying the religion of the people, which is a dismal political victory after all ; but it will be a more difficult task to make them adopt the belief which it chooses to patronize. It is therefore a work of destruction and nothing else.

August 27.—We made the tour of the lake in a boat. The resemblance with the north of Scotland is striking. Certainly, the sky and vegetation are very different, and one would seek in vain for the cottages, castles, and parks which brighten the shores of Loch Lomond or Loch Katrine. The Lake of Hakoné stretches its grey waters under the shadow of rounded mountains only inhabited by wild beasts. With the exception of the little town itself and the temple that bears its name, I did not see a single human habitation along its solitary banks. Sometimes a strong gust of wind drives away the clouds which settle on the crater ; then our old friend Fujiyama rises above the mountains like a celestial vision which disappears as soon

as seen. Words cannot paint the beautiful details of the picture, nor the grand and severe aspect of the whole scene.

August 28.—An American missionary, Dr. B., has been to call upon me. For a year he has been living at the port of Niigata, on the northern coast of Nippon. The climate there is totally different. The cold north-west winds of Manchouria blow over the place the greater part of the year and chill the whole air. In winter, the town is buried in snow, and the inhabitants are compelled to dig passages in order to get from one house to another. In spite, however, of the abundance and duration of the snow, the thermometer rarely falls below zero. It is also to zero that the European and American residents have been reduced. The only white man left there is an English petty officer, the orderly of the consul, who is at this moment absent.

I admire M. Satow. He talks with everyone, and never fails to mark down in his note-book any new expressions or phrases which strike him. By carefully comparing these memoranda, he has learned to define and fix the sense of each word. It is a mental labour of every moment. There are scarcely any grammars or dictionaries in the Japanese language ; or else they are very incomplete attempts to teach the rudiments of this strange tongue. To penetrate its spirit and seize all the delicate allusions in the sentences, is the great difficulty. The system followed by M. Satow seems to me the only one practicable or possible to discover the language of the people.

August. 29.—The heavy rains of the last few days have destroyed the bridges, and made the royal road to Yedo impracticable. As to fording the Odawara river, it is not to be thought of. We shall get over the difficulty by going round by Atami, from whence it will be easy to get to the island of Enoshima by sea, and from thence back to Yokohama. There is a path which leads straight to the south-west. It is the road open to those Europeans who have received permission to visit Hakoné and the hot springs of Atami. We chose another road more to the west : it is a little out of the way ; but the mayor of Hakoné and our innkeeper recommend it to us on account of the beauty of the scenery : and in these matters the Japanese, even of the lowest class, are competent judges. At

twelve o'clock we started in our cangos, and climbed up one of the mountains which surround the lake, the path leading through two rows of grand old cryptomerias. After half an hour's march, we reached the top, and enjoyed a fairy-like view over the bay of Suruga. A great tea-house which is placed on the culminating point of the mountain, was full of travellers and people from Kiyôto, belonging to every class of society. Politics, pecuniary interests, and commerce, call them to Yedo, which is become, alas! the residence of the emperor, to the great detriment of their ancient and once rich and flourishing capital. Everyone seemed enchanted with the view.

The Japanese are wonderful lovers of nature. In Europe a feeling for beauty has to be developed by education. Our peasants will talk to you of the fertility of the soil, of the abundance of water, so useful for their mills, of the value of their woods, but not of the picturesque charms of the country. They are not perhaps entirely insensible to them: but if they do feel them, it is in a vague, undefined sort of way, for which they would be puzzled to account. It is not so with the Japanese labourer. With him, the sense of beauty is innate. Perhaps, also, he has more time to cultivate it. He is not so overworked as our English or German labourers. The fertility of the soil, the soft rains, the warm sun, do half the business. There are many hours when he can rest, lying on his mat at his cabin door, smoking his pipe, and listening to the songs of his daughters, while his eyes are feasting on the beautiful scenery around him, which he thoroughly enjoys. If he can, he builds his house on the banks of a stream: with a few big stones, placed in the necessary spot, he makes a little waterfall, for he loves the sound of rushing water. At the side of his hut grows a little cedar. He separates some of the branches, and makes them bend over the roof, both for shade and beauty. This is a subject you see thousands of times depicted in illuminated Japanese drawings. On the other side he plants an apricot tree—when it is in flower, the man and his family are in an ecstasy. This extraordinary love and feeling for nature is reflected in all Japanese productions. A taste for the fine arts is common among the very lowest classes, and to a degree which is not found in any country in Europe. In the humblest cottage you will find traces of this—an artificial flower, an ingenious

child's toy, an incense-burner, an idol, heaps of little ornamental things, the only use of which is to give pleasure to the eye. With us, except in the service of religion, this kind of art is the privilege of the rich and of people in easy circumstances. In Japan it is everyone's property : and if a man be too poor to ornament his hut with a picture representing the snowy cone of Fujiyama, with a fine pear-tree in full flower in the foreground ; or with a statue of a singer sitting on a death's head ; or with a drawing of a bird mounting up to the sky ; or of a butterfly settling on a rainbow ; or of a beetle casting amorous glances on a turtle, who turns his head away in disdain—if, as I say, he is too poor to indulge in one or other of these favourite subjects, well, he will console himself by looking, with an artistic eye, at the mountains near his house, at his apricot-tree in flower, or at his little cedar ; and he will listen with delight to the music of his cascade, and expect you to be delighted too.

It is really with difficulty that we tore ourselves away from the contemplation of this delicious panorama : a perfect maze of green valleys and hills sinking into a plain : then the gulf with its scattered rocks : beyond, low promontories stretching towards the sea from north to south : above them, a chain of higher mountains extending from south to north, then another tier of rocks, and then another, all wooded below and streaked above, as is the fashion of the country—and below the whole, the long, low waves of the great Pacific Ocean.

Soon after leaving the Tokaido, we turned our steps towards the south-west. The path was lost in the long grass, which is of an extraordinary height and thickness, and tickles the shoulders and cheeks of our coolies. At last, separating from one another, we lose our way altogether. In vain the bearers send forth loud cries—the echoes alone answer. I find myself with my men at the edge of a precipice, or rather of a perpendicular declivity entirely covered with thick grass. The coolies keep on bravely. Sometimes, however, they miss their footing and fall. My cango escapes from their hands, capsizes, and, turned into a sledge, descends with fearful rapidity. Thanks to the thickness of the grass, it always ends by stopping of its own accord : it is a kind of *montagne russe*. Fortunately, nature itself provides safeguards ; and there is nothing to fear except from serpents. But if our naked coolies do not mind

risking themselves in the tangle, the danger cannot be very great. The descent is accomplished in a few moments. Here we are in a deep ravine. The question is how we are to scramble up the opposite side. To walk on this slippery grass up a steep perpendicular incline, is, to me, simply impossible. To attempt it even, one needs the vocation of a coolie. At the very first trial, I roll ignominiously down into a ditch : and the good fellows laugh till they have to hold their sides. They hoist me up on their shoulders, drag me up to the top, recover the lost cango, and all the while laugh and chatter and never for a moment lose their good-humour. At last we get out of this sea of waving grass, and to my great satisfaction I perceive in the distance my friend Mr. Adams, hung midway over a similar incline, and half rolling, half dragged, striving painfully to reach the lost track which is to lead us to our destination. At last we meet—but now for a fresh adventure ! The fatigue of carrying men across such mountains does not satisfy our coolies ; they have enough energy left to go a hunting. Suddenly, giving a kind of war-cry, they drop their cangos and rush down the incline as hard as they can go. A few minutes after, they reappear with a little bear which they had caught and killed with blows of their bamboos.

At half-past four we arrived at Karinzawa, having made about four *ris* or twelve miles. There we find Satow, who, being a good walker, has arrived an hour before us. The mayor tells us that we are the first Europeans that he and his officials have ever had the honour of seeing. To judge by the effect we produced, I should say this was highly probable. We had a similar scene to the one I before described : the babies crying, the young girls hiding, the men keeping themselves in the background, and the older women alone coming forward to welcome and smile at us. By degrees the crowd became tamer, but we had only to advance a few steps for them to retire in all directions. To have an idea of it, one must have swum in a pond full of fishes. The village is small, but coquettishly placed between two wooded mountains ; a limpid stream runs through it, and its banks are lined with beautiful flowers. We alighted at the mayor's own house. It was a perfect gem, and with an equally lovely garden. In the court, a scaffolding was erected, ornamented with flowers and little

flags in coloured paper. It bore a cage in the shape of a temple, and of which the door was open. This *tempietto* was destined to receive the spirits of the dead, whom they expect to-morrow, and who are coming back from I know not what distant region of eternity.

We left Karinzawa a little before five o'clock. Direction, south. We crossed a mountain by a road which seemed like a tunnel, so tightly were the branches of the old trees interlaced over our heads. We reached the summit after half an hour's march, and came down on the opposite side in fifteen minutes. These mountains are the continuation of a chain known by the name of Hakoné. They coast the Pacific, running from east to west, forming an almost horizontal line above, and then go sheer down into the sea. From the point where we now are, these long, steep promontories seem to spread themselves, one behind the other, like the side scenes in a theatre; but I do not think that the imagination of the scene-painters, even of the great Paris opera, ever conceived such a magic decoration. At the bottom of a little bay formed by two capes, exactly at our feet, we perceive a long, white line: that is Atami. We arrive there at half-past seven o'clock. It was pitch dark when our good coolies, who never ceased laughing and chattering, deposited us at the door of an elegant and spacious hotel.

The distance from Hakoné is six and a half *ris* or rather more than sixteen miles.

August 30.—Atami is agreeably situated on the shores of a little bay, in front of an island, and on the slope of the mountain. The streets descend rapidly to the shore, and here and there are transformed into staircases. A sulphurous spring attracts in the season a great number of native bathers, and sometimes a few of the European Yokohama residents. Every three or four hours the water bursts out anew from a spring which is buried among some great blocks of rock.

In the inclosure close by, there is a carefully-kept tomb or rather monument, erected by an English traveller over the remains of his dog. The natives take great care not to injure it: many of them prostrate themselves before it; for they say it is always prudent to keep on good terms with the spirits of

the departed, even if it be but of a dog. As at Hata and Hakoné the inhabitants make the most beautiful little boxes and other objects in camphor wood, which they offer at ridiculously low prices.

We started at nine o'clock in two boats of six oars each, one of which is occupied by ourselves, and one by our suite. Direction, east-north-east. On sea and sky, a perfect calm. The two boats, joined by a rope, keep together. The boatmen, standing on the cross benches, display all the athletic beauty of their bronzed bodies, leaning now forward, now backwards, and regulating their strokes by a measured cry which seems to harmonise admirably with their supple movements. Some of these men are the very types of masculine strength and beauty. Others would be so if their legs were not so slender. All are remarkable for the smallness and fineness of their hands and feet. They have only two poses, which they continually repeat, but both are classic in the highest degree. One must have travelled in Japan during the summer to understand the Greek statuary of the golden age. The great masters of Attica and Corinth, surrounded by men with little or no clothes, had always before their eyes the play of the muscles of the human body. Our sculptors form themselves on models of which the attitudes, being almost always forced, lack both truth and animation.

Sometimes the cord is slackened, our boats are separated, and the boatmen determine on having a race. Then the men behave as if they were possessed. They no longer sing, they howl. From antique statues they have been transformed into savages. The waves, just before so calm, are changed into masses of foam. At last, exhausted by their efforts, our athletes stop, look at one another, and burst out laughing. All of a sudden there is a dead silence. The course is changed, and noiselessly and rapidly the boats are propelled close to a long black line which we see floating above the water. It is a huge whale, asleep, rocked by the surf. One of the boatmen rushes on the prow. There, standing up to his full height, his body slightly thrown backwards, his left hand pressed to his heart as if he would still its beatings, he gently raises his right arm above his head, and balancing the harpoon in his slender fingers, prepares to lance it. Before us, at a few fathoms

distance, the monster sleeps on. It is really a sublime sight ! all it wants is a Phidias capable of rendering its indefinable beauty. Unfortunately, at the very last decisive moment, the giant woke, and disappeared beneath the water.

In spite of these episodes, we have made some way. We have been coasting along the shore, the vegetation of which belongs to the tropics. Orange-trees are mingled with cryptomerias. High stone walls protect the gardens from the visits of the wild beasts, especially of the bears which abound in this country. Then we pass successively by Idzusan, suspended midway in the bay between orange and bamboo woods ; by Yoshihama, another considerable market-town ; round the Cape of Madzu-no-hama, and by the mouth of the Odawara river. At five o'clock in the evening, we are in front of Oiso. Here the mountains stretch further back, and the wooded shores become flatter. Our men have been rowing for eight hours without a moment's intermission. Some handfuls of barley (for rice is reserved for the rich), with a drink of pure water, is the only meal of these poor fellows. But how they seem to enjoy it ! Poor ? yes, they are that, certainly ; but knowing neither misery nor care, they are not unhappy.

The sun was setting when the island of Enoshima came in sight, its dark shadow standing out against the crimson clouds. At eight o'clock we landed. As the tide was low our boats could not get near the pier, so our boatmen carried us on their shoulders. It was a ten minutes' walk, and to judge by the way they laughed, they found it charming. At last we set foot in the Japanese Paradise. The night was very dark, but the coloured lanterns hung on the doors of the houses, lighted our way. Built on the side of a rock, and wide open, the shops are as full and gay as possible ; men selling fruit and vegetables, women preparing great dishes of rice and fish, and bands of pilgrims hunting for lodgings, cross and recross the narrow street. Everywhere there are festoons of flowers and flags of different colours, for Enoshima, the holy isle, is always in *fête*. We were conducted to the best hotel ; it was full to overflowing. Music, singing, and drinking were going on in every direction. Hardly was the dinner announced when the innkeeper made his appearance. After having accomplished the usual duties of politeness prescribed in the ceremonial.

he gave us a little paper, carefully folded, containing toothpicks. On the envelope was a long inscription, as follows: "Imperial toothpicks. Shiraki, hotel-keeper in the principal street, fifth house to the left. Imperial lodgings. Abundant repasts promptly served." On the other side the distances are marked from Enoshima to Kamakura, Yedo and Kiyôto. The word "imperial" means first-rate, or super-excellent. From Atami to Enoshima is sixteen *ris* or forty miles.

August 31.—Certainly the lodging was the reverse of "imperial." Hardly could we close our eyes. The pilgrims, when not saying their rosaries or ringing their bells, chatter frightfully. But the delicious freshness of the morning makes us forget the miseries of our sleepless night. We explore the little streets of the town. The crowd of pilgrims is already thronging round the stalls where they sell rosaries, votive pictures, and shells of every kind. This little island has been often and admirably described. It is a delicious place. From one sanctuary to the other, we arrive at last at the top of the rock. Some old trees growing almost miraculously out of the clefts, stretch their branches over the summit like a baldachino. In the temples themselves, which are small and not much ornamented, I found nothing particular; but there are nevertheless, some pretty details. Among others, we admired the classic design of a well, which reminded one of a cistern in a Venetian palace. It is an artificial circular rock, full of tortoises, who hid themselves as we drew near. Circular stones, kept together by a hooped band, formed the stand of the fountain. The upper part was carefully polished and ornamented with bas-reliefs and circular subjects carved in the Byzantine style, with here and there some inscriptions. Towards the west and south the rock slopes straight down into the sea. It is like, "Tiberius' Leap," in the Island of Capri, only in smaller proportions. You go down by a staircase cut in the rock, if you are a real pilgrim you must visit the Black Grotto, which is only accessible to those who can jump on some blocks of stone, which are half under water.

A natural dyke, passable at low water, unites the island of Enoshima with the mainland. At this very moment, long files of pilgrims are crossing over it. Preferring our boat, we pass

this narrow arm of the sea, double a little promontory, and disembark, an hour later, not far from the village of Sakanôshita. Here we are within the limits of the treaty. This district, one of the most picturesque of the province of Nippon, is well known to the residents of Yokohama. We are to visit three celebrated spots to-day : the Daibutsu, Kamakura, the ancient capital of the Sioguns, and Kanazawa, renowned for the beauty of its site and gardens.

The colossal bronze statue of Buddha, the Daibutsu, rises near a little village surrounded by trees. The conception belonged to the great Siogun, Yoritomo ; but it was only fifty years after his death, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, that this splendid monument was placed in the spot where it is still seen. The face of the god breathes perfect quiet, and an ineffable sweetness. One asks oneself how it is possible to produce so much effect by such simple means. This great work is an irresistible proof of the perfection to which the founder's art had attained at so distant a period. The pedestal is four feet high, the statue fifty ; the circumference of the head is thirty-two feet, the nose alone four feet.

The air being deliciously fresh and the path shady, we continued on foot across rice-fields and meadows, passing by the isolated tea-house, where two Englishmen, Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, were massacred by a bonze and a samurai with two swords. The yakunins who escorted the travellers either had not the time or the inclination to rush to their rescue. Here we came into the long and beautiful avenue which leads to Kamakura, now only a small village, but formerly the flourishing residence of the Sioguns. This magnificent avenue is the sole indication that this spot, now covered with fields and woods, was once the second capital of the empire. Incendiary fires seem to have utterly destroyed it. Its ruin, however, made the fortune of Yedo. The principal interest attached to this deserted place is due to the great temple of Hachiman, founded by the Siogun, Yoritomo, towards the end of the twelfth century.

Yoritomo, and four centuries after him, Taiko Sama, are the two prominent figures in Japanese annals. Their praise is in every history, and popular legends have transmitted their remembrance from generation to generation. But if Yoritomo

founded the temple of Kamakura, it does not follow that the magnificent constructions which were still standing three months ago were of so ancient a date. Is it possible for wooden buildings to resist the inclemency of the seasons for seven centuries? This is, at least, doubtful. But besides, the most beautiful sanctuaries, those that were dedicated to Buddha, are now lying on the ground. The government of the day ordered their demolition. Only those buildings consecrated to the state religion have been spared. We saw heaps of broken columns lying pell-mell, with pillars richly sculptured, lacquered, and gilt, Buddhist idols mutilated, candelabras in pieces;—one may fancy the despair of the population! The historian and the lover of art deplore the destruction of such precious antiquities; the Christian wishes to see the images of the false gods superseded not by the mirror but by the Cross; politicians shrug their shoulders; while philosophers smile and say there is nothing new under the sun.

We continue our journey by a hollow road, shaded by magnificent firs. After having crossed a gorge, the path widens down to the shores of an inland bay, full of scattered islets, and surrounded by low hills. In front of us is the town of Kanazawa. There a specimen of true Japanese civility awaited us. A young lady belonging to one of the great families of Yedo, the chief of whom is an intimate friend of my fellow-traveller's, is taking sea-baths here. Hardly had she been informed of our arrival than she announced her intention of paying him a visit, and very soon after appeared, escorted by her old doctor. She was a very beautiful woman of about eighteen, a native of Kiyôto, as fair as any European, though rather pale, for she is not well, and dressed with that simple elegance which distinguishes ladies of high rank all over the world. Her manners are graceful, modest, and gracious. She makes her prostration and the great *kow-tow*, that is, she touches the mat with her beautiful forehead. After having remained on her knees for a few moments, her arms leaning on the ground and her hands turned inwards, she gets up, bending her knees and leaning her hands upon them; at last she squats down on her heels, and, the above necessary compliments being ended, she begins to talk. My friend, as a gentleman who knows what good manners are, passes in his turn through all the

phases of this ceremonial. I admire his courage and his unconstrained action: only, how to keep one's countenance! But let him laugh best who laughs last. All of a sudden, the young Japanese lady rose, looked at me with the sweetest smile, and directly made me a great prostration and all the rest. To respond to these civilities, I am compelled to follow the example of my companion, and perform, in my turn, all these evolutions. The lady and her doctor, who are far too civil to laugh at my awkwardness, resume the conversation—a somewhat commonplace one, it is true, but mingled with kind words, and amiable speeches and merry little laughs. No sooner had she gone back to her own apartments than she sent us some baskets filled with beautiful fruits and every kind of sweet thing.

The distance from Enoshima to Kanazawa is five *ris*, or twelve and a half miles.

September 1.—At six o'clock we were off. At the very moment we were getting into our cangos we perceived our charming neighbour, who, followed by her doctor, came to wish us good-bye. She only wore a thin silk tunic: her little bare feet were shod with wooden sandals, and she had not had the time to have her hair done; but this *négligé* suited her to perfection.

We are nearly at the end of our expedition. After five hours spent in exclamations of enthusiasm at the extreme beauty of the scenery and in groans at the torture which we endured from the speed of our cango-bearers, we were landed safely at the door of the great "International Hotel" of Yokohama just as the clock struck twelve.

The distance from Kanazawa is five *ris*, or twelve and a half miles.

CHAPTER IV.

YEDO.—FROM THE 26th TO THE 28th JULY; FROM THE 18th TO THE 22nd AUGUST; FROM THE 3rd TO THE 13th SEPTEMBER; AND FROM THE 14th TO THE 18th OF SEPTEMBER.

General aspect.—The Neighbourhood.—Visit to Sawa, the Foreign Minister.—German School.—The Shiba and its Art Treasures.—Evident but inexplicable influence of Italian Taste.—Conversation with Iwakura, the new Minister.—His plans of Reform.—Shops.—Silks and Curiosities.—The Temple of Meguro.—Saigo.—The Sanctuaries of Ikegami.—The Forty-seven *Ronins*.—Feast at Sawa's.—The Palace of Hamogotén.—Dinner at Iwakura's.—The Prime Minister Sanjo.—At the Temple of Asakusa.—Dramatic Art.—A Japanese Vaudeville.—Lay Figures.—Yedo at night.—A Dinner at the Restaurant Yaozen.—Audience of the Mikado.—The English Legation.—Departure.

July 26 to 28.—MY first visit was consecrated to a general study of the great and mysterious capital of Japan. Open to strangers only during the last two or three years, it had been previously visited by the two ambassadors, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, and more recently by travellers and residents at Yokohama. The foreign legations have made it their temporary residence. Of the different descriptions which have been written and published (and to which I do not wish to add another), the one addressed by M. Richard Lindau, in December, 1864, to the Asiatic Society of London, *North China Branch*, is the most known, the most celebrated, and the best I have read. Necessarily, there are some things wanting; as at that time a good many of the temples, and among the rest, the tombs of the Sioguns, the pearl and triumph of Japanese art, were still inaccessible. The merit of the German author is not less real; and all the more because it was far more difficult then than now to go about in the streets of Yedo.

These are the notes which I have taken on the spot.^{*} Imagine an undulating plain, bathed to the south by the waters of a great gulf, bounded to the north and east by a fine large river, and crossed towards the south, parallel to the sea, by a chain of low hills. In the centre of this plain, but perhaps a little nearer to the sea, rises a circular eminence three or four miles in circumference. To the north-east another row of hills rises from the great river and stretches away towards the west. This is the lay of the ground occupied by the Japanese capital. The river is the Sumidagawa. On the eminence rises the ancient castle of the Sioguns, which has become of late years the residence of the Mikado. That wooded hill to the north-east of the castle is Ueno, which contains the temple and ancient monuments of the former masters of Yedo. The other hill, towards the south, is the celebrated Shiba, with its magnificent tombs of other Sioguns. Between the heights and round the low cone on which stands the imperial castle, lies the town. Its limits are : to the north, the Sumidagawa, which, after making a deep bend, throws itself into the sea ; to the east, uneven but cultivated ground ; to the south, the gulf : and to the west, little valleys covered with pines, bamboos, and rice-fields, which come up to the gates of the city. To the east of the river is the great suburb of Hondjo. At the south-western extremity of the town is the large village of Shinagawa, which is only a continuation of the suburb of Tanagawa. Yedo is divided into four parts : Jiro, Soto-Jiro, Midzi, and Hondjo.

Jiro is the imperial castle ; only the walls are visible. Trees, three centuries old, planted by the great Taiko-Sama (in 1598), hide from profane eyes a spot now inhabited by the son of the gods. Green turf, which always looks fresh and bright, covers the sides of the mount ; a large wide ditch, at this moment full of gigantic lotus-flowers, runs all round it. No mortal man, save the people about the court and the great dignitaries of the state, may penetrate into those sacred precincts. Foreign ministers are only admitted on the rare occasions when they seek an audience of the emperor.

Around Jiro lies Soto-Jiro. It contains the *yashkis* ; that is,

^{*} I give them to my reader to refresh his recollections ; but, I repeat, I have no intention or pretension to write a full description of this town.

the palaces of the great personages about the court, the ministers of state, and the daimios, who, in the days of the Sioguns, were compelled to reside at Yedo for six months in the year. Since the fall of their master they live mostly in retirement on their estates. A large canal, forming an irregular circle, is the limit of this part of the town. It is only towards the east that it extends to the banks of the Sumidagawa. This part of Soto-Jiro is crossed by wide streets and by a number of smaller ones running out of the larger arteries. This is the commercial quarter, rightly called by the English the "City." From the beauty and elegance of its shops, and from the gay and busy crowd which fills its streets from morning till night, it forms a marked contrast with the rectangular blocks of the palaces, the greater portion of which are now shut up, and with the silence and solitude of the aristocratic quarter. To the north, west and south of Soto-Jiro extends the Midzi, or the town, properly so called. Several high-arched bridges connect this quarter with Soto-Jiro. The most celebrated is the *Nippon-bashi*, the Bridge of Japan, so called because it leads to the great imperial road which traverses the island of Nippon from its southern extremity in front of the island of Kiuchiu, to the northern point opposite Hakodaté, in the island of Yesso. In the interior of the town this road bears the name of *O-dori* (great street); outside, that is from Yedo to Nagasaki, it is called *Tokaido* (road to the west); while the northern branch of it, from the capital to Hakodaté, is known by the appellation of *Oshiu-kaido* (northern road). The Tokaido, be it said in passing, is generally well kept, and from Yedo to the banks of the river Odawara it is even practicable for carriages; but in the mountains it comes to be nothing but a path, and across the rocks, to steps cut in the stone, which make it almost impracticable for horses.

Nippon-bashi is the geographical centre of the empire. In the official itineraries it is from thence that the distances are counted to all the Japanese towns. To this spot the melancholy recollections are attached of the murder of M. Heusken, the secretary of the United States legation. The Midzi is a mixture of frequented and deserted streets, of gardens and rice fields, parks and temples, of which the finest are Asakusa to the north-east, and Shiba to the south-west. O-dori, and the other

streets parallel to the sea, the quarter which one crosses behind the Shiba to arrive from the suburb of Takanawa to the castle, and the approaches to Asakusa, are the most lively parts of the Midzi. In other portions you might fancy yourself in the country. On the side of Meguro, to the north of Takanawa, the town loses itself in thickets and rice-fields. To the south, on the sea-shore, at a short distance from the mouth of the great river, a new quarter has been built within the last two years, called Tsukiji (or the place of strangers), surrounded by canals, and without trees or gardens. It is a most melancholy site. There, however, the "Great Hotel" has been built, in imitation of an American caravanserai; the houses of the consuls, and of a few other foreigners; and last, not least, a French *restaurant*, which has dignified its paltry shed with the grand-sounding title of "Hôtel de France." As yet there are no women there. At a short distance to the south-west of Tsukiji is the imperial country palace, with a beautiful park, bathed by the waters of the Lake of Hamagotén. To the north of the Midzi is the famous Yoshiwara, the quarter of the courtesans. Everyone has read lying and exaggerated descriptions of this establishment, which is partly founded and overlooked by the government. It is asserted that, according to the ideas of this country, this horrible trade is not looked upon as disgraceful; that daughters of good families are placed there by their parents, and that honourable men do not hesitate to choose their wives among them. Persons living at Yedo, and whose witness cannot for a moment be called in question, have assured me that all this is absolutely false. It may happen in Japan, as in other countries, that a man, yielding to his passion, will marry one of those poor creatures; but there, as elsewhere, these unhappy girls are considered lost and dishonoured; and these places of prostitution are hot-beds of vice, misery, disease, and often of suicide. An official man who should be known publicly to frequent them, would be dismissed the service and degraded without mercy.

On the left bank of the Sumidagawa stretches the great suburb of Hondjo. In this neighbourhood there are a great quantity of tea-houses and what are called *hatagoya*, literally "houses of rest;" but in reality, bad houses, frequented mainly by students. Further on are the great government storehouses,

and several palaces belonging to the daimios. A fine quay runs along the river's edge. To the north live the *etas* (or cursed race), the pariahs of Japan.

Such is the general look of Yedo. As to the principal features of which this strange picture is composed, which unrolls itself as a new world before every fresh visitor, I have reckoned four which repeat themselves *ad infinitum*; the temples; the yashkis, or residences of the daimios: the houses of the middle classes; and the incombustible warehouses or safety-places.

In the temples, the Buddhist character is the most often met with. Yedo is essentially a Siogun town. It is they who transformed it into a capital, and the Sioguns have all along practised and protected Buddhism.

The yashkis are only palaces in name. They are simply groups of houses of one story each, without any pretensions to architecture, whitewashed, and their windows fitted with black wood gratings. These buildings serve as an outer wall and living-rooms for the servants and suite of the master. Always low and rectangular, they look like warehouses or barracks. The roof is covered with black tiles, bordered with white. Black and white are the two colours of Soto-Jiro.*

The houses of the middle class, have, like all similiar buildings in Japan, enormously heavy roofs resting on pillars. They are completely open towards the street and the court. During the night they are closed with panels which move on slides like the scenes of a theatre. If there be any partitions, they are simply frames on which are stretched little squares of white paper. In walking along the streets, the eye takes in all the details of the interior of these houses. Domestic life is entirely open to the inquisitive passers-by. There is nothing to hide; two or three women, naked, at this season, down to the waist, are busy with housework, cooking, &c.; the men, entirely naked, saving the *fundoshi* or strip of linen round the loins, are lying on the floor, smoking their pipes; children are playing in the half light. A fire is burning in one corner; in the other, are the *penates* of the house on a little altar, with a lamp, some flowers, and little bits of paper fastened to small sticks. On

* I shall speak of the interior of these yashkis when describing my visits to certain great personages.

a square tray are some little cups for tea, which is ready to be served at all hours of the day and night. No other furniture, only a beautiful matting. Everything is of the most extreme cleanliness. If it be a shop, the upper story has a wooden grating and a balcony, which ordinarily serves as a store-room.

Last, not least, are the incombustible warehouses, which are a kind of wooden tower covered with a coat of cement-like stucco and painted black. The windows are very small, and are closed with massive iron shutters. They are houses of refuge in case of fire or typhoons. Everything of value is hastily placed here, and then the owners make their escape, leaving the winds and the flames to do their worst. These are the four great features of the town of Yedo. Fancy temples rising in all directions : yashkis clustered round the royal castle, scattered here and there in the Hondjo, but very rarely seen in other parts of the town ; little houses all alike and in the mercantile quarter of Soto-Jiro, flanked by those round black towers—imagine all this, as I said before, and to complete the picture, fancy the streets, which, from the houses being so low, look wider than they are, and which are filled with men and women of the middle and lower classes (for ladies of rank rarely show), a multitude of children, a fearful number of blind people, and streams of *norimons*, *cangos*, and *jinrikishas*, and you will have a good idea of Yedo. The *norimons* and *cangos* replace the palanquins. The first are closed baskets ; the second open ones, hung on great bamboos resting on the shoulders of the coolies. The *jinrikisha* only came into existence a year or two ago ; but there are already more than 20,000 in Yedo. It is a kind of carriage on two wheels, prettily lacquered, covered with a white hood, and drawn by a man. Its inventor has made his fortune. The word means, “a carriage moved by human strength.”^{*} A coolie goes at a little trot, and makes three or four miles an hour. If you wish to make use of one of these carriages, and you want to avoid coming into contact with this useful being, who combines the functions of coachman and horse, keep tight on your seat and draw your legs and feet well under you. Prepare yourself also for various little incidents which happen very frequently : a wheel which comes off ; the seat which sinks down ; the head, which remains hanging on the

^{*} *Jin*, man ; *riki*, strength ; *sha*, a corruption of the English word, *car*.

front of a shop. Now imagine a file of these droll conveyances full of women, bonzes, singers, dancers (these last always recognizable from the exaggeration of their head-dress), in a word, Japanese exactly like the pictures you have seen a thousand times painted on vases, screens, or rice-paper, and you will be able, without any great effort of imagination, to form a just idea of this great "capital of the East." In the richer quarters, where the thieves are attracted by the hope of gain, there are, besides, a number of little sentry-boxes and sentries, with wicket gates, which, being shut at nightfall, prevent honest men from going about freely, but do not hinder the sharpers. As a shade to this brilliant picture, we must not forget the manure-bearers. Turn your head and walk quickly, but you will not altogether escape the horrible odours which are emitted by these filthy streams. But, saving this, there is no great town in Asia, and very few even in Europe, which on the score of cleanliness can be compared to Yedo.

It has also a look of prosperity and gaiety which is pleasant to see. There are always some quarters where they are celebrating the feast of some god. Bamboos ornamented with artificial flowers, and greasy poles, are raised before the temples; bonzes crowd round them; honest shopkeepers stand at their doors to see the processions pass. It is an excellent pretext for idleness that day; but rice is plentiful; people are satisfied with little; and in Japan, there is neither riches nor poverty. They keep a middle line. It is the happiest lot, and, unless appearances deceive me, it is the condition of most of the people in this town. I have seen very few beggars. There are a few on the Tokaïdo and here and there in Yedo. But those I saw seemed more to be plying a trade than to be very miserable; and they do not bother one as in some countries. In the tea-houses, children are sometimes trained to beg, and taught to roll their big, shaved heads, and do clever tricks with their little hands, while they sing the praises of the passers-by; but these were irresistibly comic. Poverty takes the shape of caricature. In Europe the professional beggar tries to move you to compassion; here he makes you laugh.

Their lamentations fall on a deaf ear, for you know they are put on. But the buffoonery of the poor Japanese first moves your spleen, and then by a natural reaction, your heart. The

idea is not a bad one ; it is, at any rate, a practical, and I would almost add, a profound one.

I have vainly hunted for some culminating spot from whence one could look down on this immense town as a whole. The lay of the ground and the absence of high towers prevent your seeing anything but a small portion of it at one time. From the roof of the great hotel at the Tsukiji, one sees a huge triangle crowned by the castle. To the north and south-east, the horizon is limited by the Ueno and the Shiba. Further to the south, you see the forts, run up in haste (in 1854) to resist the approach of the American fleet ; beyond, the promontory of Kanagawa and the waters of the Gulf. Further on, the outlines are almost imperceptible, earth, sea, and sky being mingled together. In the Soto-Jiro quarter, near the castle, there is another little hill, on which is a poorish kind of tea-house. From thence you see the same part of the town in a contrary sense. Look now ; from north to south, to the right, the view is limited by one of the palace gates and by a clump of large trees ; to the left, by the heights of Ueno ; but before you, that is, at your feet, a wonderful panorama is unrolled, which is striking, not for its beauty so much as for its strangeness and size.

I should be puzzled to describe the impression this view made upon me ; but here is an analysis : an immense green carpet, with white and grey lines scattered here and there and following the laws of perspective, accumulating towards the edge. There is neither beginning nor end. You know without seeing it that behind Ueno to your left, and behind the castle to your right, there is a mass of houses, trees, gardens, and fields. Before you, there is the same thing ; nothing that fixes the eye. If, here and there, you see a heavier roof, a little higher than the rest, why, you know it is a temple. Then you perhaps discover the poles on which the government decrees are posted up, especially those which punish all those who dare to profess the Christian religion. The little black towers of the warehouses are not high enough to be distinguishable. The solitary buildings which rise above the ordinary level of the scene, are the hotel, and the customhouse, built for the government by an English engineer. Saving these two heterogeneous objects, the disagreeable effect of which is mitigated by distance, nothing impairs the character of this strange panorama. Add to this, the profound

silence which reigns above the town. The cries of the bearers and *betto*s do not reach so far. The sound of the temple gongs is equally dulled. As to birds, there are none, I think. Sometimes a feeble confused murmur reaches one's ear; but so unlike what one generally hears from a great city, that it only deepens the strange, mysterious, indefinable impression of the whole scene.

To the north-east of the castle is another spot, noted for its beauty and for the view it affords of a different side of Yedo. These are the heights of Atangoyama. Two stone staircases lead up to them. Magnificent cryptomerias crown the summit, and shade a picturesque tea-house. Go there towards sunset. The western portion of the Midzi quarter stretches towards the south. Look then on the opposite side, and you will see a mass of little hills intermingled with valleys, covered with grass, fine trees, and rice-fields, the whole of the most brilliant green. It is a charming contrast, which must strike the eye and the imagination of the beholder. Here, a huge capital—there, a scene of Alpine beauty; but both one and the other are Yedo.¹

One must not come here without visiting Oji. It is a place for pleasure-parties, just outside the town. We do like everyone else, and, like everyone else, we are quite delighted. Here you find beautiful green hills, old cryptomerias, limpid streams, shade, water, freshness. Charmingly pretty and graceful young girls, who smile on you and bring you tea, tobacco, and *tay* cut in pieces, cluster round you, give you a lesson in the way of managing your chopsticks; and having waited till you have finished your meal, bring you a little stool, prettily sculptured and lacquered, after having carefully covered its cushion with a fresh sheet of paper. This is your pillow. You stretch yourself on your mat; and the *nesan* having discreetly retired, and pushed together the paper partition of your apartment, you take your siesta, softly fanned by the breeze which flows from a little gorge, plays with the tiny cascade, skims over

* I omit statistics, because those that I have seen in different books do not inspire me with much confidence. I would only say that the ground on which Yedo stands is (supposed to be) thirty-six square miles, of which sixteen miles only are covered with houses, and the rest with parks, gardens, and rice-fields. As to the population there is the same doubt. Some say two millions; others a million and a half. Since the fall of the Sioguns, and the departure of the daimios and their servants, people say that the population has fallen to eight hundred thousand.

the big lotus-leaves, and finally comes to caress and cool your burning cheeks. All this is delicious ; but it has been very often described. As for the *nesans*, they are only female waiters in an inn, it is true, but they are dressed like ladies, and have acquired their habits and language. People will say that this is too favourable an opinion. But contrary ones are only founded on suppositions and perhaps calumnies, which have no interest but for those who like to dive into disagreeable mysteries.

At twenty minutes' distance from Oji are the tea-fields. I have forgotten to mark down the exact name of the spot near them. A powerful stream falls from a high rock. Above its foaming waters some old pines form a kind of dome. There, both men and women come to take *douches*. Alongside, Japanese genius, which is essentially turned towards making playthings, has invented one which has been lately introduced into Europe. A water-melon, in the shape of a hollow ball, lacquered with red, is placed on a vertical jet of water, which comes out of a round osier basin. This ball turns on itself, and driven by the force of the water at its base, rises and falls with the regularity of a machine.

On returning home we passed a row of dwarf cedars, artificially bent and twisted. A young and pretty peasant woman met us, with one child on her back, and leading another by the hand. All of a sudden, she uttered a cry of fear and distress ; her beautiful features became deadly pale. We ran forward, and saw a large serpent hanging to one of these trees. Its head and the upper part of its body, which was shiny and speckled with black, were stretched out towards the poor mother, who, trembling and fascinated, was incapable of taking flight. Our guards bowed respectfully towards the reptile, who did not seem to me the least scared by the advent of so many men. They took care, in fact, not to molest it, for the serpent is sacred. Dragons sometimes assume this shape ; and the gods, as everyone knows, like to disguise themselves under the form of dragons. To kill a serpent, therefore, would be to expose oneself to commit a fearful act of sacrilege.

August 18.—I have accepted the kind hospitality of Mr. Adams, and it is with joy that, on returning from my different

excursions, I come back to the British legation at Yedo. On my arrival this morning I found the judge of the English community of Japan, Mr. Hannen, with his charming wife, several other members of the mission, and Dr. Wheeler. What a contrast between this comfortable and well-ordered home, with its well-educated and agreeable society, and the crowd of unknown foreigners whom I had left at the hotel of Yokohama!

August 19—To-day I took a long walk in the neighbourhood. It was just like an English park, saving for the peculiar vegetation of Japan. There is another speciality: you go out of the hotel of the legation, which is situated in a very gay street; you descend a little alley which by degrees takes the look of a village. A few steps further on and you find yourself in the midst of a complete solitude. Go on a little further, and there you are come back into a town. But even in the most frequented streets you hear very little noise; there is no pavement, no carriages, hardly any horses. The straw sandals of the foot passengers deaden the sound of their steps. There is rarely a crowd, but even if there be one, each glides on softly. The people are not taciturn—far from it, they chatter all day long; but you hear more laughs than words.

August 20.—It is Sunday. In the little European quarter at Tsukiji there is neither Catholic priest nor Protestant minister; neither church nor chapel. On the other hand, in every part of the town where public edicts are posted up, one may read the decrees forbidding to the Japanese the exercise of the Christian religion. The members of the present government, in spite of their reforming and civilizing tendencies, have, they tell me, retained their hatred of Christianity, and especially of the Catholic faith. The free exercise of their religion is guaranteed to foreign residents in *treaty-ports*; but is it the same in Yedo and Osaka? Pending this question, Mgr. Petitjean, the Vicar Apostolic of Japan, has done wisely, I think, not to provoke hostilities by opening a chapel at Tsukiji, and to reserve its solution for the time of the revision of the treaties, which cannot be far distant.

I passed this afternoon with Sawa Nabuyoshi, the first Foreign Minister. Although not above fifty, he looks like an old man; in Japan one lives fast. His face is a pleasant one,

frank, and open, somewhat sarcastic when he is joking, but full of that good humour which wins you at first sight. He and his son, a fine young fellow, are simply dressed in a silk tunic. Both are distinguished by high-bred manners and exquisite politeness. The room in which we are sitting, with the exception of a table and some chairs placed for the use of foreign diplomats, is entirely without furniture. In a niche is a fine Bohemian glass vase, a *souvenir* of the visit of our mission. By the order of his father, the young man brings and puts on the gala dresses of his mother, laughing heartily all the time; he also shows us some beautiful embroidered stuffs in silk and gold. Sawa is a man of letters, and told us many interesting things on the manners, history, and antiquities of his country. Trusting to the scientific turn of his mind, I pleaded for permission to visit Kiyôto (Miako). "What do you want to do at Kiyôto?" he asked me with an embarrassed air. "It is an old town which has been very much neglected since the Mikado took up his residence here, and it has been partly destroyed by recent fires. If you go there, other Europeans will wish to do the same. The people at Kiyôto are bad; some accident might happen to you. Don't go. Besides, recollect that the fire has destroyed almost all the fine new buildings."

"I am surprised," I-replied, "to hear you speak thus. It is not to see the new buildings that I want to go there; it is to see and admire the most ancient and beautiful temples in the empire. You who are so great a connoisseur in architecture, can you deny that Kiyôto is the most interesting and the oldest town in Japan?"

This observation struck home. The minister replied, smiling, "You are right. Let me have a little time to think. I will try and find some arguments which will influence the council to give their consent."

Sawa is a man of intelligence, and very clear-sighted: he wishes for reforms and likes progress; though he is too wise to approve of the race which is now the order of the day among the higher powers. Still the idea of a European penetrating into the holy city does not please him; and to obtain the consent of his colleagues will require all his oratorical persuasion. So strongly is the idea of the exclusion of strangers engrained in men's minds! This does not prevent the government from

favouring European journeys, the adoption of our costumes and habits, and the study of foreign languages. They have just established a German School.

I went to visit it one day. There were about a dozen young men and boys repeating in chorus the following sentence :—“The poor man wants to become like the rich man.” “The rich man does not want to become poor.” They were continually making mistakes and saying, “The rich man wants to become poor.” The teacher, the type of a German school-master, cried out in severe tones : “Amarisen, amarisen” (“not that, not that !”) And then the scholars, after a moment’s hesitation, began again in chorus :—“The-poor-man-does-not-want-to-become-like-the-rich-man.” A fresh explosion of wrath from the master. The word rich (“reech”) was the stone of stumbling to them all. Nothing was more comical than to see the efforts of these little throats to overcome this difficulty ! These boys will perhaps forget their German—probably they will never learn it ; but the moral maxim inculcated, which is certainly *not* that of the gospel, that riches are worth more than poverty, will remain engraven on their minds.

August 21.—I have passed the greater part of the day at Shiba. It is my third visit.

Shiba contains the tombs of a great number of Sioguns, besides several temples and richly-endowed convents. Now, the guardians of these sanctuaries, the bonzes, are in part expropriated. They have been given a little money and the advice to marry, which is contrary to their vows. The sequestered convents have been turned into barracks. This is the most recent change, but will probably not be the last. There are voices in the ministerial council which demand the formal abolition of Buddhism, the suppression of all the *Llamaseries*, and the demolition of the Shiba and Kiyôto temples, which are the most beautiful specimens of Japanese art.¹ At this moment they exist in all their magic splendour.

¹ The fears on this head conceived by the Buddhists and by the Europeans of Yokohama who care for works of art, have been but too well justified. In June 1872 we hear from Japan that the government had decided to pull down all the Shiba temples. The Yokohama papers protest energetically against this act of civilized Vandalism.

In the midst of the court is the great temple, and at the side the roof-covered stage which seems to be an essential feature in every sanctuary which includes the two kinds of worship. A square and graceful tower of several stories rises out of a group of fine old trees. There is nothing in the construction of these buildings which differs from other Buddhist temples, save the wonderful perfection of the sculptures, the richness of the details, and the profusion of gilding. The undefinable harmony of the colours makes one forget the barbarism of the architecture and the grotesqueness of the statues. Certainly they are the divinities of the spot ; but it breathes also a courtly atmosphere. Involuntarily one thinks of Louis XIV.'s chapel at Versailles.

The real treasures of Shiba, however, are the tombs. Separated from one another by a wall, they are built all along an avenue shaded by different species of pines. The age of these trees is not quite certain ; but it is supposed to be towards the end of the sixteenth century that Taiko-Sama had them planted.

The oldest tombs go back to the first half of the seventeenth century. I have visited them all, and compared them with a great deal of care. From this examination I thought I could trace a gradual decay of the fine arts. But I abstain from forming a judgment until I have seen the great temples and the castle of Kiyôto, which are equally the work of Taiko-Sama.

The mausoleums of Shiba are composed of three distinct elements : the outer court, the sanctuary or temple, properly so called, and behind the temple the tomb. The court is separated from the great avenue by a wall, which, inside, forms a covered gallery. Beautiful open-worked sculptures in high relief serve as gratings to the windows of the inclosure. They represent peacocks, pheasants flying in the clouds, and aquatic birds swimming in the ponds. The sculptor brings out the action of the birds in the most wonderful manner. The brilliancy of the colouring and of the gilding adds to the marvellous effect of these *chefs-d'œuvre* of art, where the feeling of nature is controlled by the symbolical and ideal character of the subject.

In the court, there is a double row of lanterns sculptured in stone, as one sees in all the temples, and in a great many

public and private gardens. At each step one is dazzled by the richness of the material, the prodigality of the ornaments, the exquisite finish of the details, and the solemn magnificence of the whole.

In front of the entrance is the actual temple. Here everything speaks of the greatness of the defunct potentate, of his power, his riches and his mystical faith. On both sides of the door stand the idols, the invariable ornaments of Buddhist temples. One, with angry features, and a face painted bright red, is supposed to exhort you to behave properly. Another, whose face is green, bids you welcome. If this explanation, which was given me by a bonze, be not exact, the learned must correct me. A richly-carved door, ornamented with beautiful bronzes, led into the interior. When we entered, the light was waning, and darkness shrouded the space. But by and by the eye began to take in the details, and we saw the richly-gilded ornaments of the beams, the sculptured ledges and friezes, and, behind an altar loaded with flowers, vases, and lights, the great god, Buddha, the symbol of supreme insensibility, of absolute and eternal quiet.

“Grato m'è il sonno e l'esser di sasso ”

Chandeliers, hung from the roof, surrounded the altar ; mats of the finest and most marvellous quality covered the floor, which was lacquered with reddish-brown at the edges.

A taste for the grotesque, and a search after the beautiful, refinement and perfection in technical art, fecundity of imagination, and a delicate feeling for nature, each and all restrained by the exigencies of Indian theogony and the holiness of the spot :—these are the characteristics of the marvels scattered in profusion over the last abode of the Sioguns. One thing puzzled me very much : it was the unmistakable and evident stamp of Italian *baroque* taste which was shown in some of the sculptures. As long as they deal with sacred subjects they follow tradition ; but as soon as they pass to birds, flowers, clouds, or waves, they leave the old tracks, take a freer range, and produce works which might have come out of the studios of Borromini or Bernini. Let any one who can, explain this strange fact ! Behind the temple is the tomb. It is a variegated column, surrounded by a double circular balustrade

in sculptured stone. You go up to it by steps. The effect of the whole is simple, grand, and barbaric. The venerable trees of Taiko-Sama form the framework. The monotonous notes of the grasshoppers do not cease for a moment : they add to the wild, sad, strange, and solitary character of this essentially heroic spot.

September 3.—During our excursion to Hakoné, the Reform Government has not stood still. It has by a simple stroke of the pen abolished the *hans*. One knows that the Japanese towns are divided into three categories : the *fus*, of which there are only three, Kiyôto (Miako), till the year before last the residence of the Mikado ; Yedo, until the fall of the Sioguns their capital and residence ; and last, not least, Osaka, the pearl of Japanese towns, and the great emporium of the commerce of the interior. The other towns are either what is called *hans*, that is, fiefs of the daimios, who are the hereditary princes of the country ; or else *kens*, that is, towns placed directly under the authority either of the Mikado or the Siogun. The edict by which the minister of the interior has suppressed the authority of the feudal lords is an act of most important bearing on the future of Japan, inasmuch as it destroys a system of which the origin is lost in the night of time. It inaugurates one of the most radical social and political revolutions possible. At present, it is true, it only exists on paper, and in Japan, more than anywhere else, there is a long way from a decree to its execution. Not to offend the daimios too seriously, they have left them, instead of their feudal rights, the administration of their ancient fiefs, with the title of governor or delegate of the Mikado.¹ Among the Cabinet Ministers also a change has been made. Among others, our old friend, Sawa, has been relieved from his functions as Minister of Foreign Affairs. This “grand seigneur” of the old school, a friend and protector of the fine arts, and himself a very good artist, renowned especially for being well versed in the history and antiquities of his country, bears his disgrace with ease and dignity. He came to-day with his son to dine at the Legation. He was very gay, laughed heartily, and said, in speaking of his retirement, “Very well, I shall go back to my books.”

¹ A few days later, this concession was revoked, and the government was withdrawn from the princes to be bestowed on functionaries named by the Government.

September 4.—Iwakura Tomomi, who has just replaced Sawa at the head of the Department for Foreign Affairs, came to-day to be presented in his new capacity to the Legation. The visit, according to the custom of the country, lasted some hours. I could, therefore, on this occasion, make the acquaintance of a personage who exercises so great an influence over the destinies of Japan. Iwakura, although belonging to the class of *kugé*, that is, the highest and oldest nobility about the court, had lived at Kiyôto in voluntary obscurity. The revolution of 1868 brought him forward. Ever since that time he has played a great part, and to-day he passes for being the most important man in the empire. He told me he was forty-eight years old. In Japan, as in China, the question of age is the first which well-educated people address to one another. His face has nothing very remarkable about it, unless it be the vivacity of his eyes when he speaks, and a rather sarcastic expression about the mouth. His speech is short and rather dry : his manners are those of a man of the great world, simple, easy, and natural.¹ A conversation which was anything but common-place, gave me the opportunity of drawing from the highest source some curious information on the origin, nature, and bearing of the great reform which Iwakura and his friends have just inaugurated.²

I first talked to him about my great wish to see Kiyôto, the capital of the east, the holy town specially closed to strangers. When the English minister, Sir Rutherford Alcock, crossed Nippon from Osaka to Yedo, he was entreated not to enter Kiyôto—and he never saw it. Baron Richtofen, who has travelled so much in the interior, was not more fortunate ; and when, three years ago, the ministers of England, France, the United States, and the Low Countries, went there by the special invitation of the Mikado, the presence of these diplomats was sadly

¹ Since I was in Japan, Iwakura conceived the idea of an embassy to the United States and to the great Courts of Europe, of which he was to be the chief and Kido the second plenipotentiary. During his absence the direction of affairs was confided to Sango and Saigo.

² What Iwakura said to me has since become the avowed programme of his Government. He repeated it not only to the members of the diplomatic corps but to all strangers who approached him, as he evidently wished to give his words as much publicity as possible. I have therefore no scruple in giving here a *résumé* of our conversation.

signalized by the bloody assault on the person and suite of Sir Harry Parkes. The Legations returned to Osaka without having had either the time or opportunity of visiting the principal monuments of the town. M. de Brants, Secretary of Legation to the North German Confederation, and some other members of the diplomatic corps, have recently made one or two short excursions there; but except these officials, and a schoolmaster and an engineer, who are both in the Japanese service, it seems that no European has been allowed to penetrate into the town. However that may be, no person has ever yet given a description of it *de visu*.¹ Only Doctor Kaempffer, who visited it in the seventeenth century, has, in his precious Japanese work, given us a few pages about it. He was the doctor of the Dutch factory at Detsima, and accompanied one of the embassies which this colony, once in every four years, was obliged to send to Yedo. During these voyages, the Dutch delegates were treated as prisoners of state; they travelled in closed norimons, and did not dare leave their hotels, where they were watched all through the night. Kiyôto has thus remained an unknown and mysterious land, which I have the greatest wish to explore. The old Sawa had almost given his consent; but he is no longer in power. I addressed myself, to his successor, who, already warned of my intention, hastened to promise that he would try what he could do to get the council to listen to my proposal. I had also a still more delicate matter to negotiate with the new minister; and that was my audience with the Mikado. As a rule, the son of the gods must be invisible to mortals. The only exception made is for his servants, and, since the whites have obtained the ports, the foreign ministers.

He has also received the admirals commanding the naval stations in the eastern seas. Mr. Seward, the old United States foreign minister, is the only non-official personage who has ever been presented to the emperor. Nevertheless, thanks to the powerful, although indirect support of the English representative, I am to have my audience. We then passed on

* This summer (1872) there was an industrial exposition at Kiyôto. Certain foreigners were allowed by favour to go there, and the English papers contained a short description of this *Capital of the East*. But since then, Kiyôto has been anew hermetically sealed.

to the events of the day, and to the suppression of the feudal rights, which is the theme of every tongue at this moment.

"The daimios," said Iwakura, "were kept in order by the Sioguns. Many of them were directly under their dominion. When the Siogunate was suppressed, they all became entirely independent. That was intolerable. It was necessary to re-establish the power of the Mikado, and that is what we have undertaken to do. In three years our task will be accomplished. The *hans* have been abolished. The daimios will not even be left as governors in their old dominions. We shall oblige them to come and live at Yedo with their families. Able men, no matter of what caste, will be made governors. The daimios will be employed in the higher offices of the state, but only on condition that they are capable persons. The little clans will be absorbed in the larger ones, and an army will be formed of the soldiers who, until now, have been in the pay and under the orders of the daimios alone. Our adversaries affirm that we are the enemies of the religion of the people. That is not true. We have no intention of destroying Buddhism. We only wish to purify the temples which were formerly dedicated to Sintooism. The Sioguns consecrated them irregularly to Buddha, and established his worship in them, sometimes simultaneously with, but often to the exclusion of, Sintooism, which has always been the official religion, that is, the religion of the Mikado. As to what regards the taxes, it is true that the peasants belonging to the daimios were exempt whenever the harvests were bad; and that the imperial Government cannot do the same, seeing that the expenses of administration are alike in good or bad years. But we will try to diminish the charges which weigh the most heavily on the rural population, by making the merchants and labourers share them, as these have hitherto been exempt from all taxation."

September 5.—I went this morning to visit the principal shops in Yedo. In the native quarter of Yokohama, goods are made expressly for the European market. Here, on the contrary, the manufacturers consult only the taste of their fellow-countrymen. Nothing can be more interesting than to examine minutely these thousand and one objects; the very use of which

escapes your penetration unless enlightened by a resident in the country. The different members of the Legations have good-naturedly acted as my guides in turn. It is a real study. The great variety of utensils forms an inexplicable contrast to the extreme simplicity, or rather the extreme absence of furniture in the houses of the rich as well as of the poor. Almost all their productions attest a lively imagination, which delights in droll conceptions: a great sense of beauty, although sometimes spoilt by the tendency to caricature; an evident desire to produce great effects by small means; the worship of inanimate nature purposely exaggerated, and a great latitude allowed to individual taste, alongside of a profound veneration for traditional types and routine. Comparing the objects of art, of which I will speak further on, with the industrial products, I should say that the artist in this country has a good deal of the artisan about him, but the artisan is essentially an artist. It was the same in Europe in the middle ages.

The shops where they sell toys excited my greatest admiration. One asks oneself how it is possible to expend so much wit, invention, and taste, to amuse children, who are incapable of appreciating these real *chefs-d'œuvre* of art? The answer is simple enough. It is, that in this country every one spends his leisure in playing like children. I have seen three generations—a grandfather, father, and son—absorbed in the operation of flying a kite. Ladies of high rank, who hardly ever go out of doors, spend, I am told, whole hours with toys.¹ At this moment the fashionable game is the *tô-sen-kio*, or the fan game.² A little box of light wood is placed on the mat, and on this box a junk figure, covered with silk, representing a butterfly, *cho*. The players, who are generally ladies squatted at a certain distance, aim and throw their fans in turn, the handle of which is to carry off the butterfly without upsetting the box. The losses and gains are regulated by a table setting forth the different methods by which the butterfly is to be attained. The ladies of the Mikado, I am told, have brought this game into fashion. I bought, for a very small sum, a quantity of curious things,

¹ Some are strange enough, and are seen equally in the hands of children and on the altars of their *penates*. One is the symbol of fecundity, which means the prosperity of families; but there is no bad thought involved in it.

² *Tô* means to strike; *sen* is a fan; *kio* a game.

some of which are really wonderful works of art. Among the rest, some bronzes, paper weights representing different animals, groups of tortoises, &c. In each there is a vein of the comic. I saw similar groups in other shops, and the same ideas, but never two alike. They will not copy. It is not the same model produced mechanically, but the same thought. The artisan; or rather the artist, although imitating nature, introduces his own idea as well.

I admired, also, the fine, delicate, beautifully clean hands of the women, who packed up my purchases in soft, silky paper.

We went to see two of the largest silk warehouses. We went up stairs to the first story, and there found ourselves in a vast room full of customers, and among the rest several ladies of high rank. Every one, men and women, were sitting on their heels behind a table a foot high, on which the goods were spread. There were the finest crapes and the heaviest stuffs, some woven in patterns, some quite plain. The colours were of an extraordinary brilliancy. Were it not for their great price, one would willingly employ some of these stuffs for curtains and hangings; they would make, besides, most beautiful vestments for churches. Here they are converted into court dresses for both sexes on great occasions.

It must be owned, however, that their silk manufactures are in their decadence, and it is again Europe which is the cause of it. The two great centres for the production of silkworms' eggs are the provinces of Oshiu and Shidshiu, for which the towns of Yonesawa, Uyeda, Chosiu, and Shimamura, serve as depots. The climate is peculiarly favourable to the production of eggs, which need, above everything, a *dry* air, and that condition can only be obtained in Japan on the high levels. Formerly, the producers of silk in other parts of the empire always went to seek their eggs in these two provinces. But since the disease in the Lombardy silkworms brings every year Italian silkgrowers seeking for eggs, these last have attained a fabulous price. It follows that in the south, and other places where silk manufactures are carried on, they have ceased to get their material from those provinces, and that, in spite of their very inferior quality, they content themselves with the eggs which can be produced on the spot.¹

* The English Government has given great attention to this subject.

After our "tiffin" we took a long and most enjoyable walk on foot to Meguro, a little village to the north-west of Yedo, celebrated for its beautiful temple, surrounded by fine cryptomerias and by teahouses, and the habitual *rendezvous* of the smart world of Yedo. Mr. Mitford, in his "Tales of Old Japan" gives a charming account of it. This book has just appeared in London, and a copy was sent to the Legation. People are devouring it, and with reason. The history of the 48 ronins, and the terrible scene of *hari-kari*, at which the author assisted as a delegate from his chief, will be read with interest by the great European public. The other tales are perhaps too exclusively Japanese to please those who have not seen the country. But the little fairy tales in the second volume are written with a native simplicity and a poetic charm which no one can fail to appreciate.

From Meguro we directed our steps towards an elevated spot called Shinfuji, from whence we enjoyed one of those idyllic views which give so peculiar a character to the neighbourhood of Yedo. The features are always the same—an oblong valley, surrounded by wooded hills, rice-fields, cryptomerias, the *massericana* and *retinispora* pines, on the heights and round the temples, which, placed half-way, are hidden by the foliage; with cherry and plum-trees in full flower, several species of laurels and maples, the *acer Japonica*, and the *Salisburia adimantifolia*, which the Japanese call *itchô*. These two species belong specially to the sacred woods, and are considered essentially sacerdotal. Add to this list, camellias and azaleas, and for a variety, the pale-green plumes of the bamboo. Certainly there are repetitions in this scenery; but it is the most charming, the most sweet, and the most poetic of monotonies.

To-day they will gossip finely in the teahouses of *Tokei*. (This is a new name just invented for the capital of the east, *Tô* signifying east, and *kei* capital. The smart men of the period prefer it). The unheard-of event which has set every one talking is the fact that a lady of high rank is going to dine

Mr. Adams, with some experts, visited the principal districts where the silkworms are bred. His reports on this subject, communicated to Parliament, give every species of information, which is the more valuable as having been made on the spot. See the Blue-Books on Japan of 1870 and 1871.

at the English Legation. Mr. Adams is the author of this innovation, thanks to the intimate relations he has formed with the notables of the country. His guests are Matsuné and his wife, the daughter of Uwajima, the present ambassador to China. The young lady is hardly fourteen. She is very little, has beautiful large almond-shaped eyes, and delicate hands and feet. If her head seems large, it is from the effect of her beautiful hair, which is divided into two bands, and fastened up by two great tortoise-shell pins. Over her fine white chemise she wears a narrow tunic of pale-grey silk. A large sash, the colour of a tea-rose, incircles her waist, which is very short, and ends with a huge bow, which reaches nearly to her shoulders. If it were not an anachronism, I should say she looked like an old Dresden figure dressed in the style of the first empire. I am seated next to her husband, and just opposite her. Nothing can be more amusing than to watch her, her bright, intelligent eyes take in everything on and around the table. She wants to do just as we do ; and her Japanese instincts serve her so well, that by the time we have arrived at the roast she has already learnt how to use her knife and fork. By degrees her stiffness vanishes, and on getting up from dinner her manners are as natural and naive as those of a child. She walked round the drawing-room, where everything was new and strange to her, and then, taking a little stool, went and sat down at her husband's feet, smoking a cheroot and apparently forgetting our existence.

Matsuné, in spite of some irregularities of feature, is a good-looking fellow ; but, like so many of his countrymen, he is undergoing a process of transformation. He is become European at the extremities. He wears fine Parisian boots, has cut off his pig-tail, no longer shaves his head, but lets his hair grow, which being thick and crisp takes away his look of distinction. I asked him "why he had given up the Japanese head-dress." He replied "that it always gave him cold." Desirous of being a liberal politician, or inclining towards progress, but not daring yet openly to avow his principles, he tries to swim between the two streams. He is no longer a *codino*, and not yet a *progresista*. This is the case with many Japanese at this moment. But you may be sure that when a man begins to cut off his tail he has gone over to the cause of

reform; and their number increases daily. Japan is on the move.

September 6.—This evening at dinner I made the acquaintance of Saigo, who, from being a simple samurai of the Prince of Satsuma, has become one of the most influential men in the island of Kiushiu. It was necessary to insure his support before attempting any reforms, and to obtain, through his intermediation, the support of the great clans of the south. Iwakura went to fetch him from the depths of his island home, won him over to approve of the new programme, and then persuaded him to come and establish himself at Yedo. Saigo is of a herculean stature. His eyes are full of intelligence, and his features of energy. He has a military air, and his manners are those of a country gentleman. They say he is bored to death with the court, and dying to get back to his own property in the country.

September 7.—Religion is at a low ebb. None but women and old men go out of their houses morning and evening, at sunrise and sunset, to adore the beneficent luminary. As a general rule, no one prays, except to obtain a favour. Wives ask the gods to make their husbands faithful; the sick plead for health, young girls for a new gown, a jewel, a lover, or a husband. When any one is ill, they go to the temple and call the god by beating a gong or clapping their hands; they bow before the god, who appears invariably after the third summons, adore him for a few moments, put a little bit of copper money into a box, and all is done. At the temple of Asakusa there is a bronze god who goes to visit the sick. They rub that part of his body which corresponds with the part where they suffer. In fact, they have a whole heap of superstitious ceremonies; but among the upper classes and the intellectual circles there is an entire absence of faith or religion. That is what I hear all round me, and it confirms my previous impression at Yokohama. I have many times questioned the notables of the country on the subject of their belief. They all answered, laughing, that it was all folly. Only the old Sawa, though smiling sarcastically, expressed himself with a certain amount of reserve on the subject. The sanctuaries

of Ikegami, to the west, and at a little distance from Yedo, are of great antiquity. We went there in the afternoon. I give up the attempt to describe the beauty of the place. Let those who can explain in what consists the wonderful charm of these Japanese temples. They are, after all, always the same—some beautiful old trees shading a few pillars, which support a heavy roof with a wide border; and yet you are in an ecstasy. It is not a question of architecture. You might say they were only colossal cottages, with a pigeon-house and a few perches. But what I admire so much is the way in which the architect has understood what one can and cannot do with wood; and that he has known so well how to make use of the very simplicity of the construction to introduce the most effective ornament. Look at that frieze. It binds together the pillars, serves as a console to the beams which support the ceiling, and makes the natural transition to the roof. The horizontal beams, of which there is a double layer, give solidity to the building, while their extremities, elegantly carved, agreeably break the line of the frieze.

In a round, solitary *tempietto* of graceful design, and of which the tender red, green, and grey shades harmonized wonderfully with the dark green of the cedars and *ichôs* around it, there was a colossal statue of I know not what god. When we arrived, an old bonze of venerable appearance was chanting some hymns, while the faithful prostrated themselves in adoration of the divinity. It was a true Japanese picture; but it would have been wanting in reality if our yakunins, who, with their pipes in their mouths, had gone into the sanctuary laughing and chattering, had not openly mocked both at the priest and his god.

September 8.—There is no legend more popular than that of the "Forty-seven Ronins." It gives us an insight into a significant fact connected with feudal habits.¹ The ronin is generally a fallen man. Ordinarily they are military men who have been dismissed by their daimios. At other times they have become ronins in consequence of their masters' ruin. Well, one day there was a daimio, Takumi-no-kami, who, sent with a message from the Mikado to the court at Yedo, was there

* This legend is supposed to date from 1727.

cruelly affronted by Kotsuké, one of the great functionaries of the Siogun. As no one is allowed to draw his sword within the precincts of the palace without running the risk of death and confiscation of all his goods, Takumi contained himself as long as he could ; but one day, provoked beyond bearing, he drew his sword and rushed upon his enemy, who escaped ; while he himself, arrested and dragged before the tribunal, was condemned to death. His goods were confiscated, his family reduced to misery, and his vassals and the gentlemen of his suite became ronins. Some became merchants, others took service with some daimios. But Kuranosuké, his principal counsellor, and forty-six other knights belonging to the unfortunate Takumi-no-kami, swore to revenge their master. Unfortunately, Kotsuké got wind of their project, and, to insure his own safety, surrounded himself continually with so formidable a guard that, unless his suspicions could be lulled, all hopes of revenge would have to be abandoned. The forty-seven ronins, therefore, knowing that at Kiyôto they were watched by the spies of Kotsuké, separated, each taking a different disguise, one as a carpenter, one as a merchant, and so on. Kuranosuké himself feigned to give himself up to the lowest vices. He was only seen in bad houses or drinking saki. One day he was found dead drunk in a stream of the street. A passer-by, a man of the Satsuma clan, exclaimed, "Is not that Kuranosuké, formerly the counsellor of the unhappy Takumi? Instead of avenging his master he gives himself up to women and wine. Oh, the wretch ! unworthy of the name of samurai !" and, pushing him with his foot, he spat in his face. This little incident, instantly reported to Kotsuké by his spies, seemed to him to augur well for his future safety. But this was not all. The faithful counsellor pushed his dissimulation even to cruelty. Playing the part of a *débauché*, he overwhelmed his wife with imprecations, and drove her from his house with her children, except the eldest son, who was then sixteen, and whom he kept with him. At this intelligence, which was instantly forwarded to Yedo, Kotsuké, believing that all danger was passed, sent away the greater part of his guards. The day of justice was, therefore at hand. The counsellor secretly left Kiyôto, and went to rejoin his companions, who were all gathered together at Yedo, and only

waiting for the signal of their chief to set to work. It was in the depth of winter that, on a cold, dark night, and during a heavy snow-storm, the conspirators met, and separating into two bands, one led by the chief, the other by his son, stole silently, unperceived, to the yashki of the man whose death they had sworn to accomplish. They had agreed to enter the palace, to shed no innocent blood, to spare such of the servants as should make no resistance, and finally to kill Kotsuké, and place his head on the tomb of their master in the temple of Sengakuji, in the suburb of Takanawa. Having accomplished this, they would quietly present themselves before the judges and await their sentence, which they knew must be death. Such were the instructions of the head of the conspiracy, and each man swore to carry them out to the letter. The high wall which surrounded the palace was scaled, and the interior door forced open by blows from a hammer. To prevent the neighbours coming to the rescue, Kuranosuké had sent them this message, "We ronins, formerly in the service of Takumino-kami, intend this night to make our way into the palace of Kotsuké-no-Suké to avenge our master. We are neither thieves nor rogues, and no harm will be done to the houses in the neighbourhood. Therefore be reassured and remain quiet."

The neighbours took very good care not to come to the rescue of a man who was so little popular in the quarter; they therefore remained quiet, and let the ronins have their way.

These soon penetrated into the interior of the palace. A terrible struggle ensued between them and the samurais of the master. Very soon all these were left dying or dead: not one of the ronins had perished. The son of the chief conspirator, although only sixteen, had performed prodigies of valour. But where was Kotsuké? Vainly he was hunted for in every hole and corner. Already the ronins in despair were on the point of disembowelling themselves, when their chief, on examining Kotsuké's bed, found it still warm. It was evident that he could not be far off. At last they dragged from his hiding-place an old man of respectable appearance, clad in a simple tunic of white silk. He was easily recognized. This was Kotsuké. The chief of the ronins went on his knees before him, and after having performed the marks of respect due to his rank and age, said to him, "My lord, we are the followers

of Takumi-no-kami. Last year your grace had a quarrel with him. He was forced to die, and his family was ruined. As good and faithful vassals we are come this night to avenge him. You must recognize the justice of our cause. And now, my lord, we conjure you to perform the *hari-kari*.¹ I will be your second;² and after having humbly taken up the head of your grace, I will deposit it as an offering on the tomb of our lord and master." But Kotsuké, pale and trembling, could not make up his mind to die like a gentleman. As time was precious, and help might arrive, Kuranosuké cut off his head with the sword which his master had made use of when compelled to disembowel himself. To avoid a conflagration, the ronins, before leaving the palace, took care to put out the lights and the fires. Then they put the head of their victim in a basket and retired. The day began to dawn. The news of the events of the night had already spread like wildfire through Yedo. The people crowded round them, and received with cheers and acclamations these forty-seven brave men who, covered with blood and wounds, formed in procession, and marched to the suburb of Takanawa. At every moment they expected to be attacked by the samurais of the father-in-law of their victim. But one of the eighteen great princes of Japan, who was the friend and relation of Takumi, had assembled his warriors in haste to defend the forty-seven. As these passed before the yashiki of the Prince of Sandai, they were invited to enter, and were served with rice and wine. Arrived at the temple where the body of Takumi had been laid, they washed their bleeding trophy in a fountain which still exists, and then solemnly laid it on the tomb of their master. Then Kuranosuké gave all his money to the priest, told him that they were all going to perform *hari-kari*, and begged him to bury him and his faithful companions by the remains of their lord. The bonze shed tears of admiration and sorrow. The ronins then quietly waited for the magistrates' summons. After some deliberation, they were

* Hari-kari, or "hara-kiru," disembowelling—performed by the condemned himself when of too high rank to be touched by the executioner.

² That is, "To shorten your sufferings, at the moment you rip up your belly with your poniard, I will cut off your head with my sabre." It is generally a member of the family or his best friend who performs this last service to the prince or noble condemned to perform "hari-kari."

made to appear before the supreme council, when it was notified to them that, having been wanting in the respect due to the city and the government, they were all condemned to death. They were divided into four groups, and placed under the care of four daimios. It was in the houses of the latter that, in the presence of the officers of the Siogun, they all disembowelled themselves. Having freely made the sacrifice of their lives for one object, they finished their course with wonderful intrepidity. Their bodies were carried to Sengakuji, and buried near the remains of their master, Takumi; and ever since that day the people never cease to visit their tombs, to ornament them with branches and flowers, and to burn incense before them. Among the first who presented himself was that man of the Satsuma clan who had insulted Kuranosuké when he feigned to be drunk and asleep in the stream. He declared he had come to make an honourable amends to the holy martyr, and to expiate the fault he had committed by insulting him. Saying these words, he seized his poniard, opened his belly, and died. He was buried in the same inclosure.

Such is the tragedy of the "faithful ronins,"¹ known at Yedo under the title of the "Forty-seven." They tell me that in this part of Japan there is not a man or a woman but knows it. The details have been transmitted by oral tradition from generation to generation, and it was probably in their popular tales that Mr. Mitford found the elements of this simple and touching story. But the principal facts rest on documents of unquestionable authenticity. In the temple of Sengakuji they have preserved the clothes and arms of the "Forty-seven" as relics. In hunting over these things, Mr. Mitford discovered some writings, which proved to be a short but complete summary of the facts, and the reasons which determined the ronins to avenge their master. A copy of this memorandum was found on the body of each of Takumi's faithful followers. This is, however, a custom in this country, when men are about to engage in any matter in which their lives may be sacrificed. Always jealous of their honour, they are very careful to put down in writing the motives of their actions; and this paper they carry

¹ Sir Rutherford Alcock spells the word *Lonins*, but in this, as in other native words, I have followed the etymology of M. de Hübner. (Translator's note.)

about with them with the utmost care. Several authors who have written on Japan have mentioned this bloody episode ; but the young English writer before mentioned has the merit of being the first to make the story really known. I did not like to pass it over in silence, and, contrary to my habit of only inscribing in my journal what I have seen or heard, I have given an extract from Mr. Mitford's account. It appears to me that the history of the "Forty-seven," and the veneration paid to them by the people, throw a curious light on the habits of thought in this country, such as they were not long ago, and such as they still are in the great majority of the nation. In the justification of their conduct found on their bodies and addressed to the manes of Takumi, we find the words,—“We have eaten of your bread.”

This is the secret of their conduct. As faithful servants and loyal knights, they were bound to avenge the death of their master. Then follows the justification. They quote a precept from Confucius : “*Thou shalt not live under the same sky nor tread the same earth as the enemy of thy father or thy lord.*” “How,” they add, “could we read this verse without blushing?” Public opinion unanimously approves of their act. Both people and daimios admire this fidelity to a master, although carried to an extreme. Only three years ago, a man after having prayed before the tomb of young Chikara, the son of Kuranosuké, again disembowelled himself. The wound not being mortal, he cut his throat. Why? A paper found on his body declared that he was a ronin who had wished to enter the clan of the Prince de Choshu ; that his petition had been refused : that he would not serve any other master : and that he had, in consequence, come to die and be buried by the graves of the brave. This was in 1868. How, after such facts as these, can one believe that the historic constitution of a country, which is the growth of centuries, can suddenly fall into ruins?—that all the feelings and ideas which form its groundwork and its moral basis have vanished, and that, with a few decrees on rice-paper, “*on changera tout cela,*” as Molière's Médecin exclaims?

To-day we went to see the spot. It is only a few steps from the Legation. On going up the hill, we passed by the fountain where Takumi's head was washed. An inscription records

the fact. Further on is a small inclosure, beautifully kept. Fine trees are planted round it. One sees there forty-eight little tumular stones, placed vertically along the railing which forms the inclosure. Little cups full of water are placed before each, and it is in them that the incense is burnt. Near the entrance of the inclosure rises the fine monument of the chief for whom their lives were given. Little branches of trees, brought by the faithful, whom the holiness of the place perpetually attracts, ornamented the last resting-place of the faithful "Forty-seven."

In the chapel are the wooden statues of these popular heroes and their master. They are painted or lacquered, armed, and represented in the midst of the fight. They are real *chefs-d'œuvre* of art, and remind one of some of the finest Spanish sculptures of the seventeenth century.

September 9.—This evening we dined with Sawa Nabuyoshi—relieved, as I have already said, from his official functions, but living quietly, like a philosopher, a wise man, and an artist, in his beautiful yashki, situated at about four miles from the Legation, and not very far from the European quarter.

The invitation was for five o'clock, and not very long after we arrived at the gate of honour of the palace. Like all noblemen's habitations, the courtyard is strewn with big pebbles, on which it is impossible to walk without making a noise, and thus calling the attention of the guards. A little path facilitates the approach to the main entrance; a second double door, which is open, leads to the interior, and, like the outer one, is strong and heavy—armed with nails and sheets of bronze or iron. Three or four servants are squatted motionless on their heels opposite a screen which prevents the eye from penetrating beyond. Two gentlemen with double swords receive us, and through narrow passages, like the approaches to a fortress, lead us to the room on the first story where Sawa received me when I paid him my first visit. It was wide open towards the garden, in which was a pond surrounded with trees. In it are little bays and a promontory shaded by a magnificent cedar. The master of the house invited me to come up on the roof to see the view of Yedo. But what struck me far more was the yashki itself, thus seen in a bird's-eye

view. It was a perfect labyrinth of detached buildings, united by long, covered corridors, with a mass of roofs of different heights and sizes, divided from each other by narrow passages. To the eye it appears but a confused mass of black, heavy roofs. This form of construction is, however, found in all the large houses and palaces. It is a pledge of safety ; or, at least, it gives a last chance of escape in cases (which used to be frequent) where men, actuated by political rivalry or private revenge, seek the life of the master, and have already managed to get into the courtyard.

Sawa then led us into an adjoining room, which opened into the garden. On a low table were spread out, with the taste and refinement so universal among the Japanese, some large sheets of paper, mixed colours ready for use, paint-brushes, Indian ink, and a cup of water. A young lady, the wife of one of Sawa's samurais, instantly sets to work. She takes a sheet of paper and fixes it by means of a great block of rock-crystal. With a sure and skilful hand she begins to trace the buds, flowers, and leaves of a plant. Then she unites these scattered parts by the stem and the branches, leaning more or less heavily on her brush ; and thus, mixing the colours at the end with more or less water, which is ingeniously contained in the upper part, she manages, in one single touch, to put three or four shades on the paper. She draws and paints at one and the same time with wonderful accuracy and beauty. To this we must add her extraordinary rapidity of execution. In ten, five, no—three minutes, the sketch is done ; and certainly it is worthy of a place in a screen in the most elegant boudoir. Doubtless, this proceeding is partly mechanical. The artist has learned a certain number of subjects by heart, which, by dint of practice, she reproduces with admirable correctness. But the application she makes of these elements is entirely her own. It is a sort of game, played with wonderful dexterity. It puzzles the spectator, leaving him as long as possible in doubt as to the subject, and then surprises him by the last touch which gives a form to the whole. Not to let him have time to guess what is coming, the artist must work quickly. So the extraordinary rapidity of the execution adds greatly to the merit.

After the young lady came the turn of the good old Sawa.

Laughing, and handling with great skill a big brush (which, by the fineness of the point would certainly rival Cheriaut's), and plunging it alternately in the cup and in his mouth, he ended in a few minutes by producing a charming sketch of a group of horsemen. He began by the head of a horse; then went to that of the man who rode him; then drew a horse's hoof, and so on. It was impossible to guess the subject of the drawing. At last, with a few touches of his brush, he reunited all these scattered members, added the shadows, and so completed his little *chef-d'œuvre*.

The growing darkness put an end to this little amusement, and our host brought us back to the other room. We sat round a low table, and dinner was served. Lanterns fastened to the roof, and torches cleverly placed in the garden so as to reflect their light in the water, added to the charm of this strange scene. We are a party of six: Sawa himself; an officer of the minister of foreign affairs; a friend of the house; Mr. Adams, Mr. Satow, and I. Sawa's son is ill, and could not assist at the entertainment. The meal was composed of a number of dishes served to each guest in a little cup of porcelain as fine as a sheet of paper. Most delicious chicken soup; then *entremets* of eggs, which rather excite our appetites than satisfy them; boiled fish, broiled fish, roast fish; then a quantity of other kinds of food of which we could not even guess the nature, all seasoned with fish sauces of a delicate and aromatic taste. They are too well bred to force us to eat; but our praises of such-and-such a dish are received with manifest pleasure, and repeated and commented upon by the three Japanese guests. The wine, or the *saki*—made, I think, with rice—is what I appreciate least. It is sent up in a little china bottle and poured into tiny cups. We have been two hours at dinner, when, according to the etiquette of the country, the guests ask for rice—that is the civil way of begging to rise from table. The rice is served on a square plateau of red lacquer, with the famous *Tay* (the most delicate fish in Japan), and some soup and other ingredients. This is the *bouquet* of the feast; and our two Japanese guests loudly express their satisfaction.

During dinner, in an adjoining room, opened its whole length on the side of the dining-room, and mysteriously lit with little white-paper lanterns, five blind men, squatted on

the matting, executed various pieces of music. Their instruments resembled our *zither*, which is so popular in the Styrian mountains, and a violin. Sometimes they accompanied themselves with the voice. Their songs were rather monotonous, but in no way disagreeable. The same phrases were often repeated, united by recitatives. One would say that they were seeking for melodies which they could not find. The best artist played the flute, and he had really a wonderful talent. All of a sudden we saw a young woman, who could only be a great lady, glide into the room and squat down on her heels, turning her back to us all the while. It was Sawa's daughter-in-law, whom he had persuaded, with great difficulty, to appear before the barbarians. She played on a similar instrument to that used by the blind men. We were all struck by the beauty and clearness of her touch. She kept time, and evidently directed the other musicians. The good old Sawa was in an ecstasy, and never ceased singing the praises of his daughter-in-law. Unfortunately, we could only admire her art and not her beauty; for the moment the piece of music was over she disappeared, without deigning to come into the dining-room or to turn her face once towards us. Still it was a very charming sight to see this young lady gracefully seated in front of the four blind men, with her grey silk robe and bright scarlet sash, her head gently inclined over her instrument, letting one see the outline of a prettily-rounded cheek and a beautiful little ear whilst her taper-white fingers played with the strings of her lute, which vibrated under her touch.

The meal being over, paper, colours, and brushes were again brought, and the master of the house, with the wife of the samurai, completed some other sketches, which they were kind enough to add to our collection of drawings.

But it is half-past nine. In this country that hour is looked upon as midnight. We therefore took our leave; and after having passed through innumerable lobbies and ante-rooms, which were lit by great wax candles fixed in bronze chandeliers, we arrived at the courtyard, where Mr. Adams's pony-carriage was waiting for us, with his orderly on horseback, the Japanese guards, and the *betto*s (or grooms) of the Legation.

We have to cross a large portion of the town. It is the first time that I have seen Yedo by night. Generally one takes

care to avoid nocturnal promenades. Unless for some urgent reason, it is forbidden to Europeans, in the interest of their own safety, to quit their own quarter after sunset. At the Legation, except in cases of absolute necessity, no one goes out at night. Even at the beginning of this year two Englishmen in the service of the Japanese government were badly wounded and lamed for life. It not the thieves that one has to fear, but samurais heated by saki, who, at the sight of a European, feel a sudden and irresistible attraction to cut him in pieces. We therefore set out with all possible precautions. The English orderly, mounted on a big horse, a giant himself in size, follows the carriage. Five Japanese horsemen form our rear-guard. One of them leads the way at the head of the procession. Every three or four minutes he is relieved by one of his comrades. These gentlemen are punctilious on the point of honour. Every one covets the dangerous post, which is in front, and not behind; for if we are attacked it will be in front. There is something of the middle ages—something fine and chivalrous—about the people of this country. On both sides of the carriage run the *bettos*, crying, “Hai! hai!” (Take care! take care!) *Bettos* and horsemen are all furnished with coloured lanterns, which are great globes of paper inclosing candles. The air is mild, the sky dark, with here and there a solitary but brilliant star. Almost all the houses are shut. Sometimes a ray of light from a coloured lantern flickers across the street. There is no other attempt at lighting. At the corners of the different quarters of the town we see groups of armed men sitting at the doors of their guard-houses. Everywhere else pitch-darkness. Mr. Adams, however, drives his ponies quickly on, and, without having run over a single belated man or woman, who, on foot or in jinrikishas, were seeking their homes, he landed us safe and sound at the threshold of the Legation.

September 10.—The weather is a little cooler. We profit by it to visit Hamagotén, which means the “palace on the shore.” This Siogun castle rises on the sea-shore in the midst of a fine park surrounded by a high wall. A fortified gate gives entrance to the vast building. In Japan, a castle has not yet become a palace. During the Duke of Edinburgh’s visit, the

interior of this summer habitation was fitted up in European fashion. At this time, although not so long ago, the wind did not blow quite so strongly in favour of reform and European manners. Men were still asking themselves if they were to tolerate or exterminate the whites. The revolution of 1868 was accomplished under the double cry of restoration of the Mikado and expulsion of strangers. Nevertheless, prudence required that civility should be shown to the son of the Queen of England, and it was consequently in his honour that a quantity of heavy, lumbering, mahogany furniture was imported from Hong Kong. Neither did they forget plate and glass, especially for the table. When the foreign minister receives the plenipotentiaries of England and other countries at dinner, he borrows the furniture of Hamagotén; and on these rare occasions the French cook of Tsukiji is allowed the signal honour of cooking the dinner. Thanks to this artist, and to the visit of the English prince, those high in office have been initiated into the grave mysteries of European *cuisine*. They have also learned to use a knife and fork, and to be able to maintain their equilibrium on a chair. The Hôtel de France and Hamogotén will really deserve a place in the history of civilization.

In the meantime I myself prefer to the inside of the castle, vulgarly Europeanised, the beautiful park outside, which has remained Japanese. Magnificent trees, terraces, artificial lakes, promontories, bridges thrown over creeks, the ground artificially and naturally thrown about, and between the trees, the horizon of sea—all this is really beautiful. Everywhere, besides, there is solitude and silence.

September 11.—Dinner at Iwakura's. Arriving at seven o'clock at his palace of Soto-Jiro, we go through the great walled court, pass before a dozen servants squatted on their heels, and are introduced, as usual, by the two-sworded gentlemen, to the apartment of the foreign minister. With the exception of a round table and four chairs placed for the occasion, the room, like all those we have passed through, was completely bare of furniture, saving always the little *étagère* or rack to receive the swords of the visitors. Soon after, dinner was announced and served in European fashion. I could not help admiring the tact and skill of the servants. They changed the

covers and plates without making the slightest noise, and with the grace and delicate care of a Sister of Charity who is giving you luncheon in her convent. Dinner and conversation were prolonged till midnight. But these five hours really passed like so many minutes. Iwakura, who was in a talking mood that night, expressed himself easily, briefly and clearly.

Among other things he said :—

“My great aim is to establish friendly relations with foreign powers and to introduce domestic reforms. It is not true that Japan has always been closed to foreigners. Two causes led to this voluntary isolation of the empire : first, the usurpation of the Sioguns, who were afraid of compromising their power by putting themselves in contact with the world outside : and next, the rebellion of the Christians.¹ The Mikado, now restored to his throne, and in the plenitude of his power, has nothing to fear, like the Sioguns, from the curiosity of strangers. They are welcome to examine into his rights, which are incontestable, and no one can call them in question.

“The success of the revolution of 1868, and the consent of the two great clans of Satsuma and Chiôshiu to sacrifice their privileges, can only be accounted for by the universal veneration which the Mikado enjoys. He reigns in every heart ; and the successful usurpation of centuries has not been able to dispossess him.” We then went on to speak of the journeys now undertaken by the young Japanese to Europe and America. I ventured to observe to the minister, that it would be wiser to send men of greater age and experience than so large a number of uneducated youths, who were incapable of understanding the bearing of things in Europe, and who besides were exposed to the dangerous seductions of our large towns. Iwakura replied, “Your words are those of a wise man. Nevertheless, these young men do bring back new and larger ideas, which they spread in their own country. On this head, such foreign travel does good.” He added, laughing heartily, as most Japanese do, “We have the reputation of being great liars. These liars were the Sioguns, who all wished to pass themselves off as emperors.”

¹ Allusion is here made to the revolt of the Christian inhabitants of Arima and Shimabara (to the east of Nagasaki), who were driven to desperation by the horrible cruelties of their governor in 1638.

It is not only to us that Iwakura speaks of his plans of reform. He talks just as freely with all those who come near him.

"You are afraid," he said, "or some of you fear that we are not yet fit for such a task, and that, if we fail, the odium will fall on the foreigners. Be reassured: in Europe, it is the people who choose their kings. In Japan, they believe that the emperor came straight down from heaven, and that all men are his slaves. The princes and samurais have always looked upon the Mikado as their master, to whom they owe a blind obedience. This is the basis of our public rights. For a long time I and my colleagues have meditated the abolition of the daimios; but it was a bold and dangerous step to deprive with one blow 260 noblemen of their hereditary dignities. It was impossible, however, not to feel that these princes were a permanent obstacle to the reforms we wished to carry out in the interior, and to the developments we hope to give to our intercourse with foreigners. In consequence, as you know, I went to the Satumas and Chiôshius, and induced these important personages to consent to the immediate and complete abolition of the clans. The Tosas, whom I invited to join us, have acceded likewise to our plans. Now we are busy organizing a guard of 10,000 men, and an imperial army. These three clans have already sent us all their soldiers. The others will be compelled to follow their example. We shall then have the means of crushing any attempt at resistance. The Imperial Government has now established itself at Yedo: and it is here that we mean to concentrate all the branches of the public service. The rates and taxes of the country will all come into this department. The revenue amounts now to 12,000,000 of *rios*. The duties received at the ports are insignificant. Our task is difficult, but not impossible. We shall succeed. The Sioguns lied: but we will tell the truth to all the world."

Iwakura's two sons are in New York: that is now the fashion. All men of rank send their sons either to Europe or the United States. They come back wearing the European dress, and, begging their pardon, like the poor soldiers, they look just like monkeys. We should be quite as ridiculous if we were to adopt vertical tails, or if, when walking in our gardens in summer, we were to content ourselves with a fan

and a bit of linen round our waists. In the streets of Yedo, one meets people wearing gibous hats; others, boots with elastic sides; or paletots, which have the advantage of showing the legs naked up to the waist. Some of them who are dressed entirely in European fashion have kept their wooden patten-sandals, and their caps of lacquered paper. What disfigures them all, however, is the way they try to do their hair, which, being naturally coarse and hard, will not divide or brush like ours, so that they resort to oiling it and tying it with a ribbon. These innovators still form a small minority, and excite the indignation rather than the imitation of the people. But they enjoy the protection of the Government, hold the highest places, and think themselves, and to a certain degree are, important people. Certainly, nothing is more praiseworthy than an ardent desire for progress—a wish to better oneself, and to adopt the inventions of nations more civilized than our own. But I am afraid these good impulses are often badly directed; and that they may produce great disturbance in men's minds, and perhaps some day a strong and bloody reaction.

September 12.—I paid a visit to-day to the Prime Minister, Sanjo. His yashki resembled those of Sawa and Iwakura. In going through the apartments I saw the most beautiful specimens of old lacquered screens placed before the doors, or rather before the openings left between the frames of the partitions. We were introduced by two little pages. The great nobles, the kugés, and the daimios are served in this way by children. These, at the slightest signal from their master, glide softly to his feet, receive his orders, and fly to accomplish them. Respect, fidelity, ardour and devotion are all symbolized in the manners of these pages.

Sanjo received us in full court-dress—a magnificent silk tunic richly embroidered, with wide, stiff sleeves sticking out like wings. He wore the black official cap of lacquered paper which covers only the shaved part of the head, and is turned up behind. The minister is about thirty-one years old. He belongs to one of the most ancient families of Kiyôto, and owes his position to the very active part he took in the commencement of the revolution in 1868, when he was one of the first to

proclaim against the Siogun. As Saigo, by his presence in Yedo, powerfully contributes to maintain the Kinshiu clans in favourable dispositions, so Sanjo, as prime minister, exercises an analogous influence on a large portion of the ancient nobility. His importance arises less from his personal qualities, than from his social position and the name he bears. Our conversation, which was interrupted by the refreshments which the pages continually brought and carried away again—scarcely touching the mats with the points of their feet in so doing—was resumed after the collation: but did not turn on any subjects of great interest. However, Sanjo said to me: “I wish you would give me some advice as to the art of governing; for I fill an important post; and as yet I have little or no experience.” This was only a polite phrase, no doubt: but it really expressed the actual dispositions of men’s minds. The same thought ran through the speech of the Mikado at my audience, and was communicated to me before, in writing. They really wish to learn from Europeans, and they have the good sense to own it.

September 13.—We are once more going to visit the great temple of Asakusa, one of the marvels of Yedo. We went down to the shore and embarked in one of those pleasure-boats which are the fashion for nocturnal excursions, and greatly patronised by young men and singers. Nothing can be cleaner or prettier than these little boats: only the very low roof of the cabins obliges you to go in on hands and knees, and, when there, to squat on your heels or lie flat on the mats, which, fortunately are always of an irreproachable cleanliness. When night falls, these cabins are lit by lanterns hung from the ceiling. Seen from the shore or from the canals of the town, these boats look like glow-worms fluttering on the water.

The wind was fresh, and the gulf slightly rippled. To our left we saw nothing but low promontories, interspersed with little, creeks covered with green cedars, pines, gardens, parks of which the most wooded was that of the imperial palace of Hamagotén, but not a trace of any houses. To our right, towards the south, stretched the vast gulf. Behind us, disappearing towards the west, are the wooded banks of the suburb of Taka-

nawa, surmounted by the British flag flying from the English Legation. Further south are the forts, detached and bathed in the sea, and the grey hills of Kanagawa. The cone of Fujiyama, as usual, is draped in clouds. Sometimes they are good-natured enough to displace themselves, exposing now the mouth of the crater, now the sides of the colossal pyramid. At last, after a steady run to the east, shaving the basement story of the American hotel, we turned suddenly round to the north, and entered the mouth of the great Yedo river. People compare the Sumidagawa with the Thames in London; but it seems wider from the low elevation of the houses on its banks. It is at the same time a gay and beautiful sight. Along its bank stretch long rows of houses, interspersed with magnificent trees. At anchor are a triple and sometimes a quadruple row of boats, of the most fantastic and varied shapes. Great junks, loaded with merchandize and provisions, their heavy sails filled with the south-westerly breeze, are slowly going up the river. Others are coming down rowing. This animation, which, in fact, reminds one rather of the Thames, is lost as we advance higher up the river. There we see only a motionless sheet of water, and on both sides the parks and palaces of the daimios, and here and there a few teahouses. The solitude and silence are complete. One might fancy oneself in the country, or anywhere but in the heart of a great capital. We next pass under four great wooden bridges, which join the city to the Hondjo suburb, one of which has been partly destroyed by the late typhoon.

After a rapid navigation of an hour and a quarter, during which we made more than ten miles, we disembarked on the right bank of the river, and at the southern part of the Midzi, but not yet at the extreme end of this enormous town. We clambered up some steep steps, and then found ourselves in a long, narrow street with teahouses and shops on both sides, which leads straight to the great entrance of the temple. We have great difficulty in making our way through the dense crowd. Here a busy sale is going on of votive pictures, blessed paper, and holy images, mingled with some profane objects likewise, and a heap of photographic views and portraits. The Japanese are perfect masters of this art, which was only introduced a few years ago, but which may be found now in

the most out-of-the-way localities, where no European foot has ever trod.

We follow the lead of the crowd, and enter the great doorway, called the "doorway of the princes." These princes are certain gods called *Niō*. Their horrible faces, besmeared with red, make one shudder. In front of the portal is a temple dedicated to the goddess Kwanon. Mr. Beato, of Yokohama, has photographed it, and heaps of travellers have published descriptions of it; but neither photographs nor descriptions give the faintest idea of the mystical charm of this place. The sanctuary is in a half light. Gold covers the altar and the back-ground of the goddess, and is lost in the depths of the chapel. Flowers, strange ornaments, and grotesque statues inspire a secret terror. On the walls are hung a multitude of votive pictures, some of which were nearly covered with little bits of white paper, which the faithful have spit upon the image. If the paper sticks to the picture, it is a sign that the prayer is granted. Two tints prevail in the colouring of this temple—red and dark brown, brightened with gold. A crowd of devotees pressed round the altar of Kwanon. Their knees slightly bent, their heads stretched forwards, their eyes eagerly attentive and fixed on the altar, they clap their hands three times. They are calling the great Buddha. At the third blow the god appears. At this moment they bend, or rather prostrate themselves on the floor. The expression of expectation has given place to one of profound recollection. They then say their prayers, which is an affair of a moment, throw some pieces of coin into a great chest divided into several compartments, and retire. Others instantly replace them. Stay for half-an-hour near these poor people, watch the expression of their faces, the play of their countenances, the fervour of their prayers, and then tell me if you don't think they really are believers. Doubtless their belief is the lowest superstition; but they *do* believe and pray; and in praying and calling upon God they draw near to Him whom they ignorantly worship. That they may ask, one for the success of a commercial transaction, another for the fidelity of a husband, or a new dress,—what does it signify? *they believe*. In this people—and it is only the people whom you see here—a feeling of religion does exist. As to persons of the upper class, they are very rarely . . .

seen, and then only a few men. Women of rank never appear in the temples.

After prayer comes relaxation. Their hearts have been raised to God : to false gods, it is true—but still it has raised their thoughts for a moment. Now they seem in haste to descend again into the ruts of common life. From the sanctuary of the goddess they pass to the teahouses, to the drinking-houses where they sell saki, to pleasure-places of all kinds, to the theatres, or to the celebrated lay figures. Establishments for all these different diversions surround the temple, and are shaded by fine trees. On my first visit I assisted at one of these theatrical representations. The story was as follows :—An old, bald man keeps a mistress ; a younger one enjoys at the same time the favour of the wife and of the mistress. This last is jealous of the lady ; the lady of her husband ; the young man of the old one ; the old man of the young one. The subject, as my readers will allow, is somewhat loose, and the execution very free ; but the intrigue is well carried on, and the actors are perfect. I have seen in the Palais Royal many *vaudevilles* acted with far less spirit, and with quite as equivocal a tendency ; with this difference, however, that with us everything is *said*, and here in Japan everything is *done* on the stage. The audience was composed almost entirely of women and young girls, who laughed heartily. I was assured, however, that they were almost all respectable women ; but all belonged to the lower classes.

We next went into the house which contained the lay figures. Miraculous scenes are represented, apparitions of gods, fights, and legendary tales. The figures, which are the size of life, are made of bamboo and *papier mâché*, and dressed in silk stuffs. Each group is placed by itself in a niche representing the place where the event happened. The merit of these figures consists in their extraordinary resemblance to real life, the feeling of nature, the study and knowledge of the anatomy of the human body, and besides, a wonderful facility for expressing different emotions and passions, such as anger, fear, impatience, physical love, &c. Even here, however, the tendency to caricature is evident. The first intention is to impress the beholder and not to amuse him. But involuntarily, and as it would seem almost without his knowledge, the artist

mingles humour with his tragic scenes, as if he would say to you : "Don't be too much touched. You are not obliged to believe all I am telling you."

On our return, to avoid the sea, which has become rough, and the wind, which is contrary, we thread the interior canals, of which the vast net-work facilitates in all weathers the communications between the different parts of the town. Our boatmen take to their oars, and stretched on our mats, we see the shores fly past us, at our ease.

The sun is already low. Floods of yellow light illumine the roofs, brighten up the streets, and glance on the surface of the canals, which are sometimes wide and sometimes narrow. We glide before interminable rows of houses, a few miserable huts (many of which were destroyed in the last typhoon),¹ and some enormous yashkis (palaces of the daimios), with their lower stories painted black, the upper ones white, and apparently weighed down by their heavy roofs. There, as we have already said, live the nobles, the chiefs of the clans, and their servants. Square, large, low openings, closed with black wood gratings, serve as windows. During the day you cannot see in, but in the evening, when the lanterns are lit, one discovers interior scenes worthy of a Hobbema or a Meissonier. The gateways of these strong castles are fixed in deep embrasures, and open with folding or double doors, which are of massive wood with great iron or bronze nails (as at Toledo). When open, they are sheltered in the interior by little penthouses which come out of the wall at right angles. If the outer inclosure reminds one of our barracks, the great doorway, with its coat of arms finely sculptured, gives at once an aristocratic look to the building. You recognize that it is the residence of a great feudal baron of olden times, transformed against his will into a courtier, and taking his precautions accordingly.² Now we come to a less aristocratic, but more gay and busy quarter. It is the commercial portion of Soto-Jiro. All the houses belong to the middle classes, and have their backs turned to the canals, and their fronts, with their well-filled shops, to the

¹ The typhoon of the 24th of August destroyed several quarters in Yedo and ruined entire streets.

² We have already said that the daimios were compelled to live in Yedo six months of the year.

street. On the quays, which we glide past, and in the cross streets which open on the canals, there is a busy throng, but no actual crowd. Here we see jinrikishas, cangos borne by coolies to the cry of "Hai! Hai!" women, always slightly bent forward, and walking awkwardly on their pattens; bonzes with their heads completely shaved, and dressed in wide tunics of yellow and violet crape; a great many soldiers of the new imperial army, dressed more or less like Europeans; and last, not least, samurais, with their two sabres passed horizontally in their waistbands, and their arms resting fiercely on their haunches, like men who feel and know that every one will get out of their way to give them a free passage.

The air is soft, agitated, and feverish. Gently rocked in our luxurious boat, we glide on and on, and yet we have been on our way for more than two hours. The sun sets behind a bank of clouds lined with gold. Before us, the canal stretches like a broad ribbon of *moiré-antique*, the colour of mother-of-pearl. The black silhouettes of other boats, and their naked boatmen standing in the prow, fly past us like shadows. To the left and in front of us the houses seem covered with a transparent veil of Chinese ink, in which purple shadows tremble. To our right, the line of houses and trees crimsoned by the magic after-glow, which in these latitudes follows the setting sun, and precedes the rapidly-advancing night, is, as it were, melted into a luminous halo of indescribable beauty. Nevertheless, the life on the water has almost ceased. While shooting under the innumerable bridges, we only see two or three belated people walking quickly, and seeming anxious to reach their homes before the night fairly closes in. In the streets which lead to the canals the lanterns are being lighted at the doors of the houses. The pavement and quays are deserted. Around us the solitude makes itself felt. At last we row past the walls of the park of Hamagotén, and a few minutes after find ourselves in the open sea. The gulf, lashed by the south-wester, makes our little boat dance, but she bears on bravely; the men redouble their toil; from creek to creek, from promontory to promontory we come at last to the landing-place, and a quarter of an hour after arrive safely at the Legation.

September 14.—It rains in torrents. They are the first autumn

rains—the disagreeable season for the inhabitants of Japanese houses. The damp pervades them all. The paper partitions become unpasted : there is no longer any protection from the wind ; and although it is mild out of doors, inside one shivers. In summer one suffers terribly from the heat ; in winter there is no way of guarding oneself from the cold. It is only during the short spring and towards the end of autumn that one finds oneself really comfortable.

I have been hunting about for old books in several libraries. In the last few years the price of books is very much fallen. The only sale is for encyclopedias, translated from English, French, or German. I have purchased an illustrated description of the town of Kiyôto, in eleven volumes, for which I have paid four *bous*—that is, a little over five francs. Last year this edition was worth six *riôs*, or upwards of thirty-six francs.

September 15.—It is a fine day, and we want to give ourselves a Japanese dinner at the famous Japanese restaurant Yaeon. It is the “Café de Paris” of Yedo. The house is situated behind Asakusa, at the opposite extremity of the town, and at eleven or twelve miles from the Legation.

Our hostess led us to a pretty room on the first floor, made us take our places on some fine matting, and advised us to simplify our toilets. A Japanese always makes himself comfortable and at his ease before eating. The sash alone is indispensable ; other garments are accessories ; he wears them or takes them off according to the season and the weather. The taste of the people is to aim at simplicity. They like to play, it is true ; they surround themselves very often with heaps of superfluous objects ; but they are just as willing to do without them, if necessary ; and they have always all they need, for, whether in good or bad times, they are content with what comes within their reach. The dinner was excellent—every kind of fish, raw, cut in slices, boiled, or broiled ; a delicious fish soup ; various kinds of sweetmeats ; and at the end, a dish of vermicelli, made with a root of which I do not know the name ; the whole being served in little porcelain cups, placed before each guest on a small lacquered tray resting on four legs. Near us four young girls, richly dressed, played the newest pieces on an instrument like a lute, to which they added occasionally voca

accompaniments. In the *entr'actes* they talked and laughed ; but there was nothing that went beyond the strictest propriety. These girls are very careful of their reputations, I am told, and are never known to forget their position, unless tempted with an extra glass of *saki*. Even then it only makes them rather more noisy ; and this exuberance of spirits disappears with the fumes of the liquid. Two other girls danced, or rather acted, a kind of pantomime. They tried to express, by gestures and *poses*, the words of the singers. The music did not follow the dance ; it was rather the dance which completed the song. The subjects of these pantomimes were all tender scenes. A young man goes and visits his love in secret. To show the hidden nature of the meeting, and at the same time the resistance which the young lady makes to the entreaties of her lover, the dancer bends forward and hides her face and neck behind her fan. At last she listens to the young man. To express the departure of the lover, the dancer imitates the movements of a samurai, when he slips his two swords into his waistband, and puts on his hat. At last, to denote the happiness of both, she counts on her fingers the number of times of meeting. The dancer could not have been more than fourteen, but she was already a woman. She had beautiful eyes, and a rather delicate look, regular features (as far as the Mongol type will allow), an expression of soft melancholy, and an extremely modest manner. Her attitudes were full of grace, though in some ways rather exaggerated, showing the analogy in this respect with all Japanese productions. Her toilet consisted of a bluish-grey silk gown, fastened round the waist by a scarlet sash. In the course of the evening she and her companions retired two or three times to change their costume. The entertainment went on. The first singer, who was rather older than the rest, took a more prominent part in the recitative. She had pretty features, and the easy, elegant manners of a woman of the world. A startling event had lately happened in this quarter. An actor had carried off a married woman. The couple had been seized and thrown into prison. To be sent to prison in Japan means death, or at any rate the extremity of misery. It is true that a commission, accompanied by one of the students of the English Legation, went recently to Hong Kong to see the penitentiary of the English colony there, which is a model of all the perfec-

tions that philanthropy has invented for the incarceration of criminals. But this question is only in embryo, and in the meantime the prisons are the most horrible dens imaginable. Unless they have iron constitutions, those who are shut up there must die either of hunger, cold, or disease.¹ A man sent to prison is, therefore, and with reason, a subject of commiseration to his fellow-citizens. Our singers, therefore, were eloquent in deploring the fate of the unhappy actor; but—and this is a characteristic trait—they approved of the imprisonment of the woman; because, they said, when a woman says to a man that she loves him, what can the poor devil do but yield to her wishes? To act otherwise would be to violate all the laws of gallantry; it would be disgraceful; it would be mean. What do you say to this code of morality? There is another fact which I do not like to omit, as it throws a strong light on the movement which is now going on in men's minds, especially as represented by the youth of Yedo. The indefatigable Satow, while chattering to these fair ladies, carefully transcribed in his note-book the songs which we have just been listening to. Among the rest here is a specimen:—"Ah! would that I could travel by telegraph! for the jinrikisha is terribly slow; it drags along painfully, bruises your limbs, and crushes you if it falls." This is an echo of young Japan; progress, imitation of Europe, despising of native things.

On our way back we were shown, from a distance, the house of the chief of the *Etas*. It is situated not far from Asakusa, on the left bank of the Sumidagawa. The house seemed very tidy and well kept, and in no way betrayed the abject position of its proprietor. It was impossible to visit it. We should have been considered tainted for ever, and our *betto*s would have left us on the spot. These *Etas* are the pariahs of Japan. They live amongst each other, and are employed as gravediggers and in all other trades which are considered infamous.

September 16.—My audience with the Mikado, which was fixed for to-day, gave rise to several interviews with M. Satow

¹ According to the last news (September 1872) great ameliorations have been introduced into the great convict prison of Yedo. The prisoners, though all condemned to forced labour, are sufficiently fed, and treated with greater humanity.

and Iwakura. The words that the emperor would address to me were duly communicated to me, and I had to supply answers. I also had sent me the plan of the pavilion where my audience was to take place, on which were marked not only the throne, but all the places which each of us was to occupy on the occasion. As to the etiquette, it was regulated after the precedent furnished by the previous audience granted to Mr. Seward, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the United States.

This morning, accordingly, a chamberlain came to fetch us in a kind of phaeton, built at Hong Kong, probably the only carriage belonging to the imperial court, where the use of such vehicles is unknown. The Mikado never goes out.¹

At twelve o'clock, Mr. Adams, M. Satow, and I left the Legation, preceded and followed by the English orderlies on horseback and by about twenty Japanese cavalry. The *betto*s ran on foot by the side of the carriage. The distance which separated the castle from the suburb of Takanawa is about four miles. All along the road the cross streets had been barred by cords to prevent the influx of passers-by: sentinels were placed at short distances. The guards at their respective posts presented arms. A dense, curious, but not hostile crowd stood closely packed behind the barriers.

Arrived at the gate of the first inclosure, we found troops under arms, and the same at the entrance of the second court and at every avenue leading to the palace. Armed and partly dressed in European fashion, these soldiers looked well, only a little embarrassed by their new uniforms. On the other hand, the yakunins and the other military and civil officers, who wore their native arms and costumes, were really magnificent to look upon. After having crossed the last bridge, thrown across the deep ditch or moat which runs round the castle, we alighted, and were conducted to the private garden of the Mikado, strictly inclosed and hermetically sealed from ordinary mortals, with the rarest possible exceptions. This garden is a narrow,

¹ Some months after, in consequence of the advice of the New Reform Ministry, the emperor showed himself in an open carriage to his amazed subjects. This summer (1872) he was seen driving through the streets of Yokohama in a *hired* conveyance! The son of the gods wore a fancy European dress, half of an admiral and half of an ambassador!

circular space, which on one side surrounds the castle, and on the other is bounded by the moat. But neither moat nor castle is visible. They are hidden behind a double curtain of bamboo and other trees planted by Taiko-Sama ; fine coniferous specimens with their red trunks ; maples with their fine starred leaves, evergreen oaks, cryptomerias, laurels, and fruit-trees, chosen for the beauty of their flowers, the only ones to be found in this enchanted spot. There is no attempt at flower-beds, and only one path through the thick, fresh, nicely-kept lawn. The ground is artificially formed into a mountainous region. Here and there they have built little *chalets*, like the summer-houses that we had seen in the gardens of other palaces. We had been walking for about five minutes when we were received by Sanjo, the President of the Council ; by Iwakura ; and by three other members of the Privy Council, Kido, Okuma, and Itagaki, the delegates of the Chosiu, Hizen and Tosa clans, who, with Saigo (the chief of the Satsumas, and unfortunately absent at this moment), effected the great revolution of 1868.

We found ourselves, therefore, in presence of the men who, according to the views of opposite parties, will be the regenerators or destroyers of Japan. I have already spoken of Iwakura and Sanjo. Both look what they are—men of the highest class. Okuma, who on the eve of the revolution was only a poor student at Nagasaki, is become, with Kido, one of the leading men of the day. The others, before their promotion to their present posts, were simply samurais or *kôtos*, and their elevation has not given them manners. But they have interesting heads—more interesting even than those of their noble colleagues. Intelligence and boldness are stamped on their countenances, with the assurance of the gambler, who, feeling himself in a good vein, is determined to play his last card. Certainly their nails are not cared for, and their rough, abrupt movements are wanting in the graceful ease of the Japanese of high rank. But they are not the less the masters of the position. On them rests, in a great measure, the final issue of this struggle between those who will gain by the reform and those who will lose. I shall speak at greater length on this subject when examining into the political position of the empire. It is enough to say that, thanks to their popularity, these four counsellors, three of whom are at this moment sitting opposite to me, decided their

clans to take up arms in 1868 and to continue to support the radical reforms which are to change the face of Japan.

After a short conversation, they came to announce that the Mikado was ready to receive us. We resumed our march, and, accompanied by these dignitaries, who all wore grand court dresses, we arrived at the open door of the pavilion called "The Cascade." In spite of my extreme curiosity to see the emperor, I could not help casting a glance around me and admiring the poetic beauty of the site. The pavilion is placed on the edge of a little circular plain backed by gigantic trees. In front, some granite blocks, exquisitely grouped, form a steep rock, over which falls a stream which gives its name to the kiosk.

We are conducted to our places in the inside, and find ourselves in the presence of the son of the gods. The audience chamber was about 24 feet long and from 16 to 18 feet wide. The floor was covered with the finest matting. There was no furniture save the pedestal about two feet high occupied by the Mikado. On coming in, the room seemed dark; but by a lucky chance, a ray of sunlight, gliding between the blinds and a crack in the paper partitions, threw a vivid glow over the person of the emperor. In the rare official audiences which are always given in the castle itself, a half-lowered curtain hides the head of the sovereign from the indiscreet gaze of the persons who approach him. Here, no such precaution had been taken. He was seated on a footstool, his legs crossed, and holding his hands leaning against one another. It is the exact attitude given to all the statues of Buddha.

The emperor is twenty years of age, but he seems to be thirty. His surname is Mutsuhito. I had a good deal of trouble to find this out. M. Satow alone could give me the required information. Among the people, the sovereign is never known but by the generic appellation of "Mikado." It is only after his death that he will be given the name by which he will be recorded in history. The features of Mutsuhito bear the character of the Japanese race: his nose is large and flattened; his complexion is sallow; but his eyes are sharp and brilliant, in spite of the immobility which etiquette prescribes. I had often met faces like his in the streets of Yedo. His costume was as simple as possible—a dark blue

tunic, almost slate colour, and wide scarlet trousers. His hair was done in native fashion; but he wore a colossal aigrette, made of bamboo and horse-hair, which, fixed behind the right ear, rose vertically at least two and a half feet above the head, and shook violently at the least movement. This is the insignia of supreme rank. Neither the Mikado nor any of his ministers wears jewels. Except at the moment of speaking, his Majesty held himself as immovable as a statue.

Behind him, a great dignitary bore the sword of state carefully thrust into its sheath. Woe be to him who should behold it naked! It would be his death. To the right of the throne, leaning against the partition, stood Sanjo and the three members of the privy council; to the left Iwakura. Mr. Adams and I, accompanied by M. Satow and the court interpreter, were placed in the middle of the room, in front of the emperor, and at a few paces from him. During the first few minutes, a deep silence reigned in this little pavilion, which at that moment held the arbiters of the future destiny of a great empire. Nothing was heard but the buzzing of the flies and the chirp of the grasshoppers.

Mr. Adams, who had been requested by Iwakura to proceed with the presentation, then spoke and stated that, in the absence of the Austrian representative, who was a resident at Shanghai, he had the honour of introducing me to his Imperial Majesty. The Mikado replied in a few courteous words, and then, turning to me, congratulated me on having crossed both oceans without accident—to which I made some answers suitable to the occasion. Then the Mikado spoke again.

"I hear," he said, "that, for a long time, you have filled important positions in your own country, and that you have exercised the office of ambassador on several occasions. I do not exactly understand what has been the nature of your occupations. If, from the results of your experience, you have learned things which it would be useful for me to know, I beg of you to speak without reserve to my principal counsellors."

In accordance with etiquette, the emperor, when speaking, only murmured the words between his teeth, emitting almost inarticulate sounds. Sanjo repeated them in a loud voice, and the dragoman of the palace translated them into English. Our answers were translated into Japanese by M. Satow. Each

time that the emperor spoke, he turned towards us, and, looking at us straight in the face, his features assumed a kind and benevolent expression. But when he closed his mouth, his face again became grave and serious, or rather, insignificant.

When it came to the moment of retiring, the emperor remained immovable, but fixed his eyes upon us. Neither on our arrival nor at our departure did he bow to us. The ministers followed us out and made us take a turn in the garden. They showed us a little model farm, whereby they hoped to make their sovereign understand and give him some ideas upon the cultivation of the soil by his subjects. I was also allowed to scramble up the sides of the moat, from whence I enjoyed a beautiful view over Yedo. After this, a delicate luncheon was served to us in one of the pavilions. It was impossible to help admiring the symmetry and elegant simplicity with which the table was served.

At the moment when we were about to rise from luncheon, Sanjo, acting under his master's orders, begged me to give him my ideas upon Japan. I excused myself on the plea of my ignorance, while all the while applauding the efforts of the new minister to ameliorate the condition of the country and introduce salutary reforms. "The wisdom of the eminent men whom I see around me," I added, "will guide them in this arduous task. They will take into account the habits and ideas of their countrymen; they will understand that many things which are good in Europe cannot be so in Japan; they will avoid precipitating radical changes; and will proceed with extreme circumspection."

Thus ended my audience. The dignitaries of the court accompanied us to our carriage, and at three o'clock we found ourselves once more returned to the Legation.

In the evening the Mikado sent us some boxes filled with sweetmeats and preserves of a curious shape, and a quantity of sugarplums of different kinds. These boxes were of plain wood; for in the imperial court, in accordance with an old tradition, they disdain to paint or have lacquered wood.

I do not think I shall ever forget the scene of this morning: that fairy-like garden; those mysterious pavilions; those grave statesmen in their gorgeous court dresses, walking about with us in the shrubberies of those beautiful pleasure-grounds, and that oriental potentate who presents himself like an idol, and

who believes and feels himself to be a god. It surpasses a tale in the "Thousand and One Nights."

September 17.—I met this morning one of the four members of the council who had assisted at the audience of yesterday, and we had a talk over public affairs. "The heads of the reform movement," he said, "are sure of success. They say and believe it, and I share their opinion. We do not anticipate any serious opposition. In three years the work will be accomplished." (This is exactly what Iwakura had told us.) "Perhaps we are not quite sure of the south, nor of the Satumas in the island of Kiushiu; there, I think, we shall have a good deal of opposition; but they will end by yielding. As for me, I have never doubted of our final success. One of our great plans is to unite the small clans into one great one, and to divide such clans as are too large, and in consequence too powerful."

I was struck by the analogy of these proceedings with what often takes place in Europe. Provinces are divided into departments, and the electoral districts are changed. In Japan a similar fate awaits the clans, who are the historic elements of which the nation is composed.

"Already," continued my interlocutor, "we have suppressed the rights of the daimios, the feudal principalities; there remains the grave question of the samurais, those gentlemen of each clan attached to the persons and service of the daimios, and who, until now, have lived on the rations of rice and the liberality of their chiefs. This is our proposed plan: 'We shall reduce their incomes by one-third; the two other portions will be paid them for ten years as a pension. The remainder, with compound interest, will make a public fund with which to liquidate the pensions.'"

"All the daimios without exception will be compelled to live in Yedo, or to establish themselves here for a certain part of the year with their families. They will have leave to visit their properties and to travel in foreign countries.

"Our reforms are a response to the prayers of the nation. Many of the clans had addressed petitions to us in this sense, and what we propose to do is exactly what they asked for."

The truth of this is, that the central leaders give the word to

* This financial operation has been simplified. I hear from Japan (April 29, 1872) that the rations of rice of the two-sworded gentry have been almost all suppressed.

the leaders of the clans, who draw up petitions under their dictation, which pretend to emanate from the free initiative of the clans themselves. Who is not struck by the resemblance of these proceedings with the means employed by our European Radicals?

I ask myself if this be the natural fruit of certain tendencies and circumstances, or of foreign influence acting in secret? I fancy that both causes are at work, only I find it hard to persuade myself that Europeans or Americans would interfere, even indirectly, in the movement going on in Yedo. No doubt the Japanese ministers, who are extremely anxious for all the information they can glean on European matters, have taken the habit of consulting the envoys of the great powers on such or such an administrative or financial measure; and I have been told that when thus interpellated, these diplomats have not always refused to give their advice. The future will perhaps prove that they would have been wiser to have abstained; for the givers of counsels are always looked upon as morally responsible, although, in reality, they can only be answerable for their ideas in proportion as they may have been called upon to carry them out, which is not the case here. But on this point I suspend my judgment. I am only making a general observation, and not a disguised criticism, on the conduct of such or such a minister accredited to the Mikado. Of one thing I am firmly persuaded, and that is, that not one of these diplomats, if even he had been consulted, would have taken upon him to encourage the Government to rush into the unknown, or to furnish a programme for the future constitution of Japan, based on European models. However disposed one may be to see the country inaugurating wise and necessary reforms, it is impossible not to understand that these attempts, however laudable in themselves, may, if they should fail, bring about a serious reaction, and that this reaction might very easily compromise the interests, the prosperity, and perhaps the lives of the European residents. Nevertheless, the analogy between the proceedings here and those employed by our Radicals is so striking, that I repeat one cannot deny the action of European and American influences. These are, I expect, the first fruits of the journeys of the Japanese in foreign parts. Already these influences are making themselves felt. They will be still more

powerful when all those young Solons return from Europe and America.

In the evening, Kido, whose acquaintance I made yesterday at the palace, dined at the Legation. He is the leader of the Chiôshiu clan, one of the principal movers in the revolution of 1868, and the author of the celebrated petition to the Mikado by which the daimios asked for their mediation. He has the look and manners of a man of the people. In fact, before filling the place he now occupies, he was a simple samurai. But I have not met any face so clever or intelligent in this country. When he speaks, his whole features light up ; he expresses himself with readiness and ease. No one can look at him without seeing that he is a man quite out of the common. We made him talk a good deal after dinner, and the summing-up of his conversation was, unlimited confidence in the work of reform. He also declares that three years will be sufficient to displace all hereditary rights, to change the habits and transform the ideas of his countrymen !

The British Legation at Yedo is composed at this moment of Mr. F. O. Adams, minister ; of a second secretary, now absent, whose place is supplied by Mr. Dohmen, vice-consul at Tsukiji ; of Mr. E. Satow, Japanese Secretary of Legation, and although scarcely thirty, one of the best Japanese scholars living ; and of four "students," who, placed under the care of the interpreter-secretary, are learning the language of the country. They live in some nice cottages in the inclosure of the Legation, and their pay during their studies amounts to £200 a year. On the mail days they work at the office, which initiates them into the routine of business. As soon as they are sufficiently advanced, they are placed as interpreters either at the Legation, or at one of the five treaty ports. The consular service is equally open to them ; but they enter into an engagement only to serve in Japan. This system produces excellent results. These young men, full of zeal and emulation, make rapid progress, become passionately fond of the country where the greater part of their lives will be spent, and will contribute some day to bring light into the darkness which still enshrouds the empire of the rising sun.

But it is not only the students who care to learn the lan-

guage. This wish is shared by every member of the Legation. They speak nothing but Japanese and of Japan. The unknown always piques one's curiosity : it is a puzzle which one tries to decipher. Besides the diplomatic corps, there is a doctor, an inspector, and four orderlies who follow the minister on horseback on state occasions, or when there is a question of danger. Their business is to watch over the safety of the members of the Legation within the inclosure, and alternately to do the night service.

Until the new embassy is built, which is to be erected at Soto-Jiro, the English Legation occupies a *yashki*, situated in the neighbourhood of the Takanawa suburb, at about a mile from the western gate of Yedo. Like all these habitations, it is a group of little houses in wood, or paper, united by passages, raised two or three feet above the soil, opening on one side to the courts, and on the other to a large and beautiful garden. A strong wall surrounds the whole. There are, certainly, one or two weak points on the side of a sacred wood, belonging to an old temple ; but the orderlies keep it in sight. The principal buildings are in the centre. Some beautiful trees do not let you forget that you are in Japan. In fact, both house and garden are thoroughly characteristic of the country. Close to the house stands the pole which bears the British flag ; outside, in front of the great porch, which is always an important feature in the *yashkis*, is placed a guardhouse, occupied by thirty *yakunins*, or soldiers, whose business it is to watch over the safety of the members of the Legation, and to accompany them when they go out. I have often tried to slip through them and go out without being perceived. Vain attempt ! Three or four men, throwing down their cards or pipes, and quickly slipping their great swords into their waist-bands, spring forward and dodge my steps. To escape them I jump into a *jinrikisha* and cry to the coolie : "Quick ! quick ! to the Shiba !" But, alas ! scarcely have I reached the tombs of the Sioguns, than three other carriages follow in hot haste and deposit on the pavement my three *yakunins*. They bow profoundly and smile somewhat maliciously, then surround, follow, and never leave me till I have again reached the gate of the Legation.

The approach to this place is not easy. A long and steep

hill, broken at intervals by some wide steps, brings you to the door. Luckily, both horses and carriages are used to it. The garden, although without flowers or any kind of luxury, is nevertheless very beautiful. It has a fine avenue, and is situated on a rising ground, from whence one discovers, above the heads of the trees, the Gulf of Yedo, the maritime forts, which are now dismantled, and, in the horizon, the blue hills of Kanagawa. In this solitary spot it is delicious to pass the hot hours of the day, enjoying the fresh sea-breezes, and listening to the sound of the gongs of the temple calling to their gods, and to the thousand strange, confused sounds, which, tempered by distance, mount up from the gulf, and the lower parts of the town to these aerial heights.

These are my last hours in Yedo, and we are all sad at the prospect of our approaching separation.

The guest or the fellow-traveller of Mr. Adams for more than a month, and enjoying besides the daily intercourse of M. Satow and the other members of the Legation, I feel painfully the termination of a visit so full of interest and enjoyment. My regrets are, I think, shared by my host; for in this brilliant but distant exile one has rarely the opportunity of meeting persons with whom one can talk of men and things in Europe. Great distances affect the mind as a gauze curtain does the eye. Home news, cut short and imperfectly rendered, as it often is, in telegrams, arrives first by the electric wire and two months after by the mail. In the interval, very probably, the whole position of things in Europe has changed. It is hardly worth while to read the newspapers, the cream of which has been already given one by telegram.

Such is the state of mind of most residents in the extreme east. The news of their country comes to them just as the sounds of a concert, in a house with the windows shut, do to the passers-by in the street below. They hear the big drum, but the finer parts of the music escape them. Your heart may still be in your native country, but you despair of being able to follow the rapid course of events there. Certainly the lives of these courageous and devoted men are not always enviable. The merchant comes to make his fortune! the missionary, faithful to his vocation, is supported by the inward satisfaction consequent on a life of self-abnegation and sacrifice

But the diplomatic and consular functionaries are neither attracted here by the love of gold nor by the hope of those eternal rewards reserved to apostles and martyrs. Except for some doubtful chance of ultimate promotion, only a feeling of duty can induce them to remain at a post of such danger. Yes, I repeat it, a post of danger! Look at this English Legation, the only one which inhabits the Japanese capital. The Gulf of Yedo, owing to its shallow waters, is inaccessible to men-of-war. And even supposing that some gunboat were in the roadstead, waiting to receive you, it would be necessary to cross some of the most crowded streets before you could get down to the shore. Without a miraculous interposition of Providence it seems to me that in case of a sudden rising of the populace or of the troops, no member of the Legation could possibly escape with his life. Their existence depends absolutely on the loyalty of the Japanese Government, on the means it may have (*or not*) of defending them, on the incalculable and more often mysterious movements of its political leaders, and on the conduct of the opposition, which to-day is silent and contained, but not resigned, and which, at any given moment, and when it is least expected, may very likely rise and strive to regain the power it has lost.¹

At this moment I am quite willing to believe what everyone tells me, that there is no danger. But in Japan more than anywhere else days succeed, but do not resemble each other. At Yokohama there are more guarantees for the safety of the life and property of the residents. The troops and the European men-of-war in the harbour would probably insure sufficient time for embarkation in case of attack. Comparatively, but not absolutely, you are there in safety. But the diplomatic corps has already furnished several victims. M. Heusken, Secretary of Legation of the United States, was massacred in the heart of the city of Yedo, close to the famous bridge of Nippon-bashi. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the predecessor of Sir Harry Parkes, was scarcely installed in the temple not far from the actual Legation, than he was attacked at night by a

¹ This spring (1872) a body of armed men penetrated into the palace or the Mikado. After a desperate fight with the guards they were overpowered and massacred. It was a desperate attempt, but it proves that the fire is still smouldering below.

body of armed men, and one of his orderlies and his cook were killed. Mr. Oliphant, the clever writer, then Secretary of Legation, was severely wounded a few days only after his arrival from London. Honour and glory then be to those men who accept these perilous situations, who fill them with such devotion, who watch over the interest and safety of their countrymen, maintain the honour of their country's flag, and by their arduous studies of the language and customs of Japan open new roads for the conquests of science !

CHAPTER V.

ÔSAKA.—FROM THE 19th TO THE 22nd SEPTEMBER.

Kobe and Hiôgo.—The bar of Yodowaga.—Ôsaka.—Its commercial importance.—Its general appearance.—The Street of Theatres.—The Castle of Taiko-Sama.—The Chi-fu-Chi.

September 19.—At four o'clock in the afternoon I went on board the *Costa Rica*, one of the fine steamers of the Pacific Steamship Company, which keep up a regular service between Yokohama and Shanghai, touching at (Kobe) Hiôgo and Nagasaki. These vessels start and arrive four times a week. The English P. and O. Company and the Messageries Françaises follow the older and more important line between Yokohama and Hong Kong ; but they only run twice a month. But every week one has the opportunity of going either to the north or south of China. Very few Japanese take advantage of it, except the tourists and students sent by the Government ; but a great many of the southern Chinese come this way to Japan, and their brethren in the north (natives of Kiangsu and Shantung) are beginning to follow their example. Little by little the Chinese element increases in the treaty ports, and especially at Yokohama and Nagasaki. When the interior of Japan shall be open to strangers, the children of the Celestial Empire will pour in in masses ; for the expansion of this race is only equalled by its activity, perseverance, and extreme frugality. If the reforms which have been lately inaugurated in Japan should be accomplished without a revolution, and the interior be consequently accessible to everyone, Europeans will find the Chinese formidable competitors in the commercial working of the country.

Some of my friends have come on board to see me off. How they envy me ! But he who is leaving is not disposed to feel light-hearted. To quit a country with the certainty of never seeing it again is always painful. You look back and you feel that this episode in your life is closed for ever. It is like a foretaste of death. Anyhow, it is a solemn moment which calls for serious reflection, and, when one has been loaded, as I have, with kindnesses and hospitality, for the deepest and warmest gratitude.

Towards nightfall we are out of the gulf. By the dim twilight we distinguish the outlines of the Island of Enoshima and the two peaks of Hakoné. An Olympic brightness inundates Fujiyama.

September 20.—The Japanese seas have a bad reputation especially at this season, which is the time of the change of the monsoon. It is the most dangerous in the year on account of the frequency of typhoons. But by a rare exception, the weather is glorious and the sea like glass. What adds to the perils of navigation in these waters is that they have no good nautical charts. The captains follow a certain course where they are sure to keep clear of shoals or rocks ; but if a gale or the changeable currents, which are little known, drive the ship from the beaten track, all is left to chance. At this moment France and England are making a hydrographic reconnoitring of these waters, and the publication of their charts is impatiently looked for.

We are only a small party on board, and of not very interesting materials. But the fore-deck is loaded with Japanese passengers. There are a few also in the first-class cabins. They are all going to Kiyôto or to the island of Kiushiu. As soon as they go on board a foreign vessel they drop their usual ceremonial, and they are quite right to do so ; but when they affect to adopt European habits, they are simply insupportable.* Of course, I admit that there may be exceptions.

* Mr. Medhurst, the English consul at Shanghai, makes the same observation on the subject of the *European sed* Chinese. He calls them *most insufferable creatures*. See "The Foreigner in Far Cathay." London : 1872. P. 176.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we near the shore, which is, in all points, like Yokohama ; with rugged mountains covered at the base with luxuriant vegetation.

September 21.—At two o'clock in the morning, the *Costa Rica* was at anchor before the establishment of Kobe, situated a mile to the west of the Japanese *ken*, Hiôgo. The distance from Yokohama is 342 miles (60 to a degree). Kobe is one of the five treaty ports. It has only been opened for three years ; but already the "Concession" is covered with fine houses and spacious shops. The number of inhabitants, even counting the floating part of the population, does not exceed 200 or 300 ; but there is a future for Kobe, for it is in reality the port of Osaka.

Mr. Gower has been kind enough to offer me the hospitality of the English Consulate, of which he is the chief. His house is a perfect gem of comfort and good taste. On the side of the mountain, he has a Japanese house, which he had transported from Osaka ; it is surrounded with a garden, and from thence you enjoy a beautiful view over the gulf. Behind this little Tusculum, a staircase leads to a temple half buried in the foliage.

I have here made a very interesting acquaintance. The P. Monico, of the *Missions Étrangères* at Paris, who is at the head of the Catholic establishment in this growing town, gave me a deal of curious information on the sad and yet glorious position of the Japanese Christians, and on the cruel persecutions of which they are the object.¹ This devoted and excellent priest is a native of Tarbes. He is a perfect type of a missionary—pale, melancholy, but noble features, with an expression of the greatest sweetness and resignation. When he speaks, his face becomes animated, and a rather sarcastic smile lights up the thin lips of the ascetic. The residents of Kobe, although mostly Protestants, speak of this holy man with the greatest veneration. He is also an excellent Japanese scholar.

¹ I shall profit by it in treating, later, of this subject. Father Monico, who died only a few weeks after my visit to Hiôgo, leaves a terrible gap in the missions of this country, and universal regrets in the circle in which he exercised his holy and devoted ministry.

The gulf of Osaka runs inland from south to north. Hiôgo and Kobe are situated on its western shore. Towards the east the great town, the *Fu* of Osaka, stretches along both banks of the Yodogawa, which, running from north to south, after having traversed the *Fu*, flows into the gulf a little below the town. From Kobe to Osaka by sea, in a straight line, they reckon fifteen miles, and twenty-two by land, *i.e.* making the round of the gulf. A multitude of little steamers belonging to native companies, but commanded by Englishmen, ply between the two towns. One of these boats (of which the different parts were built in Germany) takes us in a hour and a half to the Bar of Yodogawa, which is always difficult to cross, and sometimes dangerous. A few minutes after, we arrive at the first houses of Osaka, and at eleven o'clock in the morning, after a passage of two hours, at what is called the "Concession," which is small enough. Inside the bar, and a little above its mouth, the river is very narrow, and in consequence deep and rapid. The houses on its banks, like all the buildings in this town, have only a ground-floor. On both shores, before the houses, double and triple rows of junks of all sizes narrow the bed of the river, and add greatly to the difficulties of the navigation. Osaka (one of the three *Fu*) reckons from 400,000 to 500,000 inhabitants. The ground on which it stands is less extensive than Yedo; on the other hand, there are fewer yashkis here, fewer temples and sacred woods, fewer private gardens, and less cultivated ground. I should, therefore be tempted to think that half a million was below the truth. Three branches of the Yodogawa and another smaller river traverse the town. These water-courses are joined by a network of canals. There are more than 260 bridges, almost all of wood: some are of great length. Osaka is the commercial capital of Japan. All the foreign merchandise destined for the interior passes through it. In spite of the bar and the slight depth of this part of the gulf, the influx of native boats is incredible. In fact, the busy activity on the Yedo river seems to me less than that which one meets with here. Steam begins to play a great part in Osaka, and in this respect the Japanese are ahead of their Chinese neighbours. These last have never yet learned to work a steam-engine or direct a steamer, but the Japanese is capable of both. The Prince of

Tosa (Isle of Shikoku) possesses several fine steamers, of which both captains and engineers are natives. We saw outside the town three fine steamers at anchor. They belong to this daimio, and trade between Yokohama and the little ports in that inland sea. As the price of the passage is so much less¹ than that of the American company, they are always overloaded with passengers. From Osaka the foreign merchandise is carried up the river Yodogawa to Fujimi, and from thence by land to Kiyôto. Other boats, going still higher up the river, reach the great central lake known under the names of Biva or Omi.

I was welcomed by Mr. J. J. Ensle, the English vice-consul. Although still young, he is one of the oldest of the British consular staff in this part of the world. He has been in the country for ten years, is well acquainted with the language, and especially with the men and things in this part of Nippon. He is going to have the kindness to accompany me to Kiyôto. This is an enormous favour, for in this country, still closed to strangers, and where there is not a ghost of an interpreter, good or bad, as in Egypt or Turkey, one would be compelled to give up any attempt at travelling in the interior without this effectual official protection.

The quarter allotted to foreigners, entirely surrounded by the river or by canals and carefully guarded, is situated at the southern extremity of the town. It contains two or three European houses, the British Consulate, which is established in a pretty Japanese yashiki, and some native huts adapted to the use of the "white barbarians." A few fine trees are the sole ornament of this exile which bears the stamp of a somewhat Americanised "Young England." In this settlement there are about twenty Europeans and Americans; an equal number employed at an exchange which has lately been built at the southern extremity of the town; and four or five French masters who live at the castle—in all, about fifty whites. White women are not to be seen. There is neither church,

¹ The passage from Kobe to Yokohama is, on board the American steamers, for first class 30 dols., and only 18 dols. on Tosa's boats. In these last it is fair to say you are not fed, you go slower, and you run the risk of foundering or being blown up. But, nevertheless, they are always full.

priest, nor minister. The spirit of the native population would not bear the public exercise of the Christian religion. Besides, the right to erect a church in the "Concession" seems doubtful. Osaka is not a treaty port, only a town which has been opened to a few strangers. Everything here struck me as precarious and provisional. The foreign merchants do very little business. Their best customers were formerly the daimios, who used to reside here for some months in the year. But since the downfall of the Siogun, they do not come any longer. The native merchants are jealous of strangers, and the authorities (secretly, it is true, for fear of provoking demands for redress from the consular agents) throw every possible obstacle in their way. The little colony, therefore, remains stationary, and many residents talk of leaving. The population, formerly secretly excited against the foreigners by the government functionaries, have remained hostile. When walking in the streets, one sees parents whispering words of abuse to their children, which these latter, who dodge one's footsteps, repeat in a loud voice. The soldiers of the new imperial army, whom everyone strives to avoid, are remarkable for their insolence. Thanks to the energetic representations of the foreign ministers, however, the authorities have received orders to put a stop to these hostile demonstrations, and at this moment, there is consequently a better state of things.

I had hardly crossed the threshold of the Consulate, when the governor of the town who had received notice of my arrival by a special courier from Iwakura, announced his visit. A few minutes after, he made his appearance accompanied by the vice-governor and an interpreter. He was the type of the great Japanese official—courteous, dignified, rather awkward, which however did not misbecome him—with his features contracted for the occasion, according to etiquette, whereby his face assumed a certain set and stupid expression. This is rather like the conventional style of our Foreign Office, which is neither brilliant nor remarkable, but which has the advantage of subordinating the character of the individual to the exigencies of the affairs of which he treats. Besides, with Japanese officials, after having exchanged the usual commonplace phrases, their faces relax, their natural expression, which is generally gay and often benevolent, returns ; and they set aside

the official mask, only to resume it at the moment of departure. The Chi-fu-ji [or governor of a *Fu*], with a headdress of lacquered black paper, wore his great court dress, an ample robe with large stiff sleeves, of a rich stuff embroidered in silk and gold. His two sabres, one of which was of an enormous and the other of an ordinary size, were richly carved. His companion had a good open face, a sonorous voice, and a frank, hearty laugh, which made one forget the extreme irregularity of his features. He wore a colossal Phrygian cap of lacquered paper, and a dress of violet silk embroidered with pink roses. The governor congratulated me with effusion on the unheard-of honour I had received of being allowed to approach the Mikado; and told me that the emperor had given orders that during all my travels in his country I was to be considered as his majesty's guest.

These great personages having taken their departure, we started in jinrikishas to see the town. Mr. Enslie sent away the yakunins, which in Yedo would have been impossible; so we had the pleasure of going alone through this enormous *Fu*. The inhabitants of this busy town are evidently equally determined to work and to amuse themselves. The look of the place is somewhat uniform; but its animation makes up for its monotony. The streets are all in straight lines, very narrow—not above four to eight feet wide—very clean, very long, and meeting at right angles. There are some quarters where, being all shops, the houses are composed of long low parallelograms divided into open courts with projecting pent-houses. Above, a species of attic serves as a shop, and supports the heavy flat roof. To the eye they seem like one great block furrowed by a network of streets. Black and grey are the predominant colours. Nothing can be sadder, or less graceful; but one has not time to study the houses. One is absorbed by the riches, the variety, and, I would add, the strangeness of the objects exposed for sale, and by the motley crowd of foot-passengers. Amidst this mass of human beings, who are perpetually crossing one another, though without disorder, there are very few horsemen or jinrikishas. One of these streets, running from south to north and crossing several bridges, traverses the greater part of the town. It is the Oxford Street of Osaka. In a parallel street rise two large and very ancient Buddhist

temples. They belong to the sect of Montô, which is important enough to require careful handling by the Yedo innovators. One of the ministers said to me: "We dare not touch them yet; for among the Montoïtes are some very important persons." Shaka, the Buddha of the Japanese, reigns, therefore, here supreme. No one interferes with him, nor with his under-gods, nor with his sanctuaries. His temples go back to the early ages. Neither painted nor lacquered red and green, like the other temples I had seen before, they have preserved the natural colour of the wood, which, in the lapse of centuries, has changed from reddish brown to a light grey. The sculptures in the interior are rich, but sober. There are no alto-relievos, nor any of that *baroque* Italian taste which struck me so much in the buildings erected under the auspices of Taiko-Sama and his immediate successors. Their heavy roofs, like felt hats turned up at the sides, give a feature to the town, and break the monotony of its aspect. We quit our little carriages to climb up on foot the steps leading to the upper town. Now we are in the street called: "Of the Theatres." Along the whole length of these buildings, hung above the gallery which runs above the façade, are pictures, in vivid colours, painted in *gouache*, and representing scenes from the plays most in fashion, especially historic dramas. At the doors there is a dense crowd of all ages and both sexes struggling for admission. I see some quite old men breathless with their efforts to make way for themselves. A sort of feverish impatience could be read on their pale, emaciated faces. All of a sudden a body of dancers and musicians, the former highly painted, with their hair ornamented with three or four pins, and wearing rich silk stuffs, approach the great entrance. Five or six of them form a special band. The crowd gaze on these privileged beings with curiosity and benevolence, and do their best to make room for them. In the meantime we are almost carried away by the current. The throng is enormous, but they do not hustle one another. Here, as elsewhere in this country, the colour of the crowd is blue and bronze flesh. Among the people are many men of high rank, but not one woman of the upper classes. It is not their dress which would distinguish them—for that is alike for all; but their clearer and more delicate skins, their carefully

kept nails, and especially their high-bred appearance. We see also a good many of the two-sworded gentlemen. Above this human chaos, and the pictures hung to attract visitors, is a perfect forest of poles, standing out against the sky, ornamented with festoons, flowers, and flags of different sizes and colours, waving in the breeze. All the world seems gone mad with a thirst for the play! It is a strange sight! where elegance and grotesqueness walk side by side; but where, as a whole and in the details, good taste and propriety predominate.

At the end of this street we scrambled up some more large stone steps, and came into the "Street of Temples." In the pleasure quarter there was plenty of life, but in the gods' quarter complete solitude. On both sides, the outside walls of the inclosure, pierced with great gateways, showed the little courts in front of the sanctuary. However narrow these may be there is always room for some magnificent *ichôs*—some cedars or cryptomerias, of which the twisted branches, stretching over the street, give a pleasant shade to the passers-by. On the threshold of the doors sit the bonzes, their heads shaved, in dirty dresses of yellow and violet silk. They smoke their pipes, and look at us out of their little eyes in a curious, malevolent manner. It was in one of these temples that the English, French, American, and Netherlands ministers were lodged when the events of 1868 brought them to these coasts, which no European before them had ever visited.¹

We have arrived at the highest point of the town. It is occupied by the castle, which, built by Taiko-Sama,² has so many times, and quite lately, at the downfall of the Siogun, played so great a part in the history of Japan. It is a double inclosure, formed of cyclopean walls, of which the houses, slightly bulged, are ranged in curved lines. Two enormous ditches, walled in the same fashion, protect it; but from incredible ignorance of fortification, two large solid bridges facilitate to besiegers the access to the fortress. In the middle of the second inclosure, and on the highest point, stood the palace. The Siogun burnt it in 1868 when he found he would be compelled to evacuate it. On that occasion, too, he also

¹ Some years before, Sir Rutherford Alcock had passed there, but without stopping.

² In 1590.

burnt to the ground the great yashki of Prince Satsuma, on the banks of the Yodogawa, as he considered him one of the causes of his downfall. The palace is completely destroyed, but the second inclosure is still intact. From one of the four towers that flank it the panorama is magnificent. This immense town is stretched at our feet, crossed by an infinity of water-courses and streets, looking in the distance like so many white ribbons. Above this confused mass, the roofs of the two temples are seen, as in profile, against the silvery waters of the vast gulf. Beyond are the mountains, gilded by the setting sun, and here and there, shadowed by the light clouds which the evening breeze scatters on the azure and rose-coloured ground of the sky. Such is the view to the south-west and north-west. To the north, a large flat valley opens out, which is the bed of the Yodogawa and our future road to Kiyôto. To the east, the green mountains, with their graceful outlines, rise near the town. A narrow and well-cultivated strip of plain separates them.

In front of the castle, on the other side of the stream, proudly rises the new Exchange, built at the expense of the government by English architects, and directed by officials belonging to the same nation. It is an enormous edifice, which has cost millions. The furniture of the pavilion destined for the reception of the Japanese functionaries has alone cost 10,000 dollars! They will want time to learn how to sit in those gorgeous arm-chairs and sofas covered with Lyons velvet. The rest is in accordance with it. The Exchange begins to work; the new *rio* has answered very well.

We ended our walk by a return visit to the governor, who received us in his official yashki, placed on the canal in the centre of the town. Here we enjoyed one of those magic effects of light which are only possible in this latitude and in Japanese houses. The great doorway leading into the court, which had been hastily opened for us—for etiquette does not allow people of rank to pass through the postern-gates—is painted black, and the flooring is of bricks of the same colour. In front of this portal, the vestibule, also framed in black, is wide open. Beyond, in the interior of the palace, a beautifully fine yellow matting is spread, while the partitions are, as usual,

in white paper. The sun's disk, visible between the houses which are on the opposite side of the canal, touches the horizon. Its rays, which are nearly horizontal, pass through the wide gateway, glide over the pebbles of the court, fill the vestibule, and light up that and the rooms beyond with a fiery glow which is almost insupportable; tints of dead and shining gold illumine the yellow matting, while all around is a transparent halo of light, with the deep-black background of the dark walls. It was a picture never to be forgotten.

We passed through a multitude of offices, which at this moment were deserted; a labyrinth of rooms, where they have just placed, for the use of the clerks, some tables and chairs. This is in itself a complete revolution. The Japanese writes standing or squatted on his knees, his head bent forward. He holds his brush vertically, so as to enable his Chinese ink to flow freely. If he sits against a table, he must necessarily slope his brush backwards. It would be necessary, then, to replace his Chinese ink with ours, and anyhow to substitute a pen for a brush, although a pen does not lend itself easily to tracing Chinese characters, which are wide and fine at the same time. He must, therefore, adopt other methods, and introduce European writing—a revolution which would hardly tally with the essence of Mongol languages. I dwell on these details, puerile though they may seem, because they have in reality a great signification, and give an idea of the almost insurmountable obstacles to be encountered by the imitators of European fashions.*

The Chi-fu-ji received us in a room opening on the garden. He invited us to sit round a table. Another functionary, not without the previous prostrations, took his place by our side. Two pages, who are never wanting in the houses of the great, and three two-sworded knights, were squatted on a matting at a respectful distance. The conversation turned on the culture of the tea-plant, on which the governor gave me some very

* According to the American papers (September 1872), a professor of Newhaven, accompanied by about a hundred teachers, had been sent for to Japan, to establish seven normal schools in different parts of the empire. The government of the Mikado had decided that English should be the learned language taught; and that in the native tongue the Chinese characters should be replaced by the Roman alphabet.

interesting information. The province which grows the best sort is Udji ; the next is Kiyôto. Then he gave us a lesson as to how we should make it ; and joining practice to theory he made the pages place on the matting the tea-tray and tea-pot, squatted down beside them himself, and gave us some of the Udji tea, which was the most delicious and finely perfumed I ever tasted. Here is his receipt :—Make the water boil in an earthenware pot, and not in a metal one. Then you must calculate exactly the quantity of leaves and water required for each cup ; drink the tea scalding hot, immediately after the infusion, and never make a second. They gave us different kinds of sweetmeats, which I thought rather insipid ; but they all had a delicate, refined, perfumed taste, which answered the smell of different flowers. Japanese palates are less *blasé* than ours in Europe, and are, therefore, more apt to seize the shades of taste which escape us.

Our return to the settlement was made by water on a delicious evening. The palace of the governor is, as I have said, in the centre of the town. Nevertheless, in spite of the speed of our rowers, we were nearly an hour in getting home. A number of tea-boats, lit by coloured lanterns, and full of young men and singers, glided alongside of our barque. We also met a quantity of junks returning from Kiyôto, overloaded with passengers. At the angles of the canals were a number of tea-houses, brilliantly lit up, and flooded likewise by the magic rays of the full moon. Everywhere we heard laughter, joyous cries, and songs, accompanied by flutes or guitars.

CHAPTER VI.

KIYÔTO.—FROM THE 22nd TO THE 25th OF SEPTEMBER.

On the Yodowaga.—Fujimi.—The Capital of the West.—The palace of the Mikado.—The Castle of the Siogun.—The Temples.—View of Kiyôto.—Guion-Machi.

September 22.—Besides the great rowing boats employed in the transport of travellers and merchandise, some small steamers leave Osaka every morning, and, according to the variable state of the Yodogawa current, arrive (or do not arrive!) towards evening, or in the night, at Fujimi. The captain, engineers, and sailors are all natives. This accounts for the frequency of the accidents on board. Luckily of late there have been no explosions. Accordingly, on board one of these little steamers we embarked at seven o'clock in the morning. Thanks to the intervention of Mr. Enslie, our guard of honour has been reduced to two civil functionaries, two officers, and four soldiers. The cook and servants belonging to the consul complete our suite. The Chi-fu-ji, in spite of my protestations, had reserved the quarter-deck for us entirely, as well as the cabins of the ship. We are therefore very comfortable. We pass before several palaces. The largest is, or rather was, that of Prince Satsuma, burnt, as we have seen, by the Siogun, at the moment of his retreat. The walls of the inclosure alone are left standing. Further on, we pass by the imposing buildings of the new Exchange. At last the houses yield to fields and gardens. The banks are too high to admit of our seeing the whole of the ground; but what we do see gives us a

¹ Kiyôto is marked Miako on European maps. In Japan this name has fallen into disuse.

wonderful idea of the fertility of the soil. Soon the banks of the Yodogawa begin to get flatter. We are steaming between tufts of bamboos and fine groups of maples, larch, and weeping willows. Market-towns, great and small villages, all looking populous and prosperous, succeed one another at short intervals. Whilst they put down and take up passengers at these different stations we watch various little scenes of village politeness. They accompany the departures and welcome the new arrivals at the piers with every demonstration of respect and friendship. They make little groups, and talk to one another in the attitude required of people who have been well brought up : that is, the legs bent and the hands resting on the knees. Solitary spots, where woods and thickets replace houses, are rare, and of a thoroughly bucolic character. But on the river the scene is always busy and gay. The boats are furnished with one large single square sail, formed of narrow bands of junk, arranged vertically and bound together by a slight cordage. Both light and wind pass through them. Curious and singular sights meet you at every turn and remind you that you are in the heart of Japan, where everything seems new to you, because everything is strange. By special favour of the stream we arrive at four o'clock at Fujimi. A brilliant reception awaited us. The authorities in court-dress received us at the landing-place, and led us to a beautiful apartment, ornamented with flowers and carpets, and where chairs and tables even had been placed for the occasion. These useful articles, which the governor has been obliging enough to place at our disposal, will follow us throughout our journey.

Fujimi has often been mentioned in the history of Japan. It was there that was fought, only three years ago, the battle which decided the fate of the Siogun. Other remembrances are attached to this town. St. Francis Xavier lived here, when, a crucifix in his hand, a wallet on his back, frozen feet, and a body covered with ulcers, he boldly presented himself, with two catechumens, at the court of the Mikado.

The road from Fujimi to Kiyôto winds up a gentle declivity, on both sides of which houses are built without interruption. One leaves Fujimi and arrives at Kiyôto without finding out where the one ends and the other begins. The whole road is but one long street of three *ris*, or a little less than eight miles.

The country preserves the idyllic character of the Yodogawa Valley. On our road we visited two celebrated temples of great antiquity. In the first, Inarino-Yâjiro, a little building dedicated to the Sintoo rite, there were a quantity of foxes sculptured on the beams and the wainscot. At one *ris* further on is the large and ancient Buddhist temple of Tô-fu-Kuji, founded, if we are to believe our Japanese friends, by the Siogun, Yoritomo, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The greater part of these Japanese temples have been rebuilt several times. This one, to judge by the colour of the wood and the sculptures, must be very ancient. A sacred wood surrounds it, and a bridge is thrown over a deep ravine, shaded by gigantic maples and *ichôs*, which would seem to be as old as the temple itself. Followed by a crowd of functionaries and officers, with an escort of thirty soldiers, sent by the Chi-fu-ji of Kiyôto, Mr. Ensle in a *norimon*, and I on his beautiful Japanese pony, we make our way slowly through a mass of people who have rushed along our path to enjoy the rare spectacle of two European travellers. At six o'clock we enter the capital of the west, and half-an-hour after arrive at the door of a fine hotel in the south-east quarter of the town. Under our balcony flows the Kanagawa River, which at this hour of the night is full of pleasure-boats. The Dai-Sanji, or vice-governor, comes to pay us his compliments, and to announce the visit of the Chi-fu-ji, the following morning at seven o'clock; adding that the governor had chosen that early hour so that we might see the town before the great heats of the day.

The distance from Osaka to Fujimi is ten *ris*; from thence to Kiyôto three *ris*—in all about thirty mile.

September 23.—The two Osaka functionaries have just taken leave of us and been replaced by the vice-governor, Dai-Sanji, and another personage, both commissioned to do the honours of their town and accompany us in our walks. They come at sunrise and unroll before us a paper six or eight feet long, on which are marked the names of the different temples we are to visit. It is with some difficulty that Mr. Ensle persuades them to cross out some of them. The chief of our guides is a little gentleman with a commonplace countenance, and a face terribly marked by the small-pox, but with bright, quick, intelligent

eyes. He wears a cap of lacquered black paper, which looks like a plate with a point in the middle, and he has covered it, after the fashion of the Anglo-Indians, with a great veil of white muslin. A tunic of violet silk with a white border, and trousers and boots of European fashion, make up his costume. By an ingenious contrivance he has passed his two sabres through the gussets of his waistcoat, which takes the place of the ordinary handsome Japanese waistband. One of these swords, which is a masterpiece of chasing and incrustation, has belonged to his family ever since the reign of Taiko-Sama. Altogether, the appearance of this little gentleman is highly comic. He is also a perfect type of a bureaucrat of the first water. Very respectful towards his superiors, and of an exquisite politeness towards us, he is stiff with his subordinates, and sucks in with evident delight the profound salutations which he receives from the people. His second, more advanced than himself in the path of progress, wears his rough, stiff, and badly-brushed hair in the European fashion. His great-coat and trousers fit abominably; the use of a shirt or a cravat is still unknown to him; his varnished boots are evidently a misery to him, for whenever he can he replaces them with the sandals of his country. He is a young man with a frank, open countenance, and if dressed like a Japanese, would be a good-looking fellow; but the costume of the "barbarians" makes him appear both awkward and vulgar.

At seven o'clock precisely the Chi-fu-ji appears at the hotel. On his arrival there is a regular *kow-tow*. Everyone prostrates himself before him, and we hear the noise of all the foreheads knocking against the ground. This great man overwhelms us with civilities. Intimately connected with the authors of the reform movement, he has only occupied his present post for a short time; but he has already done great things for public education, and opened several schools for young girls. Until now, with rare exceptions among the upper classes, women were never taught to read or write. Like Iwakura and Kido, he affirmed that the transformation of Japan would be accomplished in three years. I admire this strength of conviction; it is a pledge of success, if success be possible.

To go from our hotel, which is in the south-east quarter of Kiyôto, to the castle of the Mikado, which is at the extreme

north, we have to cross the town in all its length. At the head of our procession marches the functionary belonging to the governor, a samurai mounted on an enormous big black horse, which, according to the taste of these two-sworded gentlemen, has been trained to caper and kick out at his neighbours. Six guards on horseback immediately precede us. The sanji and his second are on each side of the Europeans. The *bettos* follow on foot. It is with great difficulty that we prevent their seizing the bridles of our horses. Six yakunins with two swords and on horseback and a body of foot-soldiers form our rear-guard. Altogether we are more than forty people, so that our triumphal march produces a great sensation. The passers-by stop, the merchants and shopkeepers rush to the doors of their houses. All prostrate themselves before the sanji, and salute the other officers to the ground. Towards the two barbarians they make attempt at civility. We are stared at with curiosity and coldness; in certain quarters, inhabited, I suppose, by conservatives, or by *wrong-thinkers*, as our sanji says, the looks cast upon us are anything but friendly; decidedly, we are not popular. My eyeglass makes a great sensation. When we halt, the principal persons draw near and ask permission to try it. They pass it from hand to hand, and having excited the admiration of some hundreds of persons, it is given back to me with endless demonstrations of respect and gratitude. The Mikado's palace occupies a vast space. The servants' quarter and the lodgings of the smaller officials and samurais are built within the first inclosure, and are only distinguished from the rest of the town by that solemn calm, that indescribable court atmosphere which one generally breathes in the neighbourhood of royal residences. Here, in the same way, everyone seems to feel his own importance, and to take part in the splendour of the emperor whom he serves, but whom, unfortunately, he has lost for ever.

In the second space, *i.e.*, that comprised between the first inclosure and the second, and called "Of the Nine Doors," which, in fact, form a very high wall, are the palaces of the court aristocracy, the Kugés. Their yashkis, like those of the daimios, are surrounded with little gardens, where laurels alternate with dwarf cedars, and with the very largest weeping willows I have ever seen.

One of the principal objects of my journey to Kiyôto was to visit the emperor's castle, the *pied-à-terre* of this mysterious personage, whose real home is in Olympus, since he is the son of the gods. To compare his palace with the magnificent residences of the Sioguns at Yedo, Osaka, and Kiyôto even, would be, I hoped, to lift a corner of the veil which still hangs over the relations between the Sioguns and the Mikado, and which are so little understood. But at Yedo and at Yokohama, everyone had said to me : "Don't think of it. The abode of the gods is inaccessible to mortals." That might be very true ; but I did not despair. Thanks to the amiable and always efficacious intervention of Mr. Adams and M. Satow, after a good many hesitations, Iwakura had furnished me with a letter for the superintendent of the palace, containing an order to let me see within the "nine doors" of the second inclosure ; that is, to admit me within the kugés' quarter "From thence," he said "you can see the palace perfectly."

But, arrived on the spot, and finding that through these famous gateways, which were fortunately open, one only saw another wall and not a sign of the palace, I insisted upon entering the second inclosure, which led to the third. The sanji could not conceal his surprise, not to say his displeasure. What unheard-of pretension ! That may be ; but still, I insist. The matter becomes serious. Our friend is evidently shaken. His remonstrances give place to entreaties, to forced laughter, and finally to an embarrassed silence. At these symptoms of indecision I put spurs to my horse and pass quickly through the forbidden portal, dragging after me the two great functionaries and our whole escort.

Arrived in this second court, we look at one another in silence. Consternation is depicted on all these countenances. A great sacrilege has been committed ! That is evident. But they accept it at last as an accomplished fact, and we make the tour of the third and last inclosure called of "The Six Doors." We pass successively before the great portal called "The South ;" before that of "The Sun," which faces the east, and those of "The Garden," "The Mikado's Wives," "The Kitchens," and the "Functionaries ;" turning to the north-east, north-west, and south-west. All these doors resembled the portals of the temples. They are made of wood, which has

become grey under the influence of centuries. Here and there are remains of sculpture and gilding which is hardly perceptible ; but there is neither lacquer nor painting. The inclosure consists of a basement of cut stone on which rises a sloping wall, made of wood, covered with cement, painted grey and divided into compartments. A little roof of black tiles protects it from the rain. It was impossible to see anything of the palace save some gables and a few trees. Some of the six doors were closed ; others were half open. Whenever I tried to peer into the sanctuary, the imploring looks of the sanji stopped me. Mr. Ensle in vain exhausted himself in arguments which might overcome his scruples. The answer invariably was : "The superintendence of the palace is not in the province of the administration ; the superintendent belonged to the old court party who were hostile to the present ministry, to progress, and especially to Europeans." As a last favour the sanji leads us to the door of the kitchens and lets us see, above the low roofs of certain small houses, the gable end of the great hall of the palace. "Well, are you satisfied?" he exclaimed with a forced laugh : "on your return to Europe you will be able to boast of having seen what no one sees—the emperor's palace." And he hastens to turn his bridle, adding that it is late ; that the Chi-fu-ji was waiting for us at the castle ; that the road was long ; that it was very hot ; and that it was time to think of breakfast. "No," I replied, "I am not satisfied with your conduct. How ! You imitate our customs, you dress yourself up in our costume, you think yourself in the full vein of civilization ; and yet you are superstitious enough to exclude us from the residence of your sovereign ! How they will laugh at you in Europe when they hear that the permission to cast a look at the Mikado's kitchen is all that your pretended civilization amounts to !" Mr. Ensle had scarcely translated these words when a complete silence fell upon them all. As far as his Mongol tint will allow, the sanji blushes. A short conversation in a low voice takes place between him and his subordinate. "You are right," he said at last, "they would laugh at us." He then offered to go and find the superintendent, adding, however, that he did not expect any favourable result from this step, as, except Sir Harry Parkes and his three colleagues, whose short apparition produced such a ferment

and occasioned the massacres, no European has ever set foot within this inclosure. In the meanwhile we rest under a magnificent lime-tree. A group forms itself round us at a respectful distance. They are the servants of the kugés. We are struck by their costume and by the coquettish coiffure of the maid-servants. In the rest of the inclosure there is not a soul : nothing but the monotony of the walls. The eye involuntarily rises towards the summit of the trees and the blue mountains which form the horizon.

Half an hour passes like this. At last, our ambassadors joyfully return. We are to be admitted. The superintendent and his assistant only beg leave to be allowed time to put on their court dresses. After another quarter of an hour's delay they make their appearance. They look very sulky ; but they put a good face upon it and allow us to cross the threshold of the forbidden city. We enter the "Functionaries" doorway. In spite of a broiling sun, everyone bares his head. As for us, we are requested at least to fold our parasols in token of respect. The men in our suite throw themselves on the ground and pick up the little pebbles with which it is strewn, inviting us to follow their example. These stones are talismans, which are thought to preserve them from illness. We find ourselves in a spacious and solitary court. A profound silence reigns here. In the shade of a doorway, three guards, like statues, are seated immovable on their heels. Behind them, a great screen, ornamented with paintings on a gold ground, prevent profane eyes from penetrating into the interior. At this moment, a kugé, in a great robe of cloth of gold, with wide stiff sleeves, crosses the court with measured steps, passes before the guards, who do not budge, and disappears behind the screen. This court, like all those we have seen, is surrounded by a covered gallery which follows the line of the wall. The columns are painted red and white ; one finds the same colours in all the temples of the Sintoo rite. Arrived at the end of the gallery, the superintendent, whose embarrassment and bad humour are on the increase, is about to make us go back the same way we came. But this time our sanji openly takes part with the barbarians ; he gesticulates, screams, and gets crimson with rage. Mr. Enslee backs him up ; and in spite of the angry protestations of his subordinate, the scruples of the superintendent are as

last overruled. Similar scenes are renewed at each door ; but fortunately all are open and I go boldly through them, as soon as I see the authorities beginning to waver or give way. I had been told at Yedo : " The Japanese bureaucrats are stupid and heavy and delight in creating difficulties ; but with patience, civility, and firmness you can get over them." This advice stood me in good stead to-day.

We are in the court of honour, at the bottom of which, in front of the southern gate, is a great isolated building, called the hall of audience. A projecting piece of wall serves as a screen to this sanctuary and protects it, even when the door of the inclosure is open, from the curious eyes of the passers-by. It was in this hall that Sir Harry Parkes and his three colleagues, with their suite, were admitted to the emperor's presence ; the first, and until this moment the last time that Europeans had set foot in it. The diplomats are introduced by the great door and are reconducted by the same way. The other parts of the palace remain, consequently, inaccessible. The hall of audience is of wood ; the flooring is raised four feet above the soil and a large staircase leads to it. The building is a parallelogram. One side looks on the court and makes a handsome façade. The roof is double, very high, very heavy, and overhangs the walls by several feet. The ends of the beams which support it are richly sculptured and gilt. The woodwork, according to the taste and traditions of the court of the Mikados, is neither painted nor lacquered. This hall was rebuilt about twenty years ago. There are no interior fittings save the usual fine matting on the floor. The darkness of the room did not enable us to examine the ornaments on the panels, if there were any. Round the court of honour there is another gallery painted red and white.

In an isolated pavilion had been preserved, from time immemorial, the mystic insignia of supreme power among the Mikados, namely, the sword of state, a casket and a mirror. These precious objects were last year transported to Yedo. After fresh discussions, ending by fresh concessions, we passed into the court which leads to " the Portal of the Sun " or the east. To sum up all in a few words, the Mikado's palace, which, if you leave out the two kugés' and servants' quarters, covers but a small space, is only distinguished from the yashkis

by rather larger demensions and by the essentially sacred character of its architecture. It is a labyrinth of courts, of narrow passages formed by separate buildings, of pavilions, corridors and simple partitions. The roofs, like those of all the Sintoo temples, rest on horizontal beams, lacquered white and red and gilt at the extremities. They are likewise ornamented with little sculptures some of which are real *chefs-d'œuvre*. At the angles of each building are projecting pieces of wall serving as screens, built of stone, or wood, and covered with cement. The partitions are like those in all the other houses: *i.e.*, movable and covered with little square pieces of white paper. Sometimes they are protected by wooden gratings. I admired their design, which was at the same time varied, simple and elegant. The shutters have also kept the natural colour of the wood, only varying with age, from pale mahogany colour to light grey. Here and there the sameness is relieved by rods of black lacquer. The effect of the whole is indescribable. The sober and soft harmony of the colours, the beauty of the details, the finish of the ornaments, which seem to be kept in the background rather than startle the eye, the exquisite taste, the elegance and noble simplicity which pervade this mysterious and inaccessible place, make you forget the barbaric character of the architecture. There is nowhere the smallest trace of those open-work sculptured alto-relievos which we admired in the Shiba of Yedo, and in general in all the buildings erected by Taiko-Sama; the taste and the Sintoo traditions of the Mikados probably disdained them.

“But where are the living rooms, the bedroom of the emperor?” “In the garden.” “Let us go then into the garden.” “Impossible. Two doors alone lead to it. One, the door of honour; this one is not to be thought of; it would wound the susceptibility of the people beyond bearing. The other is nailed up. Therefore, you see, it is absolutely impossible.” “We never thought of pretending to the honour of entering by the great door. We are modest people. But nothing is easier than to pass by the one which is nailed up. A pair of pincers and a little good will are all that is needful.” This time, I own, before the visible despair of the sanji and the superintendent, and before the scarcely-repressed rage of his subordinate, who, in a low voice, was evidently conjuring his

chief not to yield, I was disposed to stop and give up any further attempt to penetrate into the holy of holies. But Mr. Enslie had no idea of being so easily discouraged. He enters into conversation with our Cerberuses and actually succeeds in wheedling them. We therefore enter the garden by the postern gate. I need not add that, as to the nails, they had only existed in the fertile imagination of the steward.

The Mikado's garden contained nothing but a little pond affecting to be a lake. On two sides there are some fine old trees. On the third a wall : and on the fourth, two low houses, resting on beams and united by a corridor. This was the residence of the Mikado and of his wives ; we did not see the inside : they told us that all the mattings and the precious objects which it contained had been sent to Yedo. A zigzag bridge was thrown over the little lake. This strange shape, which is very much the fashion in China, is intended to resemble a serpent and indirectly a dragon, the symbol of supreme power. The state of neglect in which we found the garden of the son of the gods sufficiently explained the extreme reluctance of the steward to let us in. The whole place spoke of the absence of the master. The little piece of water was covered with dead leaves and vegetable matter. Grass was growing over the walks : only a few flower-pots arranged before the houses, testify to the existence of a gardener. But even without dwelling on the absence of care, everything here is small and mean, excepting the trees. What a contrast between the truly imperial park of the Yedo palace, the work of the Sioguns, and this miserable tea-garden of the son of the gods !

On leaving the palace, we went to the Castle ; it is situated in the western part of the town. To arrive there we had to cross Kiyôto in all its length, and that in a heat which was almost unbearable. I will only briefly mention what struck me most in this other curious and magnificent building. Re-built from the ground by Taiko-Sama, it bears the stamp of the genius and power of this great man. Before it is a vast esplanade bordered on one side by magnificent trees. The outside wall is like that of the palace, only more solid. The entrance door, in grey wood, leads into a spacious court. In front is the portal of the main building ; I admire the *sopraporta* ; it is most richly worked with birds and flowers in high

relief, painted and gilt, reminding one of the windows of the Shiba.

The apartments, which are a repetition, only on a larger and finer scale, of those which one sees in the palaces of the daimios, are specially remarkable for their height; for in Japan the houses are ordinarily low. Everything here breathes of the splendour of that epoch which was the golden age of the Sioguns and the golden age of the arts.¹ On ceilings of dead gold, the sculptured beams cross one another in a kind of chequer-work, and rosettes of gilt bronze elegantly carved, are placed at the intersection of each square. We passed through several rooms before arriving at the great hall, which is eighty feet long, thirty feet wide, and twenty-two feet high. The ceiling, which is in the same style as the one I have described above, is of rare beauty. On the walls and movable partitions are painted great trees in a free, bold style, but not altogether without the exaggerations which are according to the taste of the country.²

Round this hall runs a lobby, of which the windows pierced high up in the wall, like those of the Shiba, are of a wonderful richness and variety. There is the same style, although less rich, in the apartments where the Sioguns in old times received the daimios and the kugés. The room which the Siogun himself occupied is ornamented with panels in old lacquer-work and contains some valuable pictures, which refute the generally-admitted supposition that the Japanese were ignorant of the rules of perspective. The Siogun emblem, a trefoil surrounded by a ring, is here repeated *ad infinitum*.

After a collation served in the great hall, the Chi-fu-ji took us all over the apartments in the castle, and then through the official rooms, which within the last few days have been fitted up with chairs and tables. The clerks were sitting at them

¹ This epoch embraces about half a century, from 1580 to 1630.

² I took advantage of a moment when our host was absent to make a sketch of this hall, which I compared later with a drawing made by Engelbert Kaempfer, in 1691, and which is precisely the same. Perhaps it was in this very room that the Dutch Legation had their audience, at which the clever German assisted. We know that the Mikados often lived in the castle, especially during the visits of the Sioguns, to whom it belonged until the dignity was abolished. See the French "History of Japan," by E. Kaempfer. Translated from the German. The Hague, 1729.

awkwardly enough, writing as quickly as they could, for, of course, on the appearance of their chief, etiquette alone would have prescribed redoubled zeal. In each room is a stand for the swords of the company. That is an important piece of furniture ; for they do not play at swords in this country ; and such of the officials as belong to the military took care not to let you forget that, before everything, they were gentlemen. The sabre is the essential—the pen, or rather pencil, is the accessory. There was a little circumstance which happened two or three months ago illustrating this feeling. Two members of the diplomatic corps of Yokohama came to Kiyôto. In a little town in the neighbourhood, during a halt, one of them by accident, touched the sabre of a yakunin with his foot. This man thought himself dishonoured. His colleagues first, and then the idlers of the town, all began to pity the unfortunate yakunin, who declared that he could not survive such an affront, and that he must perform *hari-kari*. The position of the Europeans was becoming critical, when one of the Japanese interpreters had the happy inspiration to say to the yakunin : “ You left your sword on the mat and not in the stand as you ought to have done. It was, therefore, by pure chance that the stranger lord touched your sword ; and with no intention of offending you. Your honour is safe.” This interpretation satisfied everybody, especially the officer, who was spared having to open his belly, and the two travellers, who hastened to leave a country where the population were so ticklish on a point of honour.

The governor was amiable enough to have a dinner prepared for us at the town hall, which, according to his programme, was one of the places we were to visit. In a fine hall of this building they had laid the table, which was covered with a silk carpet, and ornamented with an immense nosegay of flowers, five or six feet high, such as we see in the temples ; an English carpet covered the matting, and on the chairs they had thrown some beautiful shawls. Places were laid for the two Europeans and the two sanjis. The officers of the suite dined in the same room, seated on the floor, and the others in the adjoining rooms. The repast was copious and the dishes were very varied. The principal one, of course, was the famous Tay fish. It is cut in slices alive, and they hastened to put it on the table,

pouring into its eyes some drops of vinegar. The muscles give a convulsive movement. The slices wriggle asunder and the wretched animal seems to expire. This time the experiment did not succeed ; but several Europeans have assured me that they were eye-witnesses of this cruel and disgusting spectacle.

“Ma io nol viddi, nè credo che sia.”

Alongside of the dining-hall is the school of the quarter—a great room filled with great and little girls and great and little boys, all busy in blackening paper which was already black enough. In Kiyôto there are sixty-four schools. The present governor, who is a man of progress, has the merit of having opened the greater number.

After having paid a visit to the Sintoo temple, Kitanotenjin, consecrated to the memory of a celebrated warrior of the fifteenth century, we passed through some interminable streets, always going westward. At last we got out of the town. Long avenues of fine trees, growing on the banks of a stream, lead to a chain of wooded hills. Above, and at a distance of some miles, high mountains close the valley of Kiyôto towards the west. We have come to the end and object of our walk : one of the richest of the Buddhist temples, named Kin-kaku-ji, and dedicated to Tojimizu, one of the heroes of Japan. This building, erected towards the year 1420, is only distinguished from the other temples before Taiko-Sama by the beauty and extent of its shrubberies. The art of Japanese gardening is brought to the greatest perfection here, but at the same time goes to the utmost limits of the grotesque. To give an example, they have turned a colossal pine into a boat, the trunk being the mast, the upper branches forming the yards, and the lower ones the oars. The real poetical charm of this place consists in its wonderful solitude, and the beautiful peeps one has of the neighbouring country, while the town is entirely hidden behind a thick curtain of foliage.

At a little distance is a rising ground, from the summit of which I feel sure there must be a beautiful view of Kiyôto. Unfortunately, this spot is not marked in the governor's programme. The good sanji points this out to me by unrolling the paper on which is our itinerary. But emboldened by my success in the morning, I quietly go up the Mamelon by

myself, leaving Mr. Enslie to pacify the guards. Seeing that I was thus determined, they hastened to dismount and follow me, irreverently fastening their horses to the balustrade of the temple. The ascent is very steep, but the view amply rewards us. At our feet was spread the whole town and valley of Kiyôto. The centre looked like an ocean of black roofs, surrounded by an equally wide ocean of green trees. The frame of the picture was composed of mountains bathed in tints of grey and pink. But what a rose-colour ! and what pearly-grey tints !

In spite of our putting our horses at a quick trot, we took an hour and twenty minutes to reach our hotel. It is pitch-dark when we arrive. On the river, like yesterday, there is a kind of Venetian *fête* : pleasure-boats, with their coloured lanterns dancing on the water ; songs, music, cries of various kinds—the whole shrouded in the soft darkness of a mild summer's night.

September 24.—The best artists of the town came to us to-day, bringing a heap of curiosities ; amongst them there are some real *chefs-d'œuvre*. Unfortunately, the rich people in Japan like collecting too, so that the prices are exorbitant. The things in modern lacquer and the ivory sculpture seem to me infinitely superior to those one sees at Yokohama or even at Yedo. As to the bronzes, they are quite exceptionally beautiful. I chose a cup and a metal box, incrustated with gold and silver, both of them the work of the famous Goroza. An inscription on the back gives the name of the artist, and it is said that this illustrious family of goldsmiths, the Cellinis of Japan, has flourished for nine generations.

At seven o'clock we resume our walks round Kiyôto, Nishihon-guan-ji, the great Buddhist temple of the Montô sect, erected in the thirteenth century, and almost entirely rebuilt by Taiko-Sama, is composed of two separate buildings united by a gallery, and standing at the bottom of an oblong court. There is only one tree, but it is the growth of centuries. Two doorways give access to this vast inclosure. The two temples are of the era of the great Siogun. One is consecrated to Shinranshōzo, the founder of the Montô sect, the other to the goddess Amida.

We enter the great hall, which is in the form of a parallelogram, 124 feet long by 56 feet wide. The lower end is filled by five separate chapels, divided one from another by partitions. The middle one is the sanctuary. One would think that the artist had studied and imitated the Gothic churches of Florence. In front is a passage railed off from the hall by a balustrade. The roof is supported by columns without capitals, in the natural colour of the wood. The temple was full of men and women dressed in white. Even those who had nothing but a piece of linen round their loins wore a little bit of white paper in their hair. White is the colour of mourning. They were allowed to pass through the passage by turns. They prostrated themselves in the sanctuary, said the prayer for the dead, which was an affair of a moment, and then poured out to the right and left, laughing and talking. In spite of the enormous crowd, there was neither press nor confusion. The faith and devotion of these good people were a source of great amusement to our sanji. Like all men of his stamp, his object was to make us see how little he believed in any religion. The panels of the chapels and the backs of the doors, which were all wide open at this hour, are richly gilt and ornamented by *sopra-portas*, also finely sculptured and gilt. The sanctuary is really magnificent. On the altar, which is lacquered black, stands a bronze *tempietto*, or tabernacle, richly chiselled and gilt. It is closed, but I conclude that it holds the idol. Before the altar is an oblong table, covered by a silk carpet, richly embroidered in the Byzantine style. On it stands the incense-burner, two tablets, and two beautiful china vases, one of which contains an immense nosegay of fresh flowers. Six low stools in black lacquer, ornamented with gilt arabesques, are placed symmetrically on both sides of the altar. The panels of the sanctuary are ornamented with paintings on a dead gold ground. Four great lamps, hung from the ceiling, and also gilt, mingle their pale lights with the reflection of the sun's rays from the court outside, glide through the forest of columns in the hall, and concentrate themselves in the sanctuary, which they flood with a brilliant glow, like an illumination.

The residence of the goddess is like that of the god. This

great and celebrated temple, one of the glories of this ancient capital, and at the same time one of the most venerable sanctuaries of the empire, is richly endowed. Until lately, it was served by a multitude of bonzes. But notwithstanding the consideration which the importance of the Montöite sect requires of the ministry, financial embarrassments have prevailed over the rules of prudence, and the respect due to vested rights. The government has consequently reduced the number of these priests, confiscated part of their revenues to the profit of the state, and appropriated to itself some of the finest buildings belonging to the temple. At this moment they are being converted into apartments for distinguished guests. In one of these was a beautiful picture representing three women going into a palace. It is worthy of one of our finest old masters, and the perspective is excellent. All these buildings, temples, and houses, excepting a little gateway, evidently much more ancient, bear the stamp of the *baroque* style of Taiko-Sama and his immediate successors. The emblem of the great regent,¹ is again found here: only it is composed of three trefoils, which meet in the middle and are inscribed in a circle. The shape of the leaves is heraldic, and not of that natural kind which the Japanese know so well how to imitate. The sacred wood, which stretches a long way behind the temple, is supposed to be the finest and largest in Japan. Its palms and bananas give it a tropical look. Everywhere one meets with *souvenirs* of the life and actions of Taiko-Sama. Here he rested during the heat of midday; there he would stand to look at the full moon; there two birds, which are nearly rubbed out on the wall, are *his* painting, &c.

I have paid a visit to a multitude of other temples, which I pass over in silence. The most remarkable is Higachi, in the style of the one I have just described, and also the work of Taiko-Sama! a fire has lately destroyed a large portion of it. Mr. Ensle possesses a MS., giving the dates of the foundation of these sanctuaries,² several of which, if this document is to

¹ Taiko-Sama was never a Siogun. His name was *Toyotomi Hidiyoshi*, and his official title *Kuambaku*, which means regent. When he abdicated in favour of his son, he took the title of *Taiko*, or regent in retreat.

² The oldest dates are 839, 870, 950, 1162, 1185, and 1240. According to this MS. the Temple of Taiko-Sama, which I have just described, was built in 1578, and the Higachi in 1592.

be believed, date from the ninth and tenth centuries. In spite of the interest attaching to these temples, one very soon tires of them. Heaps of questions present themselves to one's mind : but no one can answer them. Our knowledge of the sacred and mythological history of Japan is still very incomplete. On the other hand, the bonzes, in a suffocating heat, make you rush up and down, scramble up perpendicular and very shaky ladders, plunge into caverns, and all this to show you a stone, a kiosk, or a hut, to which some absurd miracle is attached or some ridiculous legend, deprived of all historical interest.

The temples of Kiyôto and its neighbourhood are really innumerable. Some of them are endowed with lands, and at this moment these are being mercilessly seized by the government. Others have a subvention from the state, which consists of rations of rice ; but a large number of the priests live upon alms.

One curious fact, attesting the great part once played by the Sioguns who were Buddhists, in the residence and under the very eyes of the Mikados, who officially at least are Sintooites, is, that Kiyôto reckons more than 3,000 Buddhist temples.

To the south-east of the town, beyond Kanagawa, are the Guiôn-machi and Shima-barra quarters, consecrated especially to houses of entertainment and pleasure-gardens. They cover the sides of the mountains which bound the Kiyôto valley towards the east. The most elegant tea-houses (the favourite resorts of young men and dancers) succeed one another without intermission. We turned towards Guiôn-machi, and there fancy-fairs and feasts seem permanent institutions. Everywhere you saw poles ornamented with flags, festoons of flowers, or strings with little bits of paper, stretched across the streets from house to house. The sound of guitars and flutes mingles with the songs and noisy laughter of the guests. A very steep path led us up to the most fashionable of these tea-houses, from whence the view is really magnificent. I need not dwell on the "imperial" repast which the Chi-fu-ji, in the name of the Mikado, had prepared for us at the "Rocher de Cancale" of Guiôn-machi ; nor on all the delicacies served to us by the master of the establishment, accompanied by an endless number of *kow-tows*. On leaving this elegant feast, we passed before a little sanctuary, where about a dozen bonzes, squatted on the

ground and ranged in one line, sang litanies, each beating a big drum. Close by, the crowd was amusing itself, without paying the smallest attention to the priests. Under a shed, a little further on, an old man offered me some photographs. He had never seen a European before, and had learnt his art from a native. From a technical point of view, his photographs perhaps might have been improved, but he possessed another talent, which is heaven-born ; and that is, the art of seizing objects by their prettiest and most picturesque side.

At a little distance is the temple of Chionin, which is become historical by the residence of Sir Harry Parkes, during his short apparition at the court of the Mikado.

On our return they made us follow the route which witnessed the procession of the British Legation to the imperial palace, on the 23rd March, 1869. Mr. Enslye, who was one of the eye-witnesses, showed me the very spot where the attack was made. Sir Harry, on horseback, like all his secretaries, wore the full dress of an envoy ; but to conform to the custom of the country on such occasions, and to prove the pacific character of his mission, he had given his sword to one of his suite. Thirteen English orderlies on horseback preceded him. Fifty men of a line regiment, from the garrison of Yokohama, brought to add to the *éclat* of the embassy, and, if necessary, to protect it, followed the chief and the members of the Legation. A mass of Japanese functionaries, samurais, and soldiers closed the column. There were between a thousand and twelve hundred men in the procession. An enormous crowd was tightly pressed against the houses. The first half of the escort and the minister himself had just turned the corner of a narrow street opening on one of the great thoroughfares, when signs of disorder appeared at the head of the procession. Two great swords flashed in the air. In an instant nine out of the thirteen orderlies fell grievously, though not mortally wounded. One of the assassins, a samurai, brandishing his bloody sword, then rushed upon the envoy. Sir Harry, though not armed, with that wonderful intrepidity which he gave proof of during his terrible captivity in China did not betray the least fear. Already his assailant had lifted his sword ; but at the moment of striking, he slipped his foot and fell. All this was the affair of a moment. Covered with wounds, the samurai crawled

away and took refuge in a shop. Some Japanese soldiers pursued him, dragged him from his hiding-place, and despatched him. The other murderer, a bonze, equally badly wounded, was spared, thanks to the intervention of one of the envoy's secretaries. He was afterwards, however, tried in a native court, condemned, and executed. Mr. Ensle, who was in the suite of the minister, had not turned the corner of the street. He heard confused and sinister sounds and guessed there was some mischief, but could not advance. Looking back, he saw only the fifty English soldiers, whom the obstruction—caused by the horses and orderlies stretched on the ground—prevented from being able in any way to help the minister. The functionaries, samurais, native troops, and inhabitants, who, a moment before, crowded the streets, had all disappeared as if by magic. A void had been made round the Europeans, who hastened to regain the temple which they had left. While this horribly bloody scene was taking place in one of the most crowded thoroughfares of the city, the Mikado, seated on his throne in his palace, and surrounded by all the great dignitaries of the empire, waited in vain for the envoy of the Queen of England. The whole population were in a state of silent ferment; a repetition of the attack was to be apprehended. However, the audience took place; after which the envoys returned to Osaka.

The judicial inquiry which was soon after set on foot, and other information gathered from the best sources, prove that this attempt, like all those directed against the Europeans at Yedo and in the neighbourhood of Yokohama, arose from political fanaticism. A sudden inspiration, perhaps a stronger libation of saki than usual, arms these murderers, who have already made the sacrifice of their own lives. It is evident that for two men to attack a column of more than a thousand men, all armed, they must have made up their minds to die. The presence of the English Legation had stirred up that hatred against all foreigners which is so universal among the upper classes in Japan, and nowhere more than in the former residence of the Mikados. These two men had simply made themselves the interpreters of the popular will in attacking the English with the rapidity of lightning and the boldness which a resolution to perish alone could give. It is always the same story. Two samurais drink together in a tea-house. They begin talking of

the foreigners. One gets excited and says, "I am quite determined to kill one of them." Another gets up and cries, "I'm your man—we'll go together." They go out and with their swords, which are as sharp as razors, they cut in pieces the first white man they may chance to meet. They do not for a moment forget that their own lives will be forfeited by the act. They make up their minds beforehand to sacrifice them. They know very well that they shall be executed, and if they are nobles that they shall have the privilege of performing *hari-kari*.¹ But in any case, they are dead men. Never mind! Their name will go down to posterity, their tombs will never lack branches of trees or incense, and the veneration of future generations will surround their memories with the aureola of heroes and martyrs. This fanaticism, which is essentially political and not religious, seems to come out of the very bowels of the nation. It is clothed with the veil of chivalry among the nobles, and justified in their eyes by the contempt of death; while it strikes its victims with an unheard-of boldness and rapidity. This is, for Europeans, the only real danger of journeys into the interior.

Kiyôto, situated in the province of Yamaskiro,² has been, according to native historians, the residence of the Mikado ever since the eighth century, that is, in 798. But this very ancient Kiyôto has well-nigh disappeared in consequence of a succession of fires. Before the transfer of the court to Yedo this town reckoned more than 400,000 souls. In the last two years this number has fallen to 200,000. I need not repeat that these statistics rest on approximate calculations. The streets traverse the town in a straight line from north to south, and from east to west, crossing one another at right angles. Seven of these streets being wider and inhabited by the higher classes, are distinguished by numbers, No. 1 belonging to that which leads to the imperial palace; they are from twelve to twenty feet wide, and their length varies from three to five miles. The cross streets, which are less wide and not more

¹ An edict, published in consequence of this attack, and which was first put in force in 1872, deprives the samurais who shall have killed a foreigner of the privilege of committing suicide.

² This central portion of Japan is called Gôkinai. It consists of five provinces: Yamaskiro, Yamato, Idsumi, Kavaji, and Setsu.

than two and a half miles long, are honoured with names. The houses are all built of one story, like all the other towns in this country. Each contains a shop. Since the departure of the court a great many proprietors have followed the emperor and shut up their habitations at Kiyôto, but they have not dismantled them. I have already described that second inclosure of the palace, the "Faubourg St. Germain" of the kugés. One hundred and twenty of these noble lords have remained here with their families. The rest have gone to settle in Yedo. Excepting the two or three great thoroughfares I have mentioned, the streets of Kiyôto are not very lively. The principal source of its prosperity has dried up, and its very life is waning. Only foot-passengers are to be seen, no jinrikishas, no carriages, very few horsemen. Sometimes, though very rarely, one meets carriages drawn by black oxen. The inhabitants are of a much fairer tint than the population of Yedo, and the women seem to me to deserve their reputation for beauty. For the last fortnight, two Europeans in the Japanese service have been living at Kiyôto; one, an English engineer, employed in the preliminary plan of a railroad, which is to unite this town with Osaka; the other, a Prussian schoolmaster, who has been sent for to teach German to the children of the Rising Sun. I regretted very much not having seen either of these two pioneers of civilization.

According to what they tell me, opinions are very much divided among the upper classes at this moment. The reformers scandalize the old conservatives in a thousand ways; they go so far as to defile themselves by eating meat at Kiyôto. As at Yedo, a butcher's shop has just been established, and once a week the innovators may eat beef. The Japanese, in general, have a perfect horror of meat. They live on barley, rice, fish, and only on rare occasions allow themselves poultry or pork, which already in the eyes of the orthodox is a great sin. Bread, which they scarcely ever touch, is called *pan* (pão). This is the only trace which the Portuguese have left of their passage in the sixteenth century. The princes of Tosa and Chôshiu are among the reformers. Chôshiu had ordered his soldiers to eat meat "to give them strength," as he announced in his edict. This innovation created a tremendous opposition, and it required energetic measures to overcome the objectors.

The Prince of Tosa wished to replace the straw sandals of his soldiers with leather shoes ; but as any contact with the skin of an animal is looked upon as a defilement, excepting for *etas*, who are themselves impure, no one could be found who would undertake to make shoes of this kind. The prince finally overcame this resistance by promising, by an edict, titles of nobility to such shoemakers as should second his views of civilization.

During these two days, which have been entirely spent on foot or on horseback, we have gone to every part of the town and visited an immense number of temples and monuments, but unfortunately not half of those which the governor had inscribed on our itinerary. Our sanji, in consequence, is very much put out. He fears the displeasure of his chief ; and besides, he personally had set his heart on showing us certain stones and mystic inscriptions which had worked prodigies ; for, strange to say, or less strange, perhaps, than one might fancy, this man, all free-thinker as he is, believes in the most absurd miracles. But in spite of his regrets, he took very good care not to press us to stay. If it be true that Kiyôto is the hot-bed of the conservative and anti-European opposition, we ought to congratulate ourselves that no disagreeable adventure has troubled the sojourn of two white travellers like ourselves wandering alone in the heart of Japan.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAKE OF BIVA.—FROM THE 25th TO THE 27th OF SEPTEMBER.

Otsû.—The Lake.—Ishiyama.—The Governor and his Dai-sanji.—Owaku.
Udji.—Return to Osaka.—The Arts in Japan.

AT peep of day the sanji and his subordinate make their appearance in my bedroom. They are come to wish me good-bye and have resumed their handsome Japanese dress. We can hardly recognize them, so completely have they the look of high-bred gentlemen in their natural costume. I cannot help complimenting them on the subject, which does not please them at all, as they pique themselves on their likeness to Europeans.

We started at eight o'clock. Preceded, surrounded, and followed by an escort of guards of honour, and spies (who drove us to despair), we crossed the great bridge of Kanagawa, and entered a mountainous gorge to the east of the town. In less than forty minutes we have attained the highest point of the defile, and turning to the north, descend rapidly towards a little plain. That part of the Tokaido which we are now following is like the high street of a populous town. Nothing can be more busy than the scene: foot-passengers, travellers, messengers, (those Mercuries of Japan), men bearing great baskets of fish, which they have brought from the great lake, or the Northern Sea, coolies with their long bamboos, women, pilgrims, and a great number of carts drawn by oxen. The road is very well kept. Flagstones, placed transversely, preserve it from the ravages of the mountain torrents and

heavy storms which are so frequent at certain seasons; the wheels of the carts leave deep traces on the stone.

The great suburb of Yamashina occupies the centre of a little table-land formed by the two crests of the mountain-chain, which, running from south-east to north-west, divides Kiyôto valley from that of the great lake. We leave the Tokaido to take a shorter cross road, which, however, is more mountainous. We are going in the direction of north-north-west. The country has the general character of Japan, but it is less smiling. However, one sees everywhere cultivated fields. Following the windings of a narrow gorge, of which the flanks are cultivated up to the top by a succession of little terraces, and passing by rice-fields, which seem to be hung between the rocks, with thickets of bamboo, laurels, and maples, we reach the second crest of the mountains at about half-past nine. Then, after a short but very steep descent, we arrive at the great temple and first houses of the town of Otsû. The distance from Kiyôto is three *ris*; or a little more than eight miles.

The temple of Midêra, of the Tendais sect, is one of the most considerable Buddhist establishments in Japan. Its foundation dates from the ninth century. Its revenues are 50,000 *kokus* of rice, representing a value of 40,000 *rios*, or more than 120,000 francs; an enormous sum, if you consider the present high price of specie. The Government, in consequence, is about to remodel the convent, and to reduce the bonzes to 300. Long, steep stone staircases lead up to the temple. The sanctuaries, the priests' houses, and the pilgrims' quarters are admirably kept up. Round the whole are the usual magnificent trees, like all the other sacred woods, but which one is never weary of admiring. Our yakunins told us laughing that women are only admitted into the garden once a year, for fear they should trouble the devotions of the priests. The great curiosity of this place and the glory and joy of the monks is a huge bell covered with inscriptions in Japanese characters, which dates from the first centuries of our era. Like all the bells of these temples, it is placed on a high wooden scaffolding; a kind of weighted battering-ram, hung close by, replaces the clapper. Whilst we are lounging about, enjoying the cool shade of the beautiful trees, curious and

somewhat lugubrious sounds fall on our ears, softened by distance, but evidently coming from the neighbouring heights. We are told that they are the trumpets of the *tendaïte*, priests who are wandering over the mountains seeking for and calling on their gods. But what most of all attracted my attention was this great mysterious lake, so rarely beheld by Europeans. The *ken* of Otsû, which is the capital of the province, is placed on the slope of the mountain which runs down to the lake. The lower part of the town stretches towards the shore. Seen from our present point, Otsû only presents a confused mass of grey and black roofs. Immediately after the last houses, to the east and south, rise magnificently-wooded mountains, the narrow gorges of which give access to the town. Before us, from west to north, above the sombre roofs of the houses, lies the lake, placid, silent, and solitary; not a sail enlivens its grey waters; only in the far distance we perceive to our surprise, a black, spiral column of smoke from the funnel of a steamer which is approaching. To our left, towards the north, low promontories richly cultivated, and groups of trees, forming a succession of little bays, break the line of the lake. They are the last spurs of the mountains, and prevent our seeing the extreme northern end of it. In front of us, towards the east, is spread a line of low hills, surmounted by the peaks of a high chain of mountains called Shigarakidane, which, running from south to north, forms the eastern border of the basin. These fantastic-shaped rocks, barren and bare, and, which is rare in Japan, without trees,—though, I am told, covered with lichens,—fall sheer down into the lake, their precipitous sides surmounted by peaks or domes. Thus, while the western shores of this sheet of water have all the charms of an idyllic poem, the opposite banks revel in a kind of wild and savage grandeur. To the north-north-east, and on the limit of the horizon, is another distant chain of mountains. One can clearly distinguish their outlines in spite of the distance and their blue tints, which are nearly as light as the sky. This chain forms a kind of natural dyke against the furious blasts of the North Sea which dashes against its base.

The Lake of Biva—literally, “*a lute with four strings*,”—which in the old Jesuit maps of the sixteenth century is marked *Oits* (Otsû), and some modern charts call *Omi*, form a

kind of irregular square, of which the length and breadth are from eighteen to nineteen *ris*: or forty-five to forty-eight miles. Its shores are tolerably well peopled. The most important points are the little towns of Hadjemanje on the east bank, and on the northern, Hikoneno-Mayebara, and Kaitsu. From this last place to Tsûruga, the nearest port to the North Sea, the distance is not more than seven *ris*: or about seventeen miles. A traveller leaving Otsû in the morning by the steamer, and walking the rest of the way, would easily reach Tsûruga in the evening. The distance from Ôsaka to Kiyôto is twelve *ris*; from Kiyôto to Otsû three *ris*; from Otsû to Hikoneno eighteen *ris*; from Hikoneno to Tsûruga seven *ris*; in all forty *ris*; or one hundred English miles. One must deduct the windings of the road, which are very considerable in the mountains; and those on the Yodogawa River, whereby the distance from Ôsaka to Tsûruga would be much diminished. Thus the heart of the principal islands of Japan, which extend in a diagonal line from the 34th to the 42nd degree of latitude, is composed of a great sheet of water separated from the two seas only by a narrow chain of mountains—strange configuration! of which the globe, I think, contains few other examples.

On the northern bank of the lake silkworms are largely cultivated. The cocoons are sent to Otsû, and from thence to Ôsaka and Hiôgo. For some little time a company of native shareholders has established three steamers which leave Otsû in the morning, make the tour of the lake, and return at night. They have absorbed all the traffic, and are the cause of the disappearance of the sailing ships.

At Yokohama the fertile imagination of certain speculators has conjured up a wonderful picture of the fertility of this soil, the possible development of trade, and the superabundance of population in these regions, which they have never visited. To believe their statements, this enormous amount of produce only needs an outlet. It is a sort of Promised Land which must be opened to civilization and European commerce. The Government of Yedo, entering, to a certain extent, into their views, has sent, as we have seen, an English engineer to Kiyôto. He is employed to make a plan for a new line of railroad from this town to Ôsaka, and to prolong it eventually to Tsûruga. Without wishing in any way to prejudge the

development of which the agriculture and commerce of this part of Japan may be susceptible, I own that this solitary sheet of water, surrounded by rocks and rice-fields, and to the north only, by some mulberry plantations, that this much vaunted lake, I say, of which the whole traffic is easily done by three little steamers, does not seem to me to accord with the brilliant hopes of the speculators of Yokohama; or to be likely to reward the pecuniary sacrifices, which these projects, if realized, will entail on the state treasury, already so impoverished from other causes.¹

A little boat took us to the other side of the lake. On running along the southern shore, we passed by a great feudal castle. The proprietor, one of the principal daimios of the province, and a partisan of the new ideas, has asked for and obtained the permission to demolish his old castle and its appendages in order to bring the land under cultivation. Everywhere one meets with signs of the working of reforms in men's minds. We are nearing the spot where the Yodogawa rises out of this lake. It is here called Setogawa, and flows first towards the east, bathes the feet of the mountains which divide Kiyôto from the lake, crosses the province of Udji, of which it takes the name (Udjigawa), then turns towards the west, till it arrives at Fujimi, to flow afterwards towards the south under the name of Yodogawa, and then empties itself near Osaka into the Pacific. At a little distance from its rising in the lake it forms a little island, which the Tokaido crosses on two bridges. These bridges and this spot are exactly described by Dr. Kaempfer.² We passed under one of these bridges, and coasting along the delicious banks of Setogawa, arrived at a little village coquettishly placed on the edge of the water at the foot of a steep rock, surrounded by large trees, and bearing on its summit the old and celebrated temple of the granite mountain, Ishiyama. The distance from Otsû is two *ris*, or five miles.

¹ These details about the Lake of Biva were given me by the bonzes of Midêra, by the Vice-Governor of Otsû, and by several other competent authorities in this town. They are identical with the accounts I obtained at Kiyôto and Ishiyama. I therefore have every reason to think that they are founded on truth.

² In 1691.

This temple, of which the foundations are lost in the night of ages, is like the Asakusa of Yedo, consecrated to the goddess Kwanon. Its antiquity is shown by the simplicity of its construction, the grey shade of its woodwork, and the absence of all ornament in the columns which support the roof. But on consulting my notes on other temples and the chronological information given to me, I cannot believe that the actual temple is older than the twelfth century. A *tempietto* with two roofs put on like parasols, the lower one ending in a flat cupola, charmed me by the elegance of the design and the clever way in which the architect had made the beams work into each other, the ends being richly sculptured and forming the sole but graceful ornament of this little gem. The merit consists in the way in which the architecture is adapted to wood, as I have often before remarked. A little house, raised above the ground, on poles, several feet high, holds the archives or *dépôt* of their holy scriptures, and strikes us by its simple and ingenious construction. I had never seen anything like it. Mr. Ensle, who has visited the ports of Manchouria and the Russian establishments in the North Pacific, tells me that this little building is of the same type as the cottages in Siberia. If it be so, the fact is very curious, and, like many other things in this enigma of Japan, lays down problems which no one at present can solve.

From the summit where we are now standing, the view embraces the northern shore of the lake. We admire, as we did at Kiyôto, the clear, transparent, soft tints of the atmosphere.

Before the temple we met three young girls, dressed with great elegance and evidently belonging to the upper classes. In passing before us, they turned their heads and hid their faces behind their fans; an indispensable precaution, according to the imperial functionaries, for young girls who have not yet blackened their teeth or pulled out their eyebrows; prudence requiring that their wonderful beauty should be hidden from the looks of bold barbarians.

The little village of Ishiyama is, what it appears, a simple place of pilgrimage. It consists of a single row of houses backed by the mountain and looking upon the river. Almost all the houses are inns, and very well kept. Before them is an

avenue of dwarf conifers, and at short distances, stone lanterns and little altars, which add to the essentially ecclesiastical character of the spot. Here and there are some small sheds where they sell rosaries and miracle pictures of the sanctuary. Little children are playing in the streets ; men are lounging about under the pine-trees. Pilgrims come and go. Everybody looks with stupefaction but not with malevolence at the two strange beings comfortably installed in the veranda of the tea-house, and seated, not on their heels, but on chairs and round a table ornamented with vases filled with flowers. They are the same articles of furniture with which we made acquaintance at Fujimi, and which have been, ever since, our useful and inseparable companions. A profound stillness reigns over air, earth, and water. Everything breathes of the *sanctitas loci*.

On returning at nightfall to Otsû we received the visit of the Chi-ken-ji (governor of the *ken*). He was a silent and timid young man. Before speaking or answering our questions, he looked anxiously at the dai-san-ji, who was his right hand, probably also his factotum, his mentor, his spy and the being whom he seeks, fears, and detests the most ; the man who embitters his days, but without whom these very days of office and power would perhaps be counted ! Alongside of this specimen of timid official authority, the ease and ready talk of the dai-san-ji formed a marked contrast. But the one is necessary to the other, and I suppose that at Otsû, as elsewhere, public affairs go on smoothly enough.

September 26.—At seven o'clock in the morning we return the visit of the Chi-ken-ji, which brings us back to the temple of Midêra, for it is there he is lodged. He occupies the apartment of the high priest, since the Government has taken possession of part of the convent on the ordinary pretexts : "We want room for the public offices and there are more monks than are necessary. Besides, the pontiff is an absentee—he is always making excursions." I committed the indiscretion of questioning the governor on this subject and the dai-san-ji had the goodness to answer. In other countries, when they suppress religious houses, similar explanations are given. Only, in Japan they are more frank, "And the high priest," I asked the governor, "is he pleased at seeing you installed in

his apartment?" The poor ken-ji looked at his sanji with a scared expression. This last answered smiling: "No; but we are the strongest."

To-day we are to cross a country hitherto unvisited by any European.

Departure from Otsû at twenty minutes past eight o'clock. Direction south-east. Arrival at the village of Oiwiki at nine o'clock.—Here we left the Tokaido to turn towards the east, to the Udji district, famous for its tea, which is the best in Japan. I am travelling on horseback and it is pouring with rain; but the temperature is soft and pleasant. We passed by a great market-town, Daijingoji, where we saw a great temple in the middle of a sacred wood of great extent and surrounded with a fine white wall. We went on through a succession of villages and temples inclosed in the like manner and all bearing the stamp of an old and refined civilization. At eleven o'clock we halted at Tissômura, another considerable market-town. Departure at midday. Half-an-hour after we are at Owaku—that is, before the portal of one of the most renowned Buddhist temples. It consists of the usual amount of courts and separate buildings. In one of the largest halls is an altar, in the form of a table, on which are the ordinary objects:—a great vase in the centre, with the branch of a tree; before the vase an incense-burner. On either side, a small and a large candlestick; at the two extreme ends, other vases of a purely classic design, filled with the most beautiful flowers. Behind the altar, on three isolated pedestals or terms, in the Italian *baroque* style of the seventeenth century, are three large statues of gilt wood: the one, a colossal figure in the middle, representing Shaka, the Buddha of Japan: the two others, as large as life, his two favourite disciples, Anan and Kashu. Buddha is sitting: but they have not given him his usual *pose* of supreme quiet: he is lifting his right hand to give benediction. A great aureola or nimbus, in the form of an elliptical conch-shell, starts from the pedestal and forms a sort of niche round the god. The two disciples are absorbed in adoration. Anan turns his face towards his master lifting up to him his clasped hands. Kashu has his hands bent and his head slightly inclined forward. The attitudes and expressions of both figures may be seen in any Catholic church. All along the

lateral walls of the hall are seated, on a kind of platform, eighteen statues, nine on each side. They are also of gilt wood, and the size of life. In these *chefs-d'œuvre* of Japanese statuary may be traced all that characterises art in this nation—respect for truth, a strong feeling for nature, technical perfection, a taste for contortion, and with the grotesqueness, a certain decided amount of *humour*. Some of these heads are monstrous, and yet true to life—terrible, and yet ridiculous at the same time. But such as they are, no one can deny their artistic value.

We leave the temple at one o'clock. The weather has cleared, and we enjoy the beauty of the scenery, always composed of the same elements, but to which, since leaving Owaku, tea-plantations are added. A large dike is carried across them, and leads us to the banks of the Udjigawa, which, flowing precipitately through a narrow-wooded gorge, runs through the plain, which it does not leave till it empties itself into the sea. In front is Udji, the chief town of the district, which produces the best tea in Japan. A ferry-boat takes us to the opposite side. Before visiting the plantations, we rest in a pretty little hotel adjoining. I must say that nothing can be more ugly than the grounds devoted to the cultivation of tea;—rows upon rows of stiff little bushes, arranged in squares, the spaces between full of manure, and everywhere the most detestable and mephitic smell.

At Udji our guard of honour left us to return to Otsû. It is a grave infraction of their orders, for they were told to follow us to Osaka. But, thanks to the eloquence of Mr. Enslye, we have got rid of them, and now breathe freely. One can scarcely believe the importunity of these men. Neither during the journey nor during our halts will they leave us in peace for a single instant.

At half-past three we started in a boat. The shores get flatter as the river gets wider. After having glided gently between islands covered with grass, we passed under the Fujimi bridge; and the darkness not allowing our wretched boat to go further, we disembarked towards seven o'clock on the right bank of the stream, which already here takes the name of Yodogawa. From this solitary spot to the village of Yâvata they reckon half a *ris*. Our servants having gone on

before us in another boat, Mr. Enslie decided to remain in charge of our property till I could send him back some one to fetch it ; and so I started with two of the boatmen, carrying a lantern, hoping to reach the village on foot. The night is dark ; it rains in torrents ; the only road is at the top of a high dike, hardly a foot wide, with the river running on one side, and a marsh on the other. The ground is soaking. At every step I slip, and leave my shoes in the mud. At last one of the boatmen takes me on his back. Resting his hands on the back of his comrade, who walks first to find out where it is safe to place one's foot—always on the point of falling either into the river on one side or the marsh on the other, and stumbling at each step, this good fellow still goes on without falling. After this procession had lasted twenty-five minutes—it seemed to me an hour—we perceived in the distance a bright light. This was the inn. I was received with open arms. Men, women, and children, cluster round me, look at me with immense curiosity, ask me half-a-hundred questions, which I don't understand, and overwhelm me with care and kindness. In half-a-minute, and in spite of my protestations, I am, *coram populo*, deprived of my streaming clothes, and plunged into a bath of water hot enough to boil a lobster. Then they pour cold water over me. This is the Japanese fashion, and it is a capital one. I am wrapped up in a new tunic belonging to the innkeeper, and left on a fresh matting in the best room, where some cups of boiling Udji tea set me up altogether.

The distance from Otsû is eight *ris*, or twenty miles.

September 27.—We are rapidly going down the river. At twelve o'clock we had reached the first houses of Osaka, and at half-past one we had landed in the foreigners' quarter. This will give an idea of the extent of this the third town of the empire.

Whilst our little junk was gliding quietly between the banks of the Yodogawa, and I was lying at the bottom of the boat, I began to think over the art treasures I had seen in this country, and jotted down in my note-book the following reflections :—Kiyôto, Kamakura, and Yedo possess the temples most renowned for their antiquity, richness, and beauty of construction. The sanctuaries of Kamakura have been partially destroyed.

Among the tombs, those of the Shiba hold the first rank, and are, with the *château* of Taiko-Sama and the two temples at Kiyôto, the greatest *chefs-d'œuvre* of Japanese art. Round the two capitals of the east and west are grouped a number of sanctuaries of the first class. The districts to the east of Kiyôto, between the Lake of Biwa and the north of the Yodogawa valley, are covered with sacred woods and temples. That of Owaku is the pearl of the whole. At Nikkô, to the north of Yedo, there are some Siogun tombs, and to the east of Kiyôto some of the Mikados, which I could not manage to visit. But saving these two necropoli (very inferior, they tell me, to that of Shiba) I have seen all the most celebrated monuments of Japan. As to the different art productions, Kiyôto is their great centre. Yedo only holds a secondary rank. I was able to see and examine a mass of different objects. Nagasaki has the monopoly of the manufactory of vases, but which, in the actual state of this branch of commerce, can hardly be counted among works of art.

Now we will sum up our impressions.

Architecture.—This word perhaps is misapplied. The temples, castles, palaces, middle-class houses, and poor cottages, all are composed of the same elements—a flooring raised a certain number of feet above the soil (which is a necessary precaution against damp and reptiles), then four or more vertical beams, and a heavy roof. The partition walls are only frames covered with paper, running in a groove. The outside wall is replaced by wooden shutters, fastened during the night. In the temples, castles, and yashkis, there is, besides, a real wall of stone, covered with cement. All the rest is in wood. It is the most primitive construction possible, and at the same time the most suited to the climate, and to the financial position of the nation. It resists earthquakes and typhoons infinitely better than the stone houses of the Europeans. It is more exposed to the danger of fire; but even if injured or destroyed by fire, wind, or the earth's convulsions, the evil is remedied both promptly and easily. The terrible typhoon of the 24th of August in this very year, had destroyed in Yedo half the suburb of Takanawa; it had also done much damage at Yokohama, in the European quarter, and especially at "The Bluffs." One of the English government buildings, the residence of the

judge, was entirely uncovered, and threatened with actual ruin. in spite and perhaps on account of the solidity of its walls, The repairs will last for months, and cost considerable sums ; while the reconstruction of the Takanawa houses was nearly completed when, only nine days after the disaster, I returned to Yedo. Architecture, then, in the ordinary sense of the term, does not exist at present among the Japanese ; but they adapt themselves to circumstances, and possess, in the highest degree, the understanding of the material which they most employ—that is, wood.^{*}

Sculpture.—The greatest *chefs-d'œuvre* which Japan has produced in this line, in my opinion, are, the Daibutsu, near Kamâkura, a work in bronze ; and the wooden statues of Owaku ; also, though in another way, the figures representing the forty-seven *ronins*. Those of Asakusa also deserve mention. The Greek sculpture of the golden age aspired to absolute beauty, and tried to realize the ideal of human perfection. The great Italian masters of the Renaissance followed a more complex idea. They, too, sought for ideal beauty, but with an *arrière-pensée* ; they wished to subordinate beauty to a symbol indirectly expressing the dominant idea of the times or of the individual who had ordered the work. Thus, for example, Michaelangelo, who was employed to execute the tomb of Julius II., compares this Pope to Moses, who becomes, under the hand of the master, the symbol of divine inspiration and superhuman strength. On looking at this unique creation one feels seized, as it were, by fear. One looks down, surprised and intimidated at the sight of the supernatural. Beauty and truth are sacrificed to grandeur. The Japanese sculptor tries to render the different emotions of the soul ; the absolute quiet of Shaka (Buddha), the ecstasy or the profound recollection of his disciples ; a gentle and yet sarcastic melancholy ; fear, anger, hatred, surprise, gaiety, rarely tenderness. The naked form, that great problem of ancient statuary, has no interest for him ; he only produces it as a portrait. But when he sets

^{*} Last spring (1872) a fire destroyed another great quarter of Yedo. The government ordered that the houses should be rebuilt in the European style. This innovation supposes a change of climate, a total transformation in the habits of the country, and, what is more serious, a great increase of pecuniary resources, which at present are altogether wanting.

himself to do it, he succeeds. Not that he has studied anatomy, of which the very name is unknown to him; and besides, no Japanese can touch a corpse without being defiled. But he has the nude constantly before his eyes; living bodies whose muscles are constantly stretched either in carrying weights, or in handling an oar, or in lifting some heavy object—not models whose *pose* is always forced and put on for the occasion. His works consequently, however imperfect they may be in other ways, have a quality which is often wanting in our modern statuary; they have animation, real life. In general, a Japanese artist looks for truth before beauty. Like the painter and the poet, he is, they say, a humorist. But his *humour* makes itself felt less in the attitudes of his subjects than in the expression of their faces. He exaggerates, it is true, but it is only in a certain degree and without sinning against taste. In his reproductions of animals he excels; he knows how to give to their faces and even to their attitudes a reflection of human passions and affections. No one can look at these productions, which are at the same time droll, touching, and childish, with an astonishingly technical *maestria*—no one can look at them, I repeat, without feeling inclined to laugh; only this laugh is kept back by surprise and admiration and a feeling of half sadness. But that is precisely what constitutes *humour*. They seize at the same time the comic and the grave side of everything. The result is a conflict of feelings which pique the curiosity and please the eye; and hence a kind of tension of mind mingled with an agreeable stirring of the soul. It is like something in cooking, between sweet and sour, or between cold and hot. Anyhow it is a great refinement which one is astonished to find in a half-savage nation.

Goldsmith's work—Bronzes.—It is at Kiyôto, especially, that these two arts have been the best preserved. The bronzes manufactured for the English market and sold at Yokohama are miserably inferior. They are slop-work, of which the only merit formerly consisted in the difficulty of procuring anything better; but which now has no business to exist.

Painting.—It treats of heaven and hell, earth and water, creatures both animate and inanimate. Indian theology passing from the banks of the Ganges to China, from China to the Corea, and from the Corea to Japan, left some of its terrors

behind it and accommodated itself to the taste of this childish race, which likes to laugh and cry at the same time. More than this, the world has changed. The gods have left the ethereal heights of Olympus; and if they are not gone down to the very last scale, if no Japanese Offenbach has yet been found to make them dance to the profane sounds of his bow, it is not the less true that the days of their reign are numbered. I have not found a single man of rank or education, who, when talking of religion, did not use the language of the great philosophers of the last century. "Shaka? The gods? bah! They are all the invention of the priests! We have a little more sense than to believe in them, and laugh both at the priests and their gods; but it is very good for the people."

One understands that with such Mæcenases, religious art and sacred painting and sculpture can scarcely be said to flourish. They still manufacture and sell to the common people, for half a *tempo*, a quantity of images of gods in a rage, with green or red faces, seated on a dragon, vomiting flames, brandishing their swords, or fighting to the death. But the gentlemen who wear silk tunics, especially if they have any pretensions to learning, make a mock of them all. I saw plenty of proof of this when I was shopping at Yedo and Yokohama. We must leave then the representations of heaven and hell, or rather of purgatory, for Buddhism will not admit the doctrine of eternal punishment. Let us pass to real life, to the art of painting, such as it is practised to-day, without excluding the old pictures, none of which seem to me to be anterior to the seventeenth century. All that I have said of sculptors applies equally to painters, with this difference, that with the latter *humour* has a wider field. But even their exaggeration and love for the grotesque is kept within bounds by a respect for truth and an earnest desire to copy nature.

There is one point on which I ought not to be silent. It is generally believed in Europe that perspective is unknown to Japanese artists. I have seen and mentioned above several *chefs-d'œuvre* of art; three pictures of the date of Taiko-Sama which prove the contrary. How are we to believe that artists so clever in reproducing and copying nature exactly had no eyes for the effects produced by distance? This is inadmissible. There is no doubt that they are ignorant of the laws of geo-

metry, and in consequence, of the strict rules of perspective ; just as their sculptors have no idea of anatomy, which does not prevent their modelling very correctly ; but if their painters would, they could reproduce, with more or less exactitude, all the effects of a landscape as it is presented to the eye. There are in Europe a number of landscape-painters who have never studied perspective, but who, by intuition or the habit of copying, arrive at producing correct drawings. For my part, I believe that the Japanese painter purposely sets aside the rules of perspective. With us, art is put to the service of the Church, of the state, of the rich and elegant world, of all classes in easy circumstances. Here the painter works for everybody : he wishes to and must be understood by the people. Well, the people in all countries understand little or nothing of perspective. On the part of the artist as of the public, perspective supposes and exacts a certain amount of mental work and cultivation of mind. Put before any ordinary peasant a picture of his own village—the fountain, the old trees, and above, the spire of the belfry. The man, quite puzzled, will not understand what you show him, and will be vexed at not finding in the picture the old church, or the town-hall, or such and such a building which is the glory of the inhabitants. You strive in vain to explain to him that this is impossible, as these objects are hidden by the trees and the fountain. He will not be the less disappointed. Then to satisfy this good fellow, you get upon a high ground from whence you can look over the whole village. You can then bring in all the principal buildings ; but take care not to represent them as you see them—that is, in a bird's-eye view. The villagers do not understand the foreshortening of objects. To satisfy them, therefore, you must set aside all rules of perspective. This is even more necessary in interiors, which are so much liked by the Japanese public, for here the artist must unite in one small space several groups of persons ; and unless you paint them all of a row, or one above the other, one group must hide the others. This explanation is only a hypothesis, and as such I note it down in my journal. But I affirm that Japanese painters all know or have understood perspective.

There are three kinds of painting—historical, landscape, and screens. As to lacquered objects and vases of modern

china, they cannot be reckoned amidst art productions. Historical paintings, besides the mythological subjects mentioned above, perpetuate according to certain traditional forms, facts, and events known to the people. Then there come illustrations of the most popular novels, pictures which are in themselves perfectly innocent, but which represent scenes that are not so. A great number of these drawings and sketches represent only a woman or a girl's head. They are always portraits, most often of courtesans, done by or for their adorners. It would never occur to any of them to order an artist to paint the face of a woman only for her beauty, not even a Gabrielle d'Estrées, unless he were her Henry IV. Pictures of certain celebrated beauties are now and then to be found in shops ; but they owe their origin, not to the worship of abstract beauty or artistic feeling, but to some personal or family motive.

Their landscapes, both in design and colouring, are very inferior to their figures. But as "collective portraits," if I may be forgiven the expression, they are invaluable. I bought a great number of these coloured drawings, rather coarsely done, of which the subjects are taken from the streets of Yedo. They are not views ; vainly have I hunted for any places that they may represent ! Such places simply do not exist ; though the painting admirably renders the general character of the subject. Houses, bridges, canals, trees, figures, everything is there. Looking at these drawings, anyone who knew the place would exclaim, "Here we are at Yedo !" Even as a likeness (though always generalized) the finest of M. Beato's photographs will not bear comparison.

Fan-painting demands a separate notice, for its productions are spread among every class in the nation, from the Mikado down to the poorest coolie. It is a trade ; but it is also an art, where you find reproduced all the characteristic signs of Japanese statuary and painting. Cheapness is the first consideration. If some of the fans are dear, I never myself saw any. The carved ivory fans, which pass in Europe for being Japanese, are all made in China. Those painted in this country are all of paper, and represent every conceivable subject : scenes from novels, Fujiyama, the plants and trees of Japan, the four seasons, works of agriculture, the temples of Yedo and Kiyôto, the plans of these towns, and other similar subjects. All these

come naturally. But there are other designs still more simple and graceful which excite one's curiosity, and strike one by the contrast presented between the scantiness of the principal object and the immense space given to the groundwork. As an example : a stork holding a fish in its beak. It skims over the waves of the sea, of which the horizon is lost to sight—which adds to the impression of the infinite. Another fan : a starry sky, or else a dark sky with the sun setting on one side and the moon rising on the other,—one, two, or three little birds are flying—one asks oneself where they are going. The effect is always curiosity mingled with anxiety ; and it is produced by the simplest elements : a little bit of triangular paper, some Chinese ink, and three or four colours at the outside. Add that these little *chefs-d'œuvre* are sold for a few centimes. I have then reason to say that art has penetrated to the lowest classes.

I have already mentioned in my first volume, that art is cultivated by the upper classes, and that you find artists among women ; but I also remarked that their productions are more like a clever trick, in which certain subjects are learned by heart, or varied according to the inspiration of the moment. I do not think I am mistaken in thinking that the best of the modern drawings (saving some caricatures of locomotives, telegraph posts, strangers in European customs, with red whiskers, &c.) are simply feeble reproductions of the past. In these days no one invents anything new. The gift seems exhausted—a characteristic sign of decadence. To prove this inferiority one has only to compare what is done to-day with the works of ancient art, of which the finest are in Europe, where they have been sent by the Dutch from Detsima.

The Japanese themselves own the fact, but the explanation they give is as shallow as themselves. Rich people, they say, no longer pay as they used to do. To be able to live an artist must produce a great deal, and in consequence must work fast. He has no longer the time to work well. If that were true, it would be the consequence, not the cause, of the decay of art. But, on the contrary, amateurs pay very dear ; and the proof is in the extraordinarily high prices which are given for the beautiful things made at Kiyôto. But it is quite true that rich people do not like to buy second-rate articles at the same price

as their fathers gave for *chefs-d'œuvre*. Everywhere there is a demand for something original, and the artists of to-day do not know what to invent; so they only reproduce, and that imperfectly, the old forms of which everyone is tired. What has been preserved is a gift which Heaven alone can bestow—taste and perfect *comme-il-faut* in little things.

In Japan, there are neither workshops, nor academies, nor picture-sellers. Art is transmitted in the same families from father to son. Hence its stereotyped character. Ordinarily, an amateur who gives an order, calls the artist, pays him three or five rios (eighteen or thirty francs) a month, boards and lodges him during all his work-time, and in return expects a certain number of pictures, which, painted on silk or paper, are kept rolled up, or else are pasted on little bamboo rods, and hung in a niche, or on the immovable part of the partition in the best room of the house. It was just in this way that Murillo, passing five years in one Seville monastery and ten in another, produced his masterpieces, and painfully and miserably gained the aureola of immortality.

CHAPTER VIII.

NAGASAKI.—FROM THE 28th SEPTEMBER TO THE 2nd OCTOBER.

Papenberg.—Detsima.—Native Christians.—Political position of Japan.

September 28.—After spending a very pleasant day at Hiôgo with the English consul, Mr. Gower, and his friends, I embarked in the night on board the American steamer, *New York*, Captain Furber, one of the most amiable men I have ever met on board ship.

September 29.—The *New York* set sail at three in the morning, and steamed away for what is called the *inner sea*. At sunrise I was on deck. On both sides are conical islands and to the south rise the high mountains of Shikoku.

At two o'clock we are before Mehara, situated on the continent, that is, on the great island of Nippon. Steaming close to the shore, we pass before the great feudal castle or yashki of the Prince of Kiushiu: to the eye, it seems only like a huge high wall, pierced at equal distances by great gateways. The prince is there; armed men swarm the gates and on the shore. Close to it is the *han*, or principal village of the fief. On board, all round me, people are asking themselves if all this power will really crumble away like the walls of Jericho, before the new edicts from Yedo. The *New York* keeps to its regulation speed of ten miles an hour. The scenery, everywhere renowned for its indefinable beauty, is similar to what I have before described. The sea, which to-day is like glass, is half river and half lake. Everywhere we see a number of extinct volcanos, flanked by rounded blocks like the waves of.

the ocean. An abundant vegetation covers them from head to foot. The sides of the gorges are cultivated in terraces ; the tops of the mountains are crowned with fine trees. Between their trunks one sees the blue sky. Compared to the mountains, the trees appear gigantic, and yet, seen through the veiled and hazy atmospheric prism, the mountains seem both distant and high. This is a strange optical effect, which accounts for some of the oddities in Japanese painting. Very often what seems to us extraordinary, is only a faithful reproduction of nature.

The shore is indented with a thousand little bays, in the depths of which rise up white houses and villages and fishermen's huts. Boats swarm in the little creeks and all along the tiny piers which run out into the water. Above the roofs you catch a glimpse of the mountain peaks standing out against the sky. Steps cut in the rock lead to the temples buried in the thick foliage of the sacred woods. From time to time the deep and lugubrious sounds of the gong, calling upon their gods, break the silence and stillness of the lake.

September 30.—The finest part of this interior sea is the Strait of Shimonoséki, known in Europe as the scene of the attack of the English and French squadrons (in 1864). Unfortunately we passed it a few hours before the sun rose. On the other hand, to-day's voyage is even more varied and beautiful than that of yesterday, and changes with every turn of the wheel of our little steamer. The sea widens as well as the horizon. To the south is the island of Firando, celebrated for the preaching of St. Francis Xavier, the outlines of which are more than usually fantastic. The mountains of the great Kiushiu island, which play such an important part in the history of the day, form an imposing background. The scattered rocks are pierced by grottoes and caves, where the waves break and roar. Some of them, deprived of all vegetation, but crowned with tufts of gigantic trees, are like giants' heads with shocks of rough hair, which a master-hand has sketched boldly on a sheet of grey paper. One of these islands seems to have white rays from top to bottom. They are deep crevices inhabited by millions of white sea-birds.

We are at the entrance of the Bay of Nagasaki. A high,

long mountain stretches like a green curtain behind a labyrinth of little islands. One of them, which is simply a sheer wall crowned with trees, is Papenberg. It was from the height of this rock that, in 1638, 4,000 Christians were precipitated into the sea. Here, therefore, the only civilization in Japan was destroyed. To-day Papenberg is the rendezvous and the object of the expeditions of the European residents of Nagasaki. "We make all our pic-nics there," one of them said to me. Of the 4,000 martyrs he seemed to have no kind of remembrance.

At five o'clock the *New York* cast anchor in the harbour of Nagasaki. The town rises like an amphitheatre. To the east is the European quarter, which trenches on the waters of the bay, the soil having been reclaimed from the sea at considerable cost. On the highest point stands the Catholic church, shaded by a magnificent acacia, and the imposing buildings of the English Consulate. Below is Detsima, the former Dutch factory, and behind it, the native town, the whole surrounded by high green mountains. The sea is like a lake. Several foreign men-of-war and other large ships, with a multitude of junks, enliven the roadstead.

I left autumn at Yedo and Hiôgo; here I find summer. Seated on the deck of our steamer, breathing with delight the soft and perfumed air, we are enjoying the indescribable beauty of an almost tropical night. Together with the perfumes of the forest the sounds of music are wafted to us by the evening breeze. It is the band of the *Ocean* frigate which is playing "God Save the Queen," "Weber's Waltz," and other dances. We are both charmed and touched; it is like a breath of Europe.

October 1.—I made the round of the town. The shops and offices of the European merchants, which are closed to-day, being Sunday, occupy the lower part of the strangers' quarter. Their houses, surrounded by gardens, are scattered in and out of the mountain gorges or crown the heights. Here, as at Yokohama and Hiôgo, the complaints as to the stagnation of trade are universal. On the other hand, the English, French, and American squadrons from the China seas constantly visit this port, and the steamers of the Pacific Company touch here

regularly. The church, which is served by priests belonging to the Foreign Missionary College at Paris, was full of sailors and soldiers from the English frigate, but the rest of the congregation consisted of three men (including myself), and not a single woman.

The former Dutch factory at Detsima^{*} can be seen in all its length in about three minutes. It is only a few steps wide. Except the house, which is now occupied by the Netherlands consul, all the rest is posterior to the last fire, which, thirteen years ago, entirely destroyed the old establishment, or rather the narrow prison of the Dutch merchants. These men never dared to quit it, and were always watched. Everyone knows the sad and disgraceful part which the members of this factory played at the time of the terrible persecution against the Christians. It is only to be explained by religious and political antipathies—the States-General being then at war with the crown of Spain, whose subjects the missionaries were,—by commercial rivalries, and by the wish of evicting the Portuguese, who at that time had flourishing counting-houses at several points in Japan. According to some Catholic authors, the Dutch indirectly helped in the extermination of the Catholic Christians, whether foreign or native. This fact is not proved; but what is certain is, that the Dutch never ceased to excite the suspicions of the Sioguns against the missionaries, accusing them of being the political agents of Spain, sent to prepare the people's minds for an intended invasion by the king. For this reason a great part of the fearful evils which fell upon the apostles and their neophytes must be laid to the charge of the Dutch. Not to be included in the ruin of the Christians, they strove in every possible way to make the Japanese understand the difference between the Protestant and the Catholic religion. They thus obtained and kept for more than two centuries the exclusive and lucrative monopoly of European commerce. On the other hand, their habitations were prisons, and their lives a misery. The magic power of gold alone can explain how they could submit to such tortures. Every four years a kind of embassy of obedience was to be sent to Yedo to the Siogun, and sometimes also to

^{*} Founded in 1638, and suppressed after the treaties in 1858 which opened the Port of Nagasaki to all nations.

the Mikado. I have already mentioned the German doctor, Engelbert Kaempffer, who was employed at the Detsima factory, and has become so celebrated by his excellent work on Japan. He has left us a most thrilling description of one of these forced embassies of which he formed a part. To judge by the exactness with which he describes the different localities, which I was able to verify on the spot, his veracity is indubitable. The delegate or ambassador of the factory and his suite travelled in closed norimons, and were always treated as state prisoners. They were received with certain honours, but, with very rare exceptions, they were not allowed to see anything. It required marvellous address on Kaempffer's part to observe and take notes of things as he did, and still more to make the furtive sketches which appear in his book. When admitted into the presence of the emperor—Siogun or Mikado—whom nevertheless they never saw, for he remained with the empress behind a grating,—the members of the embassy, saving the ambassador himself, who was exempted, were forced to perform a kind of theatrical representation. They were to talk to one another in their own language, abuse one another, feign to laugh, to fight, to be drunk, and to dance. It has been asserted that they were also compelled to trample on the cross. Kaempffer says nothing about this, and I suppose, until it is proved, it is better to disbelieve the accusation. But it is certain that several times at Nagasaki during the time of the great persecutions, this *ceremony* took place in the presence of the members of the factory, and that the sanjis, like well-educated men, had the delicacy to warn them of it beforehand so that they might look another way. - In the last years which preceded the opening of the Nagasaki port and the closing of the factory, the burlesque scenes of which I have spoken ceased to exist. The Sioguns were sufficiently edified by the Dutch way of quarrelling and getting drunk. It is fair, however, to call to mind that the government of the Netherlands was the first to stipulate in their last treaty with the Siogun for the abolition "of all such practices as were injurious to Christianity."

In the bazaar one may see the vases, once so celebrated, of the peculiar lacquered porcelain of Nagasaki. Quantities are still exported to the United States and to Europe.

The English Consulate is a large house, beautifully furnished. You might fancy yourself in the country-house of a nobleman of Old England. It is the luncheon hour. The *chi-fu-ji* (governor), his *dai-sanji*, with his interpreters, Captain Hewitt, of the *Ocean* and the different consuls, are all gathered round Mr. Annesley's hospitable table. The conversation turns on the reforms announced at Yedo. The governor is overwhelmed with questions. "Will all these innovations be accepted? Will there be resistance, or perhaps an insurrection? Will the daimios lend themselves to the enormous sacrifices asked of them? or will these grand edicts remain a dead letter?" To all these questions the governor and his *dai-sanji* give the same answers that the great functionaries gave to me at Yedo, Kiyôto, Otsû, and Hiôgo: "Everything will do well, and go on swimmingly." The winding-up invariably is, "that in three years the reforms will be accomplished." Evidently the government of Yedo knows how to give the word of command, and to enforce obedience on its agents. But will the daimios obey them? Will they be in a hurry, in pursuance of the public "order in council" of the Mikado, to perform this political and financial *hari-kari*? This is the point on which opinions are divided. During my last journey into the interior I heard that the great feudal lords had not the smallest intention of dispossessing themselves of their powers and authority—that they meant, on the contrary, to be stronger than ever. They laugh at the Yedo decrees. The Princes of Satsuma, Hizen, Chôshiu, and Toza, make believe, it is true, to sacrifice themselves to the cause of progress; but in reality they are only going to work it for their own benefit, and to share, with the leaders in the capital, the spoils of such of the daimios as are weak and simple enough to take these reforms seriously. "The chiefs of the four clans, or rather the makers of those chiefs who, with Iwakura, constitute the actual government" (said a man of high station to me), "have formed themselves into a kind of oligarchy, and hope to become the masters of the country. They ask great sacrifices of the daimios. The four princes feign to sacrifice themselves, all the time determining in their hearts to give little or nothing and gain a great deal. The future will prove if their calculation be justified, or if they will themselves fall into the pit they have dug for others."

An event which took place three weeks ago seems to confirm the general opinion in the provinces, that, until now, the ministers of the Mikado have not dared to insist, with the chiefs of the great clans, on obtaining the execution of the new decrees. There was a question of laying down the electric cable which was to unite Nagasaki with Shanghai. The company having asked the minister for the required authority, the latter answered, "that the point where the cable was to be fastened was on the territory of the Prince of Hizen, and that it was to him that the company were to address themselves." Now, Hizen is the chief of one of the four great clans which made the revolution of 1868, and are to-day the heads of the reform movement. There are, therefore, mysteries which one cannot possibly understand. On the other hand, a series of facts prove that the ideas of progress and reform gain strength from day to day. I mentioned how one daimio had levelled his castle to the ground to obtain a greater amount of arable land. Here it is remarked with satisfaction that a good many samurais show themselves disarmed in public, or armed with a single sword; some, because they fear to lose their rations of rice if they do not conform to the new regulations; others, because they have themselves embraced the new opinions. In either way, since these gentlemen have taken to walk about like ordinary citizens, there are fewer bloody quarrels, fewer murders, and far greater security for Europeans. I cannot pass over in silence what a personage of the country said to one of the consuls: "We have exchanged our bows and arrows for the guns and cannon of the Europeans because we have recognized their superiority. Perhaps the day will come when it will be the same thing with religion." This is a remarkable speech, disclosing, as it does, in few words, the frivolity of the innovators of the day, ready to sacrifice everything to their ideas of progress—customs, traditions, constitution, and even the religion of their country. They ignore the fact that all religion presupposes faith; and that faith takes its birth in the depths of the heart, and not in the calculations of worldly and material profit; and yet perhaps this prophecy may be realized. A clever member of the diplomatic corps of Yokohama said to me: "Before fifty years are over Japan will be a Christian country." That is possible. The innovators

who have roughly destroyed the idols of the people may create a belief in nothing ; and out of this nothingness may arise new aspirations and a desire for truth. But I find it difficult to believe that the paths of Radicalism, the infraction of right, and a superficial imitation of European things, with the tendency to level everything, and the whole enforced by arbitrary power, can lead young Japan to embrace seriously the sublime doctrines and practices of Christianity.

When, soon after the conclusion of the treaties,¹ the priests of the foreign missions of Paris arrived in this part of the extreme East, the existence of native Christians was entirely unknown. It was generally thought that the great persecutions of the seventeenth century had destroyed the last vestiges of St. Francis Xavier's work. Three years only after their installation at Nagasaki the French fathers learned that not far from this town, and in the interior of the great island of Kiushiu, several villages,² and amongst others the great market-town of Urakami, situated several *ris* from the town, were inhabited by Christians. The missionaries went there at once to exercise their holy ministry. Later on, owing to an order of the vicar apostolic, M^{gr}. Petitjean, which was issued at the instigation of the French minister at Yokohama, they were forced to abstain from going beyond the limits assigned to strangers.

It is, therefore, an ascertained fact, that in spite of the terrible persecutions and the entire absence of native or European priests (no missionary since 1638 having set foot on the soil of Japan), the Christians have remained faithful to their faith—have preserved, together with the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, the form of baptism ; and that in each Christian community there have been men performing the functions and bearing the name of baptizers. They belong to certain families, and their dignity is hereditary. They also found some prayer-books, the gift probably of the Franciscan fathers, for in them there is an invocation to the saint of that order. Later on, it

¹ In 1858 they were provisionally established in the islands of Liukiu, and afterwards in the five ports open to Europeans.

² It will be understood why I abstain from naming these seats of Christianity, known to the missionaries, but perhaps still ignored by the persecuting government.

was found out that in the islands of Goto, and in the south-east of Nippon, a large number of hamlets still preserved the lights of Christianity, though darkened, it is true, by ignorance, superstition, and pagan practices. An edict, lately published in the official journal of Yedo, condemns the Christian inhabitants of a village in the neighbourhood, and reveals at the same time a fact unknown until now—that Christianity had penetrated into countries far removed from the seat of the labours of the first missionaries. One supposes, therefore, that in the times of the ancient persecutions, as in the more recent ones, the government transported the Christians into the interior, and that they have thus been disseminated in different parts of the empire. From the preaching of St. Francis Xavier until the final catastrophe (the massacres of Papenberg) is ninety years; and the epoch of great preachings and numberless conversions is hardly spread over more than half a century; and yet, notwithstanding periodical persecutions and constant vexations, the Christian traditions have been maintained to this day.

At the end of 1869 a vague rumour of the cruel persecution carried on against the Christians in the island of Goto reached Yokohama. Sir Harry Parkes, who, on board a man-of-war, was then visiting the treaty ports, went to the spot to ascertain the truth. I do not know whether he was able to verify the fact; but, on his return to Nagasaki, he was witness of the fearful treatment inflicted on the Christians in the village of Urakami. On New Year's Day, 1870, 4,000 persons, men, women, and children, old and young, were torn from their homes, garroted, and thrown, pell-mell, almost entirely naked, into some junks, to be transported no one knew where. Sir H. Parkes, justly indignant at this revolting sight, instantly addressed an energetic protest on the subject to the minister of foreign affairs, and asked the governor of Nagasaki to suspend provisionally the execution of his orders. This functionary having excused himself, alleging the peremptory instructions he had received from head-quarters, Sir Harry hastened to return to Yokohama. The terribly distressing news from Urakami had preceded him. The members of the diplomatic corps had been horrified, and, without any previous agreement with each other, had, one and all, energetically protested. They only waited for the arrival of the English minister to

concert as to the measures which should be taken in common. All the heads of the missions went to Yedo. A conference took place, at which the prime minister, Sanjo, and Iwakura (then only a member of the privy council, but already the soul of the imperial government) assisted. The English minister detailed the facts of which he had been in part a witness. In his language he was forced to adopt a tone of great reserve. He appealed to the sentiments of humanity, which, he said, doubtless animated the counsellors of the Mikado, and made some allusion to the bad effect which such acts—so little in harmony with the ideas of the age or the projects of reform entertained by the imperial government—would have in Europe. M. Outrey, while warmly expressing the sympathies of France for his co-religionists, used a like caution, and put himself on the same footing as his English colleague. Mr. Delong, the envoy of the United States, pleaded the cause of the Christians in energetic terms. Iwakura then spoke. To the remonstrances of the diplomatic body he opposed the grievances of his own government. The gravest accusations alternated with the most puerile; but all tended to establish the essentially political character of the crimes imputed to the Christians.

“The native Christians,” he said, “refuse to join in the worship of the country. This is a direct act of rebellion against the Mikado, the Son of the Gods, and the chief of that religion which the Christians despise.

“The Christians refuse to furnish flowers for the ornamenting of our altars.

“They avoid passing through the forks (the isolated portals placed at the entrance of the temples), or crossing the ground round the sanctuaries.

“They recognize the authority of stranger priests, and refuse obedience to the magistrates.

“Contrary to our customs, they do not invite the bonzes on the occasion of births, marriages, deaths, or burials in their families. In other words, they refuse the fees exacted by them on such occasions.

“In one word, therefore, they are conspirators, for they hold their meetings in secret; and they are rebels against their sovereign, who is the head of religion; and against the laws and customs of the country.”

The representatives of the different powers endeavoured to refute these arguments, and finally demanded that the Japanese government should reinstate the exiled Christians in their homes. In return they promised, with the consent of Mgr. Petitjean, to take care that no foreign priest should pass beyond the limits of the treaty ports, or exercise his ministry in any locality inhabited by native Christians.

Sanjo and Iwakura having declared that, before giving a decided answer, they must confer with their colleagues, the sitting was brought to a close. But the final decision of the government was not long in being announced. It was a decided and categorical refusal. The two ministers went to Yokohama to impart this disappointing news to the foreign envoys. "To go back," they said, "from a policy sanctioned by the emperor, already carried out, and generally approved by the country, would be an outrage to the authority of the Mikado, and would set public opinion at defiance. In one word, it is impossible." At the same time, they delivered the following memorandum to the envoys in justification of their conduct:—

"The government of the Mikado has learned with regret that certain measures taken with regard to some of the subjects of the Mikado, inhabiting Urakami, and calling themselves Christians, have given displeasure to the foreign ministers.

"The value they attach to the friendship and good opinion of these powers; with whom they are living in friendly and commercial relations, leads them to explain the cause of their conduct. A brief recapitulation of the motives for this apparent harshness will clear up all possible misunderstanding.

"Nothing is further from the intentions of the Japanese government than to punish their people because they profess a strange religion, unless they show, as at Urakami, symptoms of rising and rebellion.

"Never has the government thought of meddling in the religious opinions of its subjects. Several individuals who have arrived in Japan as Protestant missionaries are to be found in the service of the state. They teach sciences and foreign languages in our colleges and public schools. No prohibition interferes with the circulation of foreign books—even of those which treat of religious matters. They are translated

into our own language, and are to be found in all the libraries. The government brings forward these facts as a proof that it wishes to act in a liberal spirit on all religious questions.

"But when our own subjects embrace Christianity in order to be able to conspire freely, and throw discredit on the fundamental laws of the country; when these communities of native Christians call in question the spiritual authority of the Mikado; and their catechists promise them the protection of foreign powers—that is to say, impunity; then the government cannot remain silent. In self-defence, and to maintain the authority of the emperor, it must take such measures as shall bring back its misguided subjects to respect the laws and institutions of their country. This conduct is imposed upon the government by necessity, and still more by public opinion, which has kept in remembrance the deplorable events which occurred two centuries ago, when the Catholic missionaries brought Christianity into Japan. Even now public opinion demands that this cause of discord be removed, which in old times nearly upset the government, and threatened the independence of the sovereign of the country."

Thus this matter ended in a non-acceptance of the proposals, and the only result of the negotiation was the weakening of the *prestige* of the foreign ministers, without in any way ameliorating the condition of the Christians; added to which, an engagement was entered into with the Japanese government which forbade the exercise of the Catholic ministry beyond the narrow limits assigned by the treaty.¹

¹ On the 9th February, 1872, a numerous deputation from the Evangelical Alliance presented themselves at the Foreign Office, to call the attention of the principal Secretary of State to the persecutions directed against the Japanese Christians. The Queen's minister in Japan being then in England, Lord Granville begged him to attend the audience and be his mouthpiece. I borrow from the summary of the *Times* (of the 12th of February, 1872) the main features of Sir H. Parkes's speech:—"He admits the existence of religious persecution in Japan; but it is a heritage of old times, the persecutions having continued since the seventeenth century. The history of the last two centuries is always present to the minds of the Japanese. It was the revolt of the Christians which caused the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan. The law has not been changed since. Once it was exercised with such rigour that twelve Japanese were executed solely for having embraced Christianity. One fact is certain, and that is, that Christianity undermines the authority of the Mikado, who, in the idea of the

I have stated that in this memorable conference the envoy of the United States distinguished himself by the energy of his remonstrances. The government of Washington, listening to the representations of the Bible Societies, and to the voice of humanity, so cruelly outraged under the very eyes of its

masses, is of divine origin. To authorize the propagation of a strange religion would be to condemn the national faith. It is true, that the population of the village of Urakami was exiled; but, according to the Japanese government, 'this measure was taken in the interest of order, and to prevent an explosion of religious sentiment.' (I am translating literally.) The foreign ministers received assurances that the exiles should not be ill-treated. Having heard that the government had not kept its word, he (Sir Harry) had instantly sent an officer to the spot to inform himself as to the real state of things. The result of this inquiry was, that in only one of the three localities visited by the agent the Christians had suffered cruel treatment. As soon as the Japanese government were informed of it, they hastened to disavow the acts of their functionaries and to condemn them publicly in their *Court Journal*. More than this, the Japanese ministers affirm that, in spite of the necessity of conforming to the laws, especially to those which treat of religion, they would not oppose the development of new opinions in matters of faith, any more than they would hinder the introduction of new political and commercial ideas. Changes in matters of religion would imply changes in men's minds and convictions; and, in spite of its liberal dispositions, the government was powerless to overcome the prejudices and traditions of the people in such matters. The envoy concluded by saying that he was authorised to protest without hesitation if the Japanese government showed itself cruel or intolerant towards the native Christians. Similar instructions had been given to the ministers of other nations, who, in such circumstances, had likewise protested. He does not think that these remonstrances have been without their effect; and he hopes that, thanks to the rapid progress of public opinion, which is becoming in Japan every day more and more enlightened, and thanks to the measures taken by the Japanese government to second this movement, the wishes of the Evangelical Alliance will eventually be realised, unless any imprudent attempts at propagandism should throw fresh obstacles in the way."

It is for the future to justify or destroy these hopes. The same Evangelical Society pleaded the cause of the Christians with the Japanese ambassadors who were then in England. The very reserved answer given by Iwakura was reproduced in the *Times* of the 7th December, 1872, and deserves the serious attention of Sir H. Parkes. Here is a summary of his reply:—

"The rumour that we have carried out the laws against the Christians with fresh vigour is false. The government acts only in the interest of its subjects. It favours liberal ideas in matters of religion as in civil affairs. Such is our policy, and our conduct proves it."

In the meantime the unhappy Christians are suffering and dying by inches in the dungeons of this government which calls itself liberal, and of which Iwakura is the soul, the head, and the mouthpiece. What hope is there then for an alleviation of their sufferings?

minister, not only approved the conduct of Mr. Delong, but declared itself disposed, in concert with France, to come to more decided measures. Overtures in this sense were made at Paris, and communicated to the English cabinet. The war between France and Germany put a stop to these negotiations.

We have seen that, according to the formal assurances of the Japanese ministers, the exiled Christians were treated with humanity. The entire falsehood of this statement was soon proved. Divided into little bands, and spread in the interior of Nippon, these unfortunate people were confided to the guard of certain daimios, or dragged into the neighbourhood of Yedo and Kiyôto. They were lodged like brute beasts in miserable sheds; those who could be prevailed upon to apostatise were allowed to go out during the day to work and gain a few *tempôs*: but the "refractory," that is, those who remained faithful to their religion, were shut up night and day in stinking holes; both one and the other received, besides, only the most miserable pittance of food, not enough to live upon, and were decimated by hunger and disease. It is to a Protestant American missionary that we owe the first authentic information of the fate of these noble confessors of the faith. An officer in the consular service, sent into the interior by Sir H. Parkes, has confirmed it. He found but two places where the Christians were treated with common humanity, and he visited only a few of these depots.* It is affirmed, and I fear with truth, that by the end of last year more than a third of the poor exiles from Urakami had fallen victims to cold, hunger, and moral miseries of every description. I could not obtain the exact numbers; but it is certain that a very large proportion of these confessors are dead. Exposed to long and atrocious tortures, some of them abjured Christianity, hoping thereby to obtain their liberty. The only improvement in their condition, however, was the permission to work outside their prisons during the day. The others, worthy descendants of the glorious martyrs of the seventeenth century, continue

* From the last accounts, the government has relaxed its hardship in favour of the apostates. By virtue of a decree of the 2nd March, 1872, all Christians who would abjure their faith were to be sent back to their homes. Those who remain faithful are treated with the same cruelty.

to give an example of heroic constancy and unalterable attachment to the faith of Christ.

The measures taken by the foreign ministers, although little known in detail, have been variously judged. The European residents generally are thankful to have avoided complications which might seriously have affected their commercial transactions. Some of them, however, with a consciousness of the outrages committed on humanity, blame the weakness of the foreign ministers. "If," they say, "all had held the same determined language, and let the Japanese government see that, in case of refusal, acts of reprisal would be the result, Iwakura and his colleagues would have taken good care to change their tone; the envoys would have had the merit of saving four thousand of their co-religionists, and would have been spared the humiliation and pain of seeing a multitude of inoffensive beings killed by inches, the victims at one and the same time of the religious and political fanaticism of their executioners." There are, besides, at Yokohama many fervent Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, who deplore the fate of the victims, and consider that the Legations were more or less responsible. They also think that, with a little more energy and firmness, they would easily have overcome the resistance of the Japanese government. For my part, I feel to the full the sufferings of the martyrs and indignation at their fate: but I do not agree with the judgment pronounced on the conduct of the diplomatic body. This incident at Urakami touches on such grave international questions, that it seems to me to deserve careful investigation.

I am willing to grant (although even that, I think, doubtful) that, if all the foreign representatives had held absolutely the same language—if certain shades of difference, which could not escape the penetration of Iwakura, had not weakened their authority—they would perhaps have obtained a more satisfactory result. But that is precisely the great difficulty in all collective diplomatic action. Each one of these representatives, besides the common and transitory cause which he is about to defend, must protect the particular and permanent interests of his country: and these interests are not always identical with the interests of the other states represented by his colleagues. Those who have had a seat in European con-

ferences know well how difficult it is, even between the plenipotentiaries of powers who are closely allied with each other, to establish and maintain a joint responsibility of language and conduct. In the case before us, considering the large amount of English capital embarked in the Japanese trade, a grave responsibility rested on Sir H. Parkes. From hence arose his great caution, and the apparent timidity with which he is reproached. The mission of France is to protect Catholic interests in pagan countries. This explains the comparatively greater warmth of M. Outrey; but this warmth was tempered by political considerations, and by the regard due to French commerce. Evidently he did not wish to separate himself from his English colleague, who, it was equally evident, would not make the affair a *casus belli*. Iwakura must have understood this. I do not know what line was taken by the envoy of the North-German Confederation. I fancy that he must have been divided between the wish to speak out strongly, as a great power should do, and the fear of compromising the commerce of the merchant seamen of Germany, which is very large in these seas. The American minister was certainly very energetic in his protest. But his colleagues did not know if he would have the approval of his government, or whether he would be prepared to act alone, and to act in the probable case where England, and in the possible case where France, would remain passive.

Russia, whose commercial interests in Japan are *nil*, and who has no missions there; Austria, whose political and commercial interests are equally *nil* in this country, and who at this time has not even any diplomatic relations with the Mikado—Austria and Russia were not represented at the conference. They enjoyed, therefore, the real benefits of absence. People say: "If the foreign ministers had employed menaces, the Japanese would have yielded." That is not so certain; and great nations cannot threaten unless they are resolved and prepared to act. After having threatened, if those threats were not attended to, they would have been obliged to proceed immediately to the employment of coercive measures. Had the envoys a sufficient military and naval force at their disposal to commence hostilities? Evidently not. They had no alternative then but either to retreat dishonourably, or to launch

into hostilities and provoke events, the bearing of which might be incalculable. Such a course would involve the fall of the men in power, who, comparatively speaking, are friends of the strangers, the advent of the old anti-European party, an entire cessation of commerce, a recommencement of isolated assassinations and attacks against the factories. To deliver four thousand Japanese from prison, the ministers would have exposed to ruin and perhaps massacre two thousand Europeans, and involved their respective governments in war with Japan. As to what touches the question of right, I seek in vain for any legitimate plea which should justify the intervention of the foreign diplomats. The treaties only guaranted to foreigners the free exercise of the Christian religion in the open ports. Not a syllable was said as to native Christians. The plenipotentiaries, Lord Elgin, and M. Gros, simply ignored their existence ; and the Japanese government keeps to the engagement made before with the Dutch to abolish all injurious practices.

Looking at it fairly on both sides, it seems to me that the reserve of the English minister and his colleagues was justified. For, do not let us deceive ourselves—they could not invoke any general principle. Modern states—without an acknowledged religion—seem to me to have renounced the right, except under very special circumstances, to intervene in order to protect such or such a faith in a foreign country. They may lift up their voice in favour of humanity, but their action is limited to that. They could only employ force on the vague and indefinite ground of philanthropy. Looked at from this point of view, the remedy would probably be worse than the disease.

The plenipotentiaries of the foreign powers, after having vainly appealed to the prudence or generosity of the Japanese government, saw themselves therefore condemned to the ignoble rôle of being passive spectators of the tortures inflicted on their co-religionists.

October 2.—The last shores of Japan, the islands of Gôto, have disappeared on the horizon. The *New York* is steaming away at the regulation speed of ten knots an hour. The Yellow Sea, setting aside its usual rough manners, is treat-

ing us with uncommon courtesy. It is a very good moment to recapitulate one's impressions on the political position of Japan.

The Portuguese were the first people who penetrated into the ports of Kiushiu, the most southerly of the four great islands of which this empire is composed. At the same time St. Francis Xavier, accompanied by a few priests, set foot on the soil of the country of which he was to become the apostle. That was the era of brilliant commercial transactions in the Portuguese factories, and of the great conquests of Christianity. This was from 1549 to 1638, a period of about ninety years. Fabulous profits, resembling the enormous gains which in our days were made for a few years at Shanghai and Hong Kong, enriched the town of Macao, then the great emporium of the Portuguese trade, in the extreme east. The successful preaching of the missionaries fostered the most sanguine hopes. The island of Kiushiu, the principality of Nagato (Chôshiu), the territory of the Prince of Toza, and the islands of Gôto and Firando were covered with Christian communities. Even at Kiyôto, the very stronghold of the Mikado, the Cross made numberless conquests. But these brilliant successes were to be followed by as signal reverses. The hatred of the bonzes; the boasting of the Portuguese, those *parvenus* of fortune; the growing distrust of the Sioguns, aroused by the indiscreet talk of a Castilian traveller, who had spoken of the irresistible power of Philip II., then master of Portugal; the taking of the Philippines by the Spaniards; the intrigues of the Dutch, who had become formidable rivals of the Portuguese—all seemed to conspire against the latter, and still more against the work of the Catholic missionaries. Restrictive laws, partial persecutions, and absolute prohibition, on pain of death, to the natives to embrace Christianity, fill the last years of Taiko-Sama's reign and that of his successor. The rising of a body of native Christians, in which the Portuguese were implicated, finally brought about the catastrophe. That same year (1638) the Portuguese residents were expelled, the Dutch (who had established a factory at Firando, to the north of the islands of Gôto) were admitted into the Portuguese settlement of Detsima (Nagasaki), and Christianity was drowned in the blood of its missionaries and of many thousands of native Christians.

From that moment until the arrival of the American squadron,¹ that is, for more than 200 years, Japan was hermetically closed to strangers. During all that time the Dutch merchants, shut up in the little island of Detsima, had the entire monopoly of European commerce. What the world knew of this mysterious empire it owed to the former missionaries and to the Dutch merchants; specially to two Germans, Dr. Engelbert Kaempffer, who at the end of the seventeenth century practised his art in the Dutch factory; and Siebold, who might almost be called a contemporary, and who was equally established at Detsima. But these two *savants*, closely watched in this little island, and only travelling in the suite of the factory delegates, who every four years visited the court at Yedo, or Kiyôto, obtained their information from indirect sources. Carried in closed norimons, their observations were necessarily incomplete. Before this time the missionaries had travelled over the country freely enough; and, though their vocation was the saving of souls, and they had little time to give to scientific researches, nevertheless, their correspondence contained some valuable information. But, however rich might be the materials furnished both by one and the other, they did not suffice to give a clear idea of Japan. There were great gaps in their descriptions, and (as was discovered later) some essential errors; one of which, as we shall presently see, was to exercise an important influence on the destinies of Japan.

In all times there were relations between this country and China; more than once Japan felt the rebound of the great events which were accomplished in the Celestial Empire. The peninsula of Corea, placed under the nominal suzerainty of the Emperor of China, and frequently invaded by Japanese armies, formed the geographical link between these two great nations of the Mongol race. It was from China, through the Corea, that Buddhism invaded Japan; that the philosophical ideas and moral maxims of Confucius, and even political doctrines, have been imported. The adoption of Chinese writing facilitates, with the exchange of ideas, the political and commercial relations (formerly rare enough) between the two nations. The more one becomes acquainted with the language, customs, and

¹ Commodore Perry arrived in 1844, and concluded his famous treaty the following year.

literature of Japan, the more one understands the important influence exercised on this country by the Celestial Empire. It was on this ground that, after the Opium War, in 1844, and on the occasion of the opening of several Chinese ports, the King of the Belgians advised the Siogun to follow the example of China. "If you do not do it of your own accord," he said, "you will be forced to do it by and by. Escape, then, this humiliation." The Siogun's only answer was a positive refusal. In the interest of their extensive naval operations in the North Pacific, the government of the United States undertook to establish relations with Japan, and to obtain, either willingly or by force, the opening of certain ports of refuge and for victualling their ships. A squadron, commanded by Commodore Perry, came and anchored in the harbour of Yedo. The following year it reappeared, and, thanks to the moral influence of its cannon, after short negotiations, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed in the village of Kanagawa.¹ Two ports were henceforth opened to the ships and merchants of that nation, and England and Russia, represented by Admirals Sterling and Poutiatine, obtained the like concessions.²

But, at Yedo, the arrival of the Europeans gave rise to bloody tragedies. The party which was hostile to foreigners rose in a body. The Siogun was poisoned or massacred in his palace. His son and successor being a minor, the wise and moderate *Ii-Kamon-no-Kami* became regent. But, suspected in his turn of sympathy for the foreigners, he was assassinated in open day at the entrance of the Siogun's palace, and his head sent to, and publicly exposed at, Kiyôto. The real author of the blow was the Prince of Mito, one of the heads of the anti-European party. A member of the regent's suite, to avenge his master, killed the prince's father.

The Dutch, annoyed at the loss of their monopoly, obtained, in compensation, some advantages, of which the most important was the promise of being admitted into all the ports opened to other nations.³ The Detsima factory was maintained, and the

¹ The 31st March, 1854.

² The English convention was signed in October 1854. The Russian treaty has never been published.

³ On the conditions of the Convention concluded at Nagasaki in November 1855. Additional articles were signed in January 1856.

Japanese government promised to abolish the custom of trampling the cross under foot. Soon after, the last Chinese war broke out. It was a fine opportunity for England and France, flushed with victory, to revise their treaties with the Siogun, and, in other words, to open Japan to commerce and civilization. The fleets of the two powers, with Lord Elgin and Baron Gros on board the admirals' flag-ships, appeared at short intervals in the Bay of Yedo. The following are the principal clauses of the treaty which these two plenipotentiaries concluded with the Siogun :—¹

Diplomatic agents to reside at Yedo and consular agents at all the open ports. These ports are Hakodaté, Kanagawa (Yokohama), and Nagasaki ; to which were afterwards added Hiôgo and Niigata. English and French subjects may settle there ; buy houses ; trade ; build churches, and freely exercise their religion. They may also, at certain fixed times, be admitted to Osaka and Yedo ; but only to trade there. (This would seem to exclude the missionaries.) The diplomatic agents and the consuls-general shall alone have the right to travel in the interior. In a paragraph of the article which concerned the free exercise of the Christian religion by foreigners in the open ports, the plenipotentiaries took care to obtain, like the Dutch, the cessation of practices insulting to our faith. Finally, it was provided that these treaties should be revised at the end of twelve years. The winding-up of these acts, which opened Japan to European commerce, while limiting the points where it was to be carried on, was followed by the signature of analogous conventions with Prussia, Spain, Belgium, and, two years ago, with Austria.

According to a long-established belief, shared in by the former missionaries, Japan was placed under the dominion of two emperors. One governed the empire ; the other, the souls of men. The *savants* of Detsima shared in this opinion, which was impressed upon us all when, in our infancy, we learned the rudiments of geography. The one, the Mikado, was the spiritual head ; the other, the Siogun, the temporal. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros believed this like everyone else, and, following the example of the foreign admirals, who had

¹ The English treaty was signed on the 26th August, the French treaty on the 9th October, 1858.

made the former treaties, addressed themselves to the Siogun, and negotiated and concluded the treaty with him. It was only later that they found out that the Siogun, although more or less the master since the twelfth century of the most important part of the country, was only legally the first vassal of the emperor, and therefore had no power to treat with foreigners ; also that it was against the wishes and orders of the Mikado that these treaties had been signed. Already in a tottering position, as we shall soon see, the Siogun wished to take advantage of his relations with the foreigners to awe the court of Kiyôto, and to defeat the machinations of certain great daimios who were striving to induce the emperor to break openly with him. It is pretended, that to leave the plenipotentiaries of the two powers in ignorance as to the nature of his authority, he took the Chinese title of Taikoun in dealing with them, which signifies sovereign, instead of his habitual title of Siogun, which answers to that of general-in-chief. The result of this conduct, however, was very contrary to his hopes. It hastened his downfall and the abolition of the Siogunate. Supreme power throughout the empire was henceforth centred in the hands of the Mikado. In reality, it passed to the chiefs of the four great clans who had overturned the Siogun, or rather to their principal agents, who are now the council and ministers of the emperor. There was no doubt that the arrival of the Europeans would sooner or later bring about great changes in the interior state of Japan ; but the involuntary error of the French and English plenipotentiaries, and the fact that they addressed themselves not to the Mikado, but to his vassal, rallied round the discontented daimios all the elements which were most hostile to foreigners, and in consequence, hastened the fall of the Siogun. The interests of the Europeans did not, however, suffer from this mistake. The division between the native governments, was, on the contrary, favourable to them. But to Japan the abolition of the Sioguns entailed the gravest consequences.

The treaties having been duly concluded, they proceeded to the carrying out of their articles. The foreign missions were established at Yedo ; the consuls and merchants on the shores of Yokohama, where a considerable town soon sprang up. The cabinet of St. Petersburg, faithful to the old and wise

maxim that the presence of a diplomatic agent should always be justified by the exigencies of the imperial interests which the government had decided to preserve and maintain by force, in case of need—the Russian cabinet, I say, abstained from appointing a minister to the Siogun court, and limited itself to establishing Consulates at Yokohama and Hakodaté, and in the island of Yesso, the nearest point to the possessions of Russia on the borders of the Pacific. In this way the Russian government provided for its trade and navigation which is not of any great importance in these waters), and avoided, by the absence of a diplomatist, embarking in a doubtful and perilous path, which it foresaw would be bristling with difficulties, and might seriously compromise the future. The political position was, in fact, dark, complicated, and critical. Treaties had been concluded with the Siogun; and although a thick curtain hid what was passing at the court of Kiyôto, and in the camp of the great daimios (who were clamouring for the expulsion of the intruders), from the diplomatic agents, it was impossible not to see that all the upper classes of the nation were hostile, that the power with which they had treated was tottering, that it was mined in its foundations and ready to crumble into dust. Nevertheless, they leant on that power, and were determined to do so, without thinking (or, perhaps, because they were unable to do otherwise) that the moral support given by foreigners to the Siogun would only discredit him more and more with his own people, give a handle to his enemies, and hasten his downfall. At this time the leading feature in the position was the weakening of the Siogunate. As to the reason, no one can give it. They speak of corruption, of venality, of treason; but such is still the darkness in which the contemporary history of Japan is involved that no one has yet been able to ascertain the facts. On this capital point, as on so many others, one is reduced to conjectures. Iwakura alone, to whom I ventured to address the question, gave me a clear and precise answer: “The Sioguns” he said, “were detested by the Japanese nation, which is full of loyalty and affection for its legitimate sovereign the Mikado.” “But how does it happen, then, that the Japanese nation, so full of attachment to the emperor, has borne with these usurpers for seven centuries? and why has their long

dormant loyalty so suddenly woke up into life?" To this question he made no answer whatever.

This, then, is an important fact to ascertain. The Siogunate, established in the twelfth century, and maintained with various fluctuations to our own day, was already, from some unknown cause, undermined before the arrival of the foreigners.

At Kiyôto, the *kugés*—*i.e.*, the aristocracy of the court—declared that the treaties concluded with the Europeans could only be carried out with the consent and ratification of the Mikado. This was the first blow inflicted on the Siogun by the court party. From this moment both the master of Yêdo and the Mikado endeavoured to make use of the Europeans, the one to confirm his power, the other to regain it: Kiyôto became the very hot-bed of intrigues.

It seems that the south has always played a great part in the revolutions of Japan. They sent agents there, and tried to excite public opinion against the Siogun, whom they accused of yielding up the country to the barbarians. The Siogun on one side, and the great daimios on the other, armed themselves in haste, borrowed instructors from the foreigners, bought rifles, and built men-of-war in Europe. The chiefs of the great clans of Satsuma, Chôshiu, and Toza, to whom, later, was added that of Hizen, combined with the *kugés* to demand the expulsion of the foreigners, and addressed a petition to the Mikado that they might all be thrown by the Siogun into the sea. The order was actually given; but the Siogun excused himself, alleging his weakness. The leaders of the anti-European party, who were more and more under the dominion of the samurais, or military class, then demanded the punishment of the Siogun at the hands of the Mikado, and begged the latter to undertake a crusade himself against the barbarians. If this request were not complied with, it was only because the Mikado at that moment found himself in the hands of one of the most powerful daimios of the north—the Prince Aidzu, at that time military governor of Kiyôto, and a relation and friend of the Siogun's. The Prince Chôshiu (known also under the name of Nagato), wishing to get possession of the person of the Mikado, tried to take Kiyôto by surprise.* The Chôshius got into the town, and fought a pitched

* This was in 1864.

battle with the troops commanded by Prince Aidzu. But, beaten and rejected, they retired to their own country, at the southern extremity of Nippon, in front of the island of Kiushiu. For the moment, therefore, Prince Aidzu and the Siogun found themselves in the Mikado's court entire masters of the situation. They dragged out of him an order for the Siogun to punish the Chôshiu clan.¹ It was at this very time that the foreign ministers went to Hiôgo to ask the Mikado for a ratification of the treaties. M. Roche offered the assistance of the French troops to reduce the Chôshius. This was an indirect way of intervening with a military force in favour of the Siogun. The Mikado declined the offer, but ratified the treaties. Nevertheless, two events took place. The English had in vain demanded satisfaction of the Prince of Satsuma for certain hostile proceedings. They therefore bombarded Kagoshima, the capital of his principality in the island of Kiushiu. The following year² the ships of all the four European powers shelled and burnt the town of Shimonoséki, situated at the entrance of the inner sea, and belonging to Prince Chôshiu. In these two actions the Japanese must have been convinced of the incontestable superiority of the Europeans. Henceforth more amicable relations were established between the foreign representatives and the heads of the two clans of Satsuma and Chôshiu. The Siogun undertook two campaigns against the latter. But during this expedition he died at the castle of Osaka.³ A few months after, the Mikado followed him to the tomb,⁴ and the present emperor, then hardly twelve years of age, mounted the throne of his ancestors. Keiki, the youngest son of Prince Mito, was raised to the Siogunate. He accepted this dignity in spite of his father's advice, and that of the other members of his family, who were all hereditary enemies of the Sioguns. Keiki, established in the castle of Kiyôto, persisted, nevertheless, in taking the title of Siogun. But to disarm the opposition he declared his intention of co-operating in the restoration of the Mikado, and of relinquishing his dignity as soon as the daimios in council should have decided on the basis of the new constitution. To effect this he convoked a meeting of the princes at Kiyôto. A great many answered to

¹ This was in 1863.² In 1864.³ At the end of 1866.⁴ He died at Kiyôto in February 1867.

his appeal ; but the chiefs of the Satsumas, Chôshius, and Tozas clans, concentrated their forces round this town.¹

Decisive events followed one another with astonishing rapidity. On the 3rd of January, 1868, the troops of Prince Satsuma penetrated into Kiyôto, and obtained from the Mikado an order for the Siogun and Prince Aidzu to withdraw their troops from the palace, which was instantly occupied by Satsuma's band. Feeling that they were no longer safe, the Siogun and Aidzu evacuated Kiyôto that same day, and retired precipitately on Osaka, where they arrived the following evening. This retreat was signalized by an important edict issued by the emperor himself. The Mikado declared his empire to be re-established throughout the country, and that the Siogunate was abolished. Another decree laid down the principles of the new constitution. But Prince Aidzu did not consider himself defeated. Dragging the Siogun into making a last attempt, he marched with him upon Kiyôto. Near Fujimi, about five miles from the capital, they met the troops of Satsuma and Chôshiu. A bloody battle was fought, which ended in the defeat of Aidzu and the Siogun, and their retreat on Osaka. After having burnt his palace in that town, the Siogun took refuge on board one of his frigates, which conveyed him to his capital. The conquerors, led by a member of the imperial family, went by land to Yedo and entered it, without the Siogun attempting any resistance. He took refuge in the temple of Ueno ; and afterwards was permitted to retire to his own property, where he lives in peace, without being molested by the imperial government.

Such was, after seven centuries, the end of the Siogunate. Prince Aidzu returned with his troops into his own dominions ; and having formed a league with certain daimios, known under the name of the Northern Confederation, continued his hostilities for a long time. Towards the end of the year 1868, however, a signal defeat put an end both to the confederation and the civil war. Everywhere, save in one point, the authority of the Mikado was recognized.

One knows that Yesso, the most northern of the four great islands, is only a vast forest, containing treasures of copper and coal, but inhabited by aborigines, who are real savages. Some

¹ In December 1867.

parts of the southern coast have been colonized by the Japanese. In the extreme end, facing Nippon, is Hakodaté, an important establishment. It is this port which, on the demand of Commodore Perry, was opened to the Americans ; and it is, of all the five treaty ports, the one most accessible to Europeans. Whilst the prince's troops were marching on the Siogun capital, the captain of a man-of-war took possession of the Japanese fleet anchored before Yedo, and sailed for the Bay of Hakodaté. His arrival with the fleet became the signal for a pacific revolution. Captain Brunet, one of the French instructors, put himself at the head of the movement. They proclaimed a republic and universal suffrage ! This suffrage, it is true, was reserved for the samurais—that is, for the military. All the other classes were carefully excluded. The resident foreigners, who were most of them adventurers, and were few in number, and amongst them one of the consuls, made common cause with the revolutionists. For some months this droll constitution marched well enough. Everyone, as it seemed, was satisfied, save the Mikado's government, who at last sent a naval squadron to bring them to reason. A naval action was the result ; the two-sworded republicans were defeated ; Brunet returned to France ; and the island of Yesso to the dominion of the Japanese emperor.*

The first question to be decided upon was the choice of the future capital. For centuries political life had centred in Yedo. Yedo also shared with Osaka its commercial supremacy. Yedo held all the strings of government in the time of the Sioguns, whose power extended from Yesso to Kiushiu. Yedo was, consequently, fixed upon as the imperial residence. The Mikado went to look at it, returned to Kiyôto, and finally established his court at Yedo.

What was the conduct of the foreign ministers and what the fate of the Europeans since their establishment at Yokohama and during the civil war ? At one moment the evident hostility of the upper classes, joined to the weakness of the Yedo government, seemed seriously to menace the existence of the young colony. A series of murders committed on the residents at Yokohama and its neighbourhood, and, at the seat of government, three attacks directed against the British Legation, had

* This was in 1869.

carried the utmost consternation into Yokohama, and imposed upon the representatives of the four powers, and on the admirals commanding the naval stations, the duty of providing for the security of their fellow-countrymen. The foreign ministers, continually exposed to murderous attacks, thought it wiser to leave Yedo. Only the representative of the United States, separating himself from his colleagues, remained on there for some time. The rest established themselves at Yokohama, in the midst of their countrymen, and under the protection of the men-of-war bearing their respective flags. One day a group of armed men assembled round the factory. The Japanese governor professed himself unable to defend it. The residents armed themselves in haste, and made arrangements for embarking their families on board the ships. It was during this period of panic that Admiral Jaurés disembarked a body of marines and established them at the foot of "The Bluffs." An English regiment, hastily summoned from Hong Kong, pitched their camp on the heights. This joint occupation, with certain modifications conceded to the susceptibilities of the present government, has been maintained to this day ; and it would be, I think, the height of imprudence to withdraw these forces, which, after all, are small enough, and, in case of a victorious attack, only sufficient to give time to the residents to take refuge on board their men-of-war. A short time after, the English Legation again removed to Yedo. The other ministers continued to reside at Yokohama. In these last times all danger seems to have disappeared, and the "Concession" enjoys, to all appearance, perfect security.

I have spoken above of the tortuous policy (on the whole favourable to Europeans) of the Siogun's court, which was placed in the delicate position of having at the same time to satisfy the foreigners and the hostile feeling of the country. When the ministers of the four foreign powers announced to the Siogun their intention of chastising Prince Chôshiu by bombarding Shimonoséki, he hastened to give his consent privately, while publicly protesting against the act. The Mikado had given him orders to expel the foreigners. He published an edict conceived in this sense, yet hastened secretly to assure the diplomatic agents that his proclamation was only a demonstration. When, under the pretext of helping the

emperor, he undertook the campaign against the Chôshius, he begged the admirals to allow his *hatamotos* to be conveyed by French and English ships, and, in order not to wound public opinion, that they would hoist the Japanese flag. This demand was naturally refused ; but he was allowed to freight some English merchant-men and to carry his flag. These facts are significant. A power reduced to such expedients is already judged and condemned.

In the face of all these complications nothing could be more delicate than the task of the diplomatists. In the first place, they had very imperfect information. The news which came to them from Kiyôto, the hot-bed of the plots hatching against the Siogun, was scarce, incomplete, and generally contradictory. A policy of abstention was evidently the wisest and the only one to be recommended. But how abstain when your fellow-countrymen were being massacred, when incendiary fires were the order of the day, when one of the Legations was openly attacked and several of its members killed or wounded ? To remain with one's arms crossed was only to increase the insolence of the enemy and encourage further outrages. To act vigorously, on the other hand, was to embark in a path of which neither the direction nor the issue was known. Nevertheless, it was absolutely necessary to provide for the safety of the Legations. It was incumbent upon them, therefore, to ask and obtain satisfaction for these injuries ; otherwise their *prestige* was lost, and the very existence of foreigners in Japan compromised. But what was to be done ? Would it be wise to use persuasion, or menaces, or reprisals ? There were doubtless some hesitations ; but, on the whole, if I may be allowed to pronounce a judgment, I should say that the representatives of England, who played the principal part in these transactions (from the importance of British commercial interests in Japan, and from the material force at their disposal), I should say, then, that Sir Rutherford Alcock, Colonel Neal, and Sir Harry Parkes, who succeeded one another as the heads of Queen Victoria's Legation, acted in these moments of difficulty with a prudence and energy, and, what is most essential for the public interests, with a success, which are incontestable. The French representative, M. Roche, took a more decided line : he did not attempt to conceal his sympathies with the Yedo

government, and went so far as to offer the Mikado—or, in reality, seeing the state of things at the moment, the Siogun—the intervention of the French naval forces. After the fall of the latter M. Roche, left Japan, and was replaced by M. Outrey. The United States minister held aloof. The conduct of the Netherlands plenipotentiary, although naturally of a less important bearing on the state of affairs, was stamped with that wise and conciliatory spirit which distinguishes that nation. When the revolution of the four great clans triumphed, the heads of the movement felt the necessity of consolidating their relations with foreign powers. The Mikado, therefore, informed the envoys who were charged to present their credentials to the emperor, that he would receive them himself at Kiyôto. I have already described the bloody episode which troubled that solemnity.¹

Recent researches and discoveries, which are due in a great measure to the zeal and intelligent activity of the interpreters and students of the Legations, have considerably modified the old ideas in Europe on the constitution of Japan. It is now ascertained that the Mikado has always been the supreme master. The Son of the Gods, invisible (until these latter days), like Jehovah, speaking to Moses surrounded by clouds, this man unites in his person all the attributes of Divinity. The depositary and source of all power, he is not considered, as was thought for so long, the head of a religion, a kind of pope, the distributor of spiritual graces, and the guardian of the faith. He is a great deal more than that, for he is the issue of the Divinity. There is no recognized distinction between his spiritual and temporal power. Since the ninth century he has resided at Kiyôto, surrounded by his kugés, or court nobles of high and ancient lineage; and when convoked by him, by all the daimios of the empire. The military power was delegated to two great functionaries—one commanding the north, the other the south, with the title of Siogun, or general-in-chief. One of these, in the twelfth century, had the audacity and the good luck to make this dignity hereditary in his family, and, under the supremacy of the emperor, to take possession of the richest and most important provinces of Japan. It was thus

¹ The attack of the two fanatics on Sir H. Parkes on the 23rd November 1869.

that this Siogunate was established, which was to last for seven centuries. The Siogun was looked upon as the first vassal of the Mikado. As to the extent of his power, it fluctuated with circumstances. Since the days of Yoritoma, one of the great figures in Japanese history, but who belonged to an epoch too remote for us to be able to judge fairly of his importance, the terrible Taiko-Sama, at the end of the sixteenth century, is one of the principal characters. Born in an obscure position, but arrived at the height of greatness, thanks to his genius, his energy, his great marriage, and his star, he still lives in the legendary traditions of his country, and has left in the two centres of Yedo and Osaka, which are his creations, and even in Kiyôto, the most magnificent monuments of his grandeur. The link of vassalship, which was to a certain degree nominal, was yet maintained by the Sioguns towards the Mikado. From time to time they went to Kiyôto to make their act of obedience. We owe to one of the envoys of the Dutch factory of Detsima a curious account of one of these interviews. From the windows of the house which served them both as hotel and prison, they saw the *cortège* pass of the two potentates, of which they left us a vivid description.

The Siogun territory was composed of eight provinces, comprised under the collective title of Kuantô, with Yedo and the towns of Osaka, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hakodaté with their territories. These towns and provinces, administered by governors, were all under the direct authority of the Siogun. He was absolute master over them, monopolized the commerce, and took possession of all the produce of the custom-houses. But in the different *hans*, towns, and domains of the daimios, who had become their vassals, they were obliged to reckon with them. Also, when, in the negotiations with the American and European plenipotentiaries, there was a question of admitting foreigners, the Siogun only consented to the opening of the ports and towns placed under his direct authority. He took good care not to grant the opening of the *hans* about which the lords, though his vassals, would probably have protested, and even resisted. His armed force was furnished by the *hatamotos* (literally, *men under a banner*). The successor of Taiko-Sama, by ennobling the military class and endowing them with lands, had created this caste of hatamotos, who were

bound to serve the Siogun in time of war, either personally or by furnishing a certain number of soldiers or a certain indemnity in money. There were 80,000 hatamotos. Ingulfed in their master's ruin, they dispersed themselves about the country. Some became merchants ; others, and those the largest portion, swelled the ranks of the ronins.

Besides the daimios, vassals of the Siogun, and besides the princes and *mediatised* counts (if it be allowed to use such a term, unknown as yet in Japan), there were daimios holding directly under the Mikado, more or less submissive according to the times ; or more or less deserving the title of kings, which the old missionaries gave to the eighteen feudal lords of the first order. Those in the north were the most independent. We have seen the important part played by them in the last revolution. But as a general rule, the northern part of this great island is too far off, and perhaps too poor, to exercise a decisive influence on the destinies of the empire. These provinces, which, owing to the severity of the climate, lack that article of first necessity to a Japanese—*i.e.*, rice, which they have to buy from the south, are only partially cultivated, thinly peopled, and far less prosperous, than those of the south or the centre of Japan.

Such was, only two or three years ago, the political constitution of this country. Socially, the nation was divided, on the one hand, by clans, and on the other by castes. From this double point of view, the north of Scotland in old times and India have a certain analogy with Japan. The military caste has the first rank. Tradesmen yield to agriculturists, and occupy the lowest place in the social scale. The bonzes and scholars enjoy a certain consideration. The peasants form a respectable and respected class. In each village the mayor is elected by the heads of families. There is not even in Europe an example of a more liberal municipal council. Full of respect towards others, and a strict observer of the rules of etiquette, gentle and easy to live with, the Japanese peasant is nevertheless jealous of his rights ; and woe be to the agent who should infringe them ! Only lately the agriculturists of a large village, having to complain of certain exactions, after having exhausted themselves in petitions, sent a numerous deputation to the governor. When they saw that this functionary

was not likely to listen to their just demands, they strangled him in his yashki, and then went home quite quietly. Everybody considered this proceeding as an act of self-defence, justified by circumstances. The military profession is hereditary. It is a kind of feudalism, born in the earliest ages, developed in the course of centuries, animated by the chivalrous spirit of our crusaders, and identified with the ideas, traditions, and customs of the whole nation. We have said that trade occupies the lowest scale in the social hierarchy of Japanese society. A sword-cutler forms the sole exception. He even has the rank of a noble. When he comes to the more delicate portion of his work—that is, when he has to solder together the iron and steel which form the blade of the sword—he shuts the front of his shop, and puts on a court-dress.^{*} These swords and daggers are handed down from father to son, and from generation to generation. The names of the great sword-cutlers of Kiyôto, Yedo, and Osaka, are known to every samurai, and form constant topics of conversation. Even ladies learn to wield a halberd. Mr. Mitford mentions that among some families of the old stock this habit is still preserved. There are also associations between people of the same caste, the object of which is mutual defence, charity, and the helping of the oppressed. In the European quarter of Yokohama you will hear that all this is ancient history—that chivalry and the feudal system have had their day, but are now obsolete and used up. I will refer to these assertions by and by. But whatever people may say or think of the feudal system in general, and of the institutions which have hitherto prevailed in Japan, there is one point on which everyone is agreed. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, and until very lately, the people were happy and contented. Excepting the enormous revenues of the great daimios, which were mostly absorbed by the expenses of their position, and formed in a sort of way the common property of the whole clan, there were few large fortunes and hardly any poor. Although several classes were armed, there were, comparatively speaking, but few acts of violence committed. Japanese history knows of no horrors like those perpetrated in China by the Tae-pings. Public order was rarely troubled in

^{*} See Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan."

Japan. Life and property were better protected than in any other pagan nation. The cultivation of the soil, the development of certain branches of industry, the taste for and the practice of the fine arts, bespeak a long-established civilization. Doubtless this civilization is imperfect, for Christianity has never shed its light freely on the land. Certain barbarous customs tarnish the spirit of chivalry and the feeling of honour which distinguish this people. Gross superstitions darken and hinder the aspirations of their souls, which are dissatisfied with the Buddhist doctrines, although Buddhism is the religion of the majority. The spirit of scepticism has invaded and enervated the whole of the upper classes. The family forms the basis of the political institutions of the state ; but woman, although more free and more respected than in any other pagan society, still awaits the hour of her enfranchisement.¹ Hence arises a deplorable relaxation in morals ; but the shameful vices which sully the Chinese people are almost unknown in Japan. Respect for parental authority, fidelity to the head of the clan—who is looked upon as the common father of all the members of these historic groups—bravery, and voluntary death, when exacted by honour, were and are the most widely-spread virtues of this gay, polite, careless, chivalrous, and amiable people.

That the abolition of the Siogunate, which for so many centuries had filled so large a place in the state, should leave a great void—that the country would have to go through a series of troubles and crisis before filling it up—all this was indubitable ; but no one foresaw the extent of the subversion of which this has been the consequence.

The civil war was hardly at an end before its principal authors, those who had planned and accomplished the downfall of the Siogun, Princes Satsuma, Chôshiu, Toza, and Hizen, addressed a petition to the Mikado, which was partly inspired by a simple samurai belonging to Prince Chôshiu, named Kido, who is to-day one of the most influential members of the emperor's council. In this memorable petition, these great princes offered the Mikado both their lands and their troops.

¹ In Japan the husband simply sends away his wife when he is tired of her, and gives notice of his intention to the chief of his clan. When this formality has been gone through, he considers himself legally divorced.

It was like asking for their own destruction. The non-initiated could not believe their ears. The offer was accepted. The other daimios, with the exception of eleven, who, however, soon resigned themselves to the common fate, followed the example of the four princes. From that moment the Mikado's government has plunged into the path of reform with incredible boldness. The titles of daimio, feudal lord, and kugé (court noble), were abolished and replaced by the vague designation of *katsoku*, or noble. The daimios were left at the head of their clans, but only with the title of governors under the Imperial Council. Soon after, a ministerial change took place.¹ The leaders of the revolution of 1868, Iwakura and the principal agents of the four princes, who, until now, had acted behind the scenes, were brought forward on the political stage. At this moment they form, with Sanjo and Saijo, the ministry and council of the Mikado.

I have before mentioned the principal acts of the new government, as they have been told and explained to me by their authors: the abolition of the *hans*, [towns and feudal territories], transformed into *kens*, that is, towns and lands holding directly under the crown. This was, with a stroke of the pen, to destroy the feudal constitution of the whole empire. This extraordinarily bold measure was received by the country in the silence of a kind of stupor; and by the Europeans of Yokohama, who had applauded the first innovations with an ill-disguised anxiety. Everyone asked himself whether an edict of such great importance could possibly be put into execution without exciting serious resistance.

The daimios, first transformed into simple governors of their old dominions, were afterwards dismissed, to be replaced by functionaries sent from Yedo. More than this, they were ordered to live constantly in town. We know that the daimios, subject to the Siogun's authority, were obliged to pass six months of the year in Yedo. But this obligation was imposed upon them at the time when they had become vassals of the Siogun, and in virtue of mutual agreement. The edict of the new ministry, on the other hand, is purely arbitrary; it deprives the highest personages in the empire of a right which is not refused to the *étas*, or even to the poorest beggar

¹ In the month of August 1871.

—that of living in the place which has witnessed their birth. Prince Ichikusen, having drawn upon himself the displeasure of the ministry, was simply dismissed, replaced in his functions by a government official, sent for to Yedo, and shut up in his palace, which is close to the English Legation. According to ancient usage in similar cases, the great door of honour in his yashki was destroyed, and the opening closed by planks nailed on transverse beams. All this passed during my sojourn at Yedo. The ministers were quite proud of having dared to carry out so bold an act of authority.

The clans of which the interior organization was virtually destroyed by the abolition of the daimios, are likewise, as we have before said, to undergo important modifications. The little clans are to be grouped into one or two, and the larger ones are to be divided.

The government announced its intention of forming an imperial army. The great daimios received an order accordingly to send both troops and material of war to Yedo and Kiyôto; and the chiefs of the four clans hastened, at least, apparently and in a certain measure, to obey an order which formed part of their own programme. Great was the Mikado's satisfaction, and great the public astonishment. Barracks being wanted they took possession of part of the convents of Shiba. The bonzes were dislodged with or without an indemnity. The soldiers were equipped, armed, and drilled à *l'Européenne*.

The religious question was not likely to escape the government solicitude. The new ministers, maintaining that they must go back to the purer dogmas of the religion of the Mikado, ordered the destruction of the symbols, statues, and Buddhist images which existed in the former Sintoo temples. If these orders are carried out to the letter they will involve the destruction of the sanctuaries held in the greatest veneration by the people, and indirectly of the Buddhist religion, that is, religion in general. Already the question has been mooted of the demolition of the magnificent tombs in the Shiba, the most precious sepulchral monuments in Japan. Everywhere they have begun by confiscating or expropriating, in a great measure, the large Buddhist convents, on the promise of a feeble indemnity. To appease the clamour of the monks,

they are dispensed from the celibate. The people look on in silence : they let the government have its way, without understanding anything of this crusade suddenly declared against their gods and their priests.

But there is another cause of disaffection. The state of the finances is not brilliant, and reforms cost dear. Until now the financial system was simple enough. The Mikado, the Siogun, the daimios, and the peasants lived of the fruit of their ground. The agriculturists paid a tax to the daimios, and these latter paid tribute either to the Mikado or to the Siogun. The *hatamotos* of the Siogun had certain lands assigned to them. The samurais of the Mikado and the daimios, in addition to certain farms worked by them, had rations of rice and a certain number of *kokus*, the price of the koku varying according to the state of the receipts, but representing, on an average, twenty-five francs. This pay formed almost the sole resource of the samurais. Tradesmen and artisans were exempt from taxation. When the crops failed, the tax was remitted, but spread over other years when the crops were abundant. This consideration was natural in princes whose paternal spirit rarely forgot that their subjects were members of their family, and that the impoverishing of the peasant fell upon the proprietor. The modern state of things, the complexity of its machinery, and the dearness of its administration, no longer admit of such regard to the feelings and wants of the people. To-day the tax is rigorously levied without reference to the quality or value of the crops. Hence, in the important class of agriculturists, who form the majority of the people, there are universal symptoms of discontent. To lighten their burdens, the government propose to reduce these charges (which they will not be able to do owing to the increase of their financial embarrassments), and also to tax the tradesmen and artisans, which they will certainly attempt ; the result will be to increase the number of the disaffected. But they have other sources of revenue at their disposal. The daimios have made the sacrifice of their lands, and, in consequence, of the immense revenues derived from them. The government while appropriating these, intends to leave a tenth part to the former proprietors, taking on itself the charges inherent on the position. The most considerable of these charges, beyond the purchase of ships

and of war materials, is the subvention due to the samurais. I have said above that the government proposes to pay two-thirds of their pension and to fund the remainder. In this way, they hope, in ten years, to repay the pensions. In the meantime, all specie has disappeared ; except a little copper money, nothing is to be seen but paper.

Such is a summary of the financial measures meditated, and in part already proclaimed, by the reform government. But the embarrassments increase daily. They are owing to two causes ; first, to the disturbance caused, in all the departments of the state, by these sudden and important changes, and in consequence a notable diminution of the public revenues ; and next, to an enormous addition to the expenses. It was necessary to provide for the installation of the Central Government, copied from the expensive model of European administrations, at least, such as they imagined them to be ; for the formation and maintenance of an imperial army and navy ; for the introduction of telegraphs and railways ; for the foundation of schools of foreign and other languages ; for the construction of the famous Exchange at Osaka, and last, not least, which is a real benefit, for the erection of lighthouses on the coast and in the inner sea. To meet all these requirements, Europeans are needed. They have engaged, therefore, at great expense, English, French, and German engineers, architects, professors, military instructors, and schoolmasters. They send annually a certain number of young men to Europe and to America, some as simple travellers, charged to take note of and bring back with them all the European ideas they can ; others as students, to follow courses of medicine, mechanics, and physical sciences. Their expenses are paid, and they receive besides a grant of a thousand dollars. They tell me that the number of these young emissaries of civilization is more than 500, and the cost upwards of eight millions of francs. English, German, and French books, generally compilations or popular encyclopædias, destined to propagate various kinds of useful knowledge, are translated into Japanese and spread among the youth of both sexes.

In direct contradiction to these efforts to endow Japan with all the benefits of European civilization, is the hatred of Christianity which seems to animate the reformers, the perse-

cutions to which the native Christians are exposed, who were little molested under the reign of the Sioguns, the cruelty exercised on their victims, and the non-acceptance of the friendly remonstrances of the whole diplomatic body on their behalf.

Now, who were the real authors of the revolution of 1868? and what is the ostensible object and the secret tendencies of its leaders?

Let us first listen to the natives themselves. Iwakura said to me, and to all who came near him: "The nation loves and venerates the Mikado. The Siogun had become the object of universal execration. It was necessary to compass his overthrow. But under him were the chiefs of the clans, the daimios, who were dependent upon him. After his downfall they looked forward to complete emancipation. It was intolerable. The Mikado alone could reduce them to obedience. It was therefore necessary to accomplish the restoration of his power. That has been done, and in three years all these reforms will have been peaceably carried out." This is the official language of the day, and little calculated to enlighten us, it is true. But I have a very curious document before me. I think, without being able positively to affirm it, that it is among the papers communicated to the English Parliament. It evidently dates from the first months of the revolution, when the expulsion of the barbarians was still inscribed on the banners of the four victorious clans. It bears the title of *Fuku-ko-ron* (Return to the old régime).

Here are some of its essential portions:—

"It is believed and even maintained that the emperor cannot continue in the supreme government of the empire for a long succession of years. One must be deprived of the gift of reflection and observation, and not be able to read the signs of the times, to hold such language." Then follows a long dissertation to prove, I think contrary to historical fact, that for two thousand years the Mikados had reigned and governed without the participation of the military class; and that if they had for a few short years yielded to them the reins of the state it was by a voluntary act. Then the author continues: "This time it is the people themselves who spontaneously have taken the initiative in the re-establishment of the exclusive authority

of the Mikado. This movement, begun by the ronins,^{*} successively enlisted the sympathies of the *kerais*, the *karos*, and finally the *daimios*. Emanating thus from the people themselves, it spread further and further, and ended in the return of the whole country to the old form of government. It follows that *even if the Mikado wished to change his policy, he could not do so, because the opinion of the people would be against such a change.*" . . .

"Again, it is said : ' Apparently the present movement is a return to the government of the sovereign ; but in reality its object is to place the power in the hands of the daimios.' This is an entire contradiction of the facts of the case. The people took the initiative in the business, and will bring it to a successful issue. How could the daimios, whatever might be their intentions, work out their own ends? . . . If any one examines the proceedings of the new government, he will see that in all matters of business, even the least important; the daimios may be consulted, but it is the Mikado who decides. This is the ideal of a national and impartial government. The promoters of this revolution have doubtless been, in the first instance, Satsuma, Chôshiu, and Toza. Later on, the other daimios have given them their energetic support. Whoever would undo this equitable arrangement would meet with the opposition of the united forces of the empire. . . . How has it happened that the initiative in this movement has been taken by the lower classes? For two hundred years the people have been in the habit of discussing the obedience due to their sovereign. They reckoned up the crimes perpetrated in these last times by the Siogunate. On the occasion of the signature of the treaties with the external barbarians, the hitherto contained indignation of the people was slightly manifested." . . . Here the author enumerates these (slight?) manifestations of popular anger : the assassination of the regent, Ii-Kamon-no-Kami ; the attack on the person of the second minister for foreign affairs, Tsushima, who was grievously wounded ; the assaults on the members of the English Legation, the cook and

^{*} Allusion is here made to the 600 ronins, who, in 1865, revolted against the Siogun, in the provinces of Yamato and Tajima, under the lead of the kugés. They were dispersed, and the kugés took refuge with Prince Chôshiu.

a orderly being killed, and the Secretary, Mr. Oliphant, badly wounded ; the revolt of the 600 ronins ; and the division in the clan of Prince Mito, one fraction of which declared for the Mikado.¹

This memorial, evidently inspired by the chiefs of the movement, of whom it pretends to justify the conduct, although filled with wilful inaccuracies and palpable contradictions, which are easily explained by the position of the leaders, throws a strong light on the origin and object of the revolution. It endeavours to refute the popular belief that the Mikados were incapable of governing by themselves. It tries to give to the whole movement an essentially democratic character. The people, who in reality had not moved, are supposed to have taken the initiative with the intention of dispossessing the military class—that is, these very same samurais who, fighting under the banner of their clan, overthrew the Siogun. The memorial maintains that the principal object was the restoration of the Mikado ; but it hastens to add that the Mikado would be powerless to place his power in the hands of the military class, contrary to the wish of the people, thus putting the people above the Mikado. It admits that the great crime of the Siogun was to have treated with the barbarians ; and it puts forward, as an ideal of a well-regulated state, the government of the daimios ; or, to speak more truly, of the three chiefs of the clans who provoked the movement, and whom the Mikado consulted before giving his decision. What a *naïf* confession ! It proves that those who think that the replacing of the Siogun by an oligarchy was the object, as, in its present phase, it is the result of the revolution, were not so far wrong in their opinion.

Now, let us look at the information gathered by the Europeans, and I may add by the men who have the best opportunity of ascertaining the truth. The following is a summary :—

The initiative of this great movement belonged to the principal counsellors of the two great southern princes, Satsuma and Chôshiu, round whom were rallied certain kugés, of whom Sanjo, by his family relations, is in the highest position, and Iwakura is the most talented and active. The yashkis of Prince Satsuma and Chôshiu, in the south, and Kiyôto in the

¹ These events took place in 1860, 1862, and 1865.

centre, were the two hotbeds of the intrigues which plotted the destruction of the Siogun. His complete ruin, the destruction of his power, and the abolition of his dignity, were the first objects of the conspirators. To insure the concurrence of the great clans, they appealed to the hatred against the foreigners, which is so common among the samurais. The rallying cry consequently became—"The restoration of the Mikado, and the expulsion of the barbarians." When the first part of the programme had been carried out, the samurais asked to march upon Yokohama. The leaders tried to quiet them by saying: "These foreigners are stronger than we are, better armed, richer, and superior to us in a thousand ways. They burnt Kagoshima and Shimonoséki, and they will burn Yedo and Osaka. Have patience! our day will come. But before everything, we must perfect our arms, drill our troops, borrow from the barbarians means of action, which some day will help us to exterminate them." This reasoning had its effect. But the leaders themselves, what are their feelings with regard to the Europeans? It is thought that their only anxiety is to maintain their power—that they do not share in the bitterness of the samurais—but that we should grossly deceive ourselves if we imagined that their feelings towards us were really friendly. As to the people, to whom this famous memorial attributes the initiative in the revolution, they have taken no part whatever in the matter: they do not trouble their heads with politics, and are, what they have always been towards Europeans—civil, amiable, and indifferent.

There is no possible doubt of the truth of the preceding statement. But several important facts remain unexplained. To lift the curtain one loses oneself in conjectures. Thus I hear some people affirm that the princes and the daimios in general are stupid, brutish, and fallen almost into a state of imbecility—that they have become only the tools of those about them; that their counsellors, who are all of the samurais class, conceived the revolution, not to replace the Siogun by the Mikado, for they care for neither the one nor the other, but to shake off the yoke of their masters (of the very men who, if we are to believe these self-same people, they work upon and domineer over in their own interests); that modern and democratic ideas, imported from America and Europe,

have bitten them all ; that the feudal system, here as in Europe, has had its day ; that these institutions have outlived their time ; that, ruined in their foundations, the first breath would blow them away ; that the contact with Europeans has opened the eyes of men of letters ; that aspirations towards progress and the adoption of our civilization are more and more spread among all classes ; that the frequent travels of the Japanese youth in Europe and America develop this movement and consolidate the reforms inaugurated under our very eyes. To this I answered : "Do you know the princes personally?" They owned that they did not, or at least only superficially. They have only seen them on official occasions, when etiquette imposes on the great absolute silence and idiotic faces. This, therefore, proves nothing. It is true that many are influenced by their surroundings, which seems to show that they are wanting in intelligence and energy. No fact could be brought forward to prove the pretended intention of the samurais to withdraw from their vassalship to the princes. It is, then, a mere supposition. We have read the history of the forty-seven ronins. I put it down in my journal because it is the apotheosis of the principle of loyalty, which is the basis and essence of feudal institutions. About 150 years, it is true, have passed since that tragedy was enacted ; but the people still burn incense on the tombs of the martyrs to this principle. It was there that, only three years ago, a ronin committed suicide because his admittance into a certain clan of a great prince had been refused him. But to prove the vitality and vigour of feudal institutions as they still existed in 1868, there is another fact which, in my opinion, is unanswerable ; and that is, the history of this very last revolution. The power of the Siogun, although weakened, was still immense. This prince, master of the richest province of the empire, with a perfectly-equipped army at his disposal, with 80,000 hatamotos, with all the customs-duties of the open ports of Yedo and Osaka, with the scarcely-disguised and very real moral support of the diplomatic corps, yet was defeated, and defeated by three princes, who, thanks to the organization of their feudal power, found everything which was necessary to upset this Colossus—moral and material resources, men trained to arms, and determined to live and die under the banner of their chief.

As to the existence of a strong public opinion, widely spread in certain quarters, which asks for progress without knowing what direction to take or where to stop—as to the existence of such aspirations, however vague, the fact seems to me incontestable. The ministers of the day have begun these transformations by letting themselves run with the stream. In this work they are encouraged and helped by the unanimous approval of the European merchants; by the kind reception they meet with from the heads of the Legations when they ask their opinion on financial or administrative measures (for I suppose they prudently abstain from giving advice on questions of interior or home policy); by the assistance of a good number of Americans and Europeans engaged in the Mikado's service—in a word, by the flattering echoes which come from the other side of the globe; by the favourable appreciation of the American and English press; and by the letters of the tourists and Japanese students who have visited the United States, England, France, and Germany, to draw streams of civilization from the fountain-head. It is by channels such as these that Europe and America invade Japan.

I have often asked myself to what extent and in what degree the reform measures decreed at Yedo have become a reality. On this capital point, for want of agents and travellers who can penetrate into the interior of the country, the information which arrives at the Legations and at the great commercial houses of Yokohama is rare, incomplete, and contradictory. One fact, however, is ascertained beyond a doubt. The Princes of Satsuma and Hizen, whose kingdoms (to use their old appellation) extend over the greater part of the Island of Kiushiu, have lost nothing of their prestige nor of their power. This is what the merchants of Nagasaki write, and one or two Europeans employed by these great feudal lords. There is nothing very astonishing in this, however, when we remember that it is Satsuma and Hizen who, with Chôshiu and Toza, made the revolution. It is quite natural that they should work it in their own interests. But the other great daimios who adhered to Kido's celebrated petition, will they be forced to commit suicide? A person inhabiting one of the treaty-ports, a stranger to politics, but one living in constant relations with the people of the country, told me:—

“In the interior, the greater part of the new edicts issued at Yedo remain a dead letter. Thus the government has abolished the *hans*—dismissed, despoiled, and degraded the daimios; but their power was never more firmly established. As a matter of form, they pretend to obey; in reality, they do just what they please. They levy fresh taxes, make and unmake the laws, and raise both men and contributions, just exactly as if the Mikado’s government did not exist; and the emperor takes good care not to insist on the execution of his orders, and thereby provoke a fresh struggle with these petty kings. In Japan it is always the same story—the same powerlessness on the part of the government, whether it be that of the Mikado or the Siogun; with this difference, however, that the latter was really master in the provinces placed under his direct authority; and that he had the power of controlling to a certain point, and by using delicate management, his vassals, the daimios; so that the action of the Central Government to-day is weaker than it has ever been.”¹

I find the same ideas among several of the members of the diplomatic corps. “Next year,” one of them said to me, “we shall have the negotiations for the revision of the treaties.”² There will probably be a question of the whole country being opened to the Europeans. If the government puts any obstacle in the way, it will be on the ground that they cannot guarantee our security till a general disarmament has been effected, and that this is a serious measure which involves time. For this reason they will plead for an adjournment. But the real motive is to be found elsewhere. In theory, the Mikado’s power is now universal; in reality, whatever the reformers may say, this authority is far from being universally recognized.”

The favourable view taken of the reforms by the foreign

¹ This was true in September 1871; but in the following year there were considerable modifications. Obeying the imperial orders, the daimios arrived in great numbers at Yedo. Shut out from all participation in the affairs of state, despoiled in a great measure of their revenues, they see themselves condemned to insignificance and obscurity. In this point of view the work of destruction is being carried out. But has the authority of the government been the gainer? Has it been thereby consolidated in the provinces and in the hearts of the clans, deprived of their natural leaders? My Japanese letters are silent on this capital point.

² On the demand of the Japanese government they are adjourned to 1873.

merchants, though somewhat abated at the present moment, is easily explained. The Anglo-Saxon is naturally philanthropic, and rather inclined to propagate his own ideas, especially of useful knowledge. He gets an affection for the country where he lives, and approves of all that seems an assimilation to British institutions. Then comes the question of interests. Civilization creates new wants, which English commerce can supply. The Japanese will be able to pay—at least they fancy so at Yokohama, if only because they possess an inexhaustible supply of minerals. Nevertheless, some people think otherwise. “The ministers of the day,” they exclaim, “are acting in the teeth of common sense: they are like children; they destroy all the old institutions of the country without having any clear idea how to replace them. They seek for models in America and Europe without realizing that they are incapable of appropriating them; they run after certain notions, of which they cannot penetrate the sense. A perfect rage for imitation possesses them just now: it will pass; but the question is, whether it will leave any good or useful trace behind. After all, they are doing very much like the savages in the Sandwich Islands, who have adopted European customs, trousers, and waistcoat, leaving out the linen; and have established, over and above, two chambers and a responsible government!” This is the most widely-spread reasoning; it is not very flattering to the Japanese, whom they compare to savages, and it does not seem to me to lie very deep. If the reformers act in spite of common sense, how can we hope that something useful will come out of their aberrations?

Lastly, let us listen to the adversaries of Japanese progress. They are less numerous. They say: “The reforms of the new ministers, unless they remain a dead letter, imply the total ruin of the daimios, who will be despoiled of nine-tenths of their revenues, and the entire destruction of the samurais, reduced to a state of mendicity. It was, nevertheless, the daimios and the samurais who made the revolution and placed the authors of their ruin in power. Thus, those very men who have raised you to the highest position are to receive, without resistance, and with the very sword which they have placed in your hands, the final blow which is to put an end to their existence. Is this credible? But yet this is the starting-point of the reformers.

Add to this, financial embarrassments, the exhaustion of the treasury, the impossibility of replenishing it without impoverishing the country, inevitable bankruptcy, the puerile and ruinous attempt to introduce institutions and administrative forms suited only to advanced countries like England and the United States, the confiscations of the lands and goods of the Buddhist clergy, the growing discontent of the peasants, of the innumerable bonzes,^{*} and especially of the military, and you will have a very fair notion of the difficulties of the position. In order that these reforms (which have been begun and carried out with a boldness, precipitation, and thoughtlessness, which may really be called unheard-of) should succeed, the daimios must be idiots, and the links of twenty centuries between them and their clans must have been suddenly broken; the samurais, besides, must be as great fools as their masters. We must suppose, likewise, that the peasants, so independent, so jealous of their rights, and forming an immense majority in the kingdom, have suddenly fallen below the level of the fellahs of Egypt, or the blacks of Central Africa; and that the Buddhist priests, illumined by a sudden ray of divine light, have now but one wish, and that is, to see their idols and temples destroyed, to lose their rations of rice and their homes, and be reduced to an extremity of misery. And all these miracles are to be wrought in order to endow the nation with institutions borrowed from the barbarians, whose destruction had served as the rallying-cry at the beginning of the revolution! Is it probable—is it possible that these projects should be realized without provoking furious resistance? Either the Japanese nation is a dead body, or it still has some vitality. In the first case, the reformers have nothing to fear or to hope for. Like remedies applied to a corpse, their reforms will be ineffectual. If the Japanese people have any life left in them, they will end by not tolerating these violent attacks directed against their goods, their customs, their institutions, and their religion. They will rise as one man, and crush those who have been foolhardy enough to try and overturn all they hold most dear. Anarchy and civil war will flood the country with blood and ruin, and the European establishments will be engulfed in the

^{*} Their number is supposed to be (I know not on what authority) upwards of 400,000.

general catastrophe ; for the reaction will come, and the cry will be : ‘ Death to the barbarians ! ’ ”

Such are the sinister previsions of the *pessimists*. For my own part, I hesitate about pronouncing an opinion. To understand the reform one ought to possess certain informations which are entirely wanting—a thorough knowledge of the national character, of the men who have lately climbed to supreme power, of the nature of their relations to the Mikado and to the four great clans, of the real feelings of the latter, and of the influence and authority of the agents charged with the execution of the new decrees in the interior of the country. On all these points I find myself more or less in the dark, or reduced to scanty information given me here and there, of which I cannot prove the accuracy, and which very often is only supposition. Nevertheless, in all human things there are elements which, saving the differences of time and place, are common to all races, are found in all latitudes and in all societies, and are ordinarily the most essential. From this point of view, considering recent events in Japan under their general aspect, I have arrived at certain conclusions, and I give them here with every kind of reserve. In the first place, I have been immensely struck with the depth, and at the same time with the levity of those who have directed the movement of the four clans, and who to-day are working out its consequences. 1st. With the depth : it was the question of destroying the Siogun. The authors of the scheme began by proclaiming their object to be the restoration of the Mikado. They thus legitimized their enterprise by appealing to the highest principle, and also the principle most ingrained in the heart of the nation. To insure the moral support and co-operation of those who were to lend them their swords, they next appealed to the ruling passion of the day—the hatred of foreigners. Their watchword thus became : “ Restoration of the Mikado ! Expulsion of the barbarians ! ” But the Mikado is only a talisman—an invaluable one, it is true—to those who wish to influence the masses ; but of real power—financial, political, or military resources—there is not a vestige. Still his moral prestige is enormous. The Mikado has his wives ; his kugés, who put on their brocaded robes, with wings of cloth of gold, and their black caps, and go and prostrate themselves before

the idol ; he has also a few samurais ; but he has no army. It is this or that great daimio who is called upon to mount guard with the men of his clan over the sacred person of the son of the gods. Nevertheless, it appears that, without the Mikado ; no success is possible. The last events seem to prove it. Whilst prince Aidzu held the castle of Kiyôto the affairs of his friend the Siogun went well enough. Chôshiu, too, before attempting his great levy, tried to get possession of the person of the emperor—the first time by inviting him to meet him at a temple outside the town. This was a trap ; the thing got wind, and failed. The second time his men forced their way into Kiyôto, but they were repulsed. At last the talisman fell into the hands of the conspirators. From that moment the cause of the Siogun was lost. One sees, then, the great moral importance of the Mikado, in spite of his material powerlessness. If they had nothing to put in the place of the Siogun but the Mikado—who is only a principle, and not a substantive power—it is quite clear that no central authority could be created, or else that it would vanish as soon as established, and that the daimios, both small and great, would become altogether independent. This would have led to civil war and permanent anarchy. It was necessary, at the very moment of the fall of the Siogunate, to substitute another power equally strongly organized and ready to accept the succession. This they found in the authority of the four great princes—those who had conceived the idea of the movement, borne the burden of the war, gained the victory, and destroyed the enemy. If the revolution of 1868 has any meaning at all, it means the replacing of the Siogunate by the dominion of the four princes, under the supreme but nominal authority of the Mikado. For this latter potentate all this overthrow was reduced to a change of residence. Yedo, the capital of the Siogun, must necessarily be that of his successors, who could not do without the Mikado. The talisman was therefore transported from Kiyôto to Yedo. I do not mean to imply by this that the present government did violence to the feelings of the emperor. It seems certain, on the contrary, that the young sovereign, who was very favourably disposed in favour of the innovations, approved the conduct of his ministers.

The new state of things is, in fact, the dominion of the four

chiefs of the clan, collectively exercised in the name of the Mikado, by the ministers, who are their proxies, and spreading nominally or actually over every part of Japan. Thus we have a combination which is at once clever and deep: for it rests on a just appreciation of given elements.

To consolidate its strength this new power had to create an army. The hatamotos of the Siogun were dispersed. Devoted, besides, as they were to their chief, it would not have been safe, even had it been possible, to enlist them under the banner of the new *régime*. The Mikado, as I said before, had no military force. There remained, then, only the clans of the four princes, who were living at the extreme ends of the empire. Here began both the difficulties and the levity of the proceeding. The four princes had offered their territories to the Mikado, and the other daimios had been obliged to follow their example. Now it became a question of making a fresh sacrifice—of sending to Yedo troops from all the clans, so as to form an imperial army, which should be, in fact, the army of the collective powers. This serious and radical measure was in the direct interest of the four princes; it gave them the means of consolidating their new power in the very centre of the empire, and of rendering the other daimios harmless by disarming them. But at the same time it destroyed the organization of the clans, which was a fundamental institution of the nation. Politically speaking, and with a view to the wants of the moment, the measure was an excellent one; but socially, and as regards future consequences, I think it most disastrous, even for the four princes themselves, who, in destroying their clans, sapped the very foundations of their own existence.

The Central Government is composed of a certain number of ministers, of whom the most important is Iwakura; and of four imperial councillors, delegates of the four clans, called upon to co-operate with the ministers, and at the same time to control and watch them. Kido, as I have before said, is the most active and the cleverest among them. Saigo, too, renders valuable service. The result is, that the direction of affairs is centred in the hands of the men who, with the four princes and their troops, made the revolution of 1868. If they call themselves ministers and councillors of the emperor, it is to

save the principle. In reality, they are the proxies of the princes; their whole power rests upon their support; and as these princes (as it is supposed) are in the hands of their counsellors or advisers, these advisers have the real authority; and they again lean on the most influential men of their clan. This is how they go on. At Yedo an important question is mooted. The plan is instantly communicated to the counsellors of the four princes, sent into the provinces, and there debated and discussed in the dominant *coterie* of each clan. The assent is given in the form of a petition to the ministers. These men publish the decree or measure which has been decided upon in consequence, as they assert, of the strong pressure put upon them by public opinion; witness such and such petitions. In a word, it is the oligarchy of Yedo leaning on the smaller oligarchies which lead the four clans. The comings and goings between the capital and the residences of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Toza, and Hizen, are incessant. Can this state of things last? The Central Government, under the pressure of the urgent wants of their position, absorbs more and more the vital forces of the clans, who, to make the new organization work, give their blood and their money. They have suppressed the daimiats—at least, on paper,—ruined the samurais, and destroyed the clans; they are forced to burden the people with taxes, and have recourse to the most disastrous financial measures. From hence a universal weakening of the four clans, who must feel it, although masters for the moment of supreme power. The day will perhaps come when they will tire of the sacrifices which the Yedo government does not cease to ask of them, and when the reform party, who are in power to-day, will be replaced by men of the old stock. On this important question—the true feeling of the clans—I have no reliable information. But it is in human nature, and in the nature of the situation, that sooner or later the governing power at Yedo will try to emancipate themselves from the tutelage of the four clans. The more the organization of the imperial army becomes matured, the more they will feel their strength increase, and the less they will be pleased at playing the part of simple proxies.

The ministers who came into office at the end of the civil war had already favoured the innovations copied from European

models. But their successors—the real authors of the revolution—launched themselves furiously in this path. In a few days after the formation of the new administration they had despoiled and ruined the daimios, indirectly destroyed the clans, and reduced the military to perfect misery. They have attacked the religion of the country, opened a crusade against Buddhism, and, pressed by financial embarrassments, they have appropriated a large portion of the lands of the clergy. Only the Montoïtes, on account of the political importance and the riches of this branch of the Buddhist sect, have been treated with some consideration. One would say that the ministry, the more it breaks with the ancient traditions of the country and with those who hold them, the more it seeks for a moral support in the new opinion which strives to borrow from Europe and the United States the models of the future institutions of the country. I am far from wishing to cast obloquy or suspicion on the motives of the remarkable men whom we see at the head of affairs. Until I have proofs to the contrary, I hold them to be animated with the purest and most patriotic intentions. I have no sympathy with the god, Buddha; but I fear that in destroying the idols and temples under the pretext of restoring the official worship, which is no religion at all, they will deprive the people of their faith, and, what is more serious, of the power of believing,—a bad way, in my opinion, of making them happy and civilized. However seductive their outward appearance may be, I have few regrets for their barbarous chivalry; but it is closely linked with their feudal constitution, which they are destroying without knowing how to replace it. I bear witness, in the upper strata of society, to their eager aspirations towards progress, their ardent thirst for improvement, their genuine wish to acquire useful knowledge, and to endow their country with all the conquests of European civilization. Only I do not think that the way they set to work is practical. The papers and the greater part of the resident foreigners think that they have entered on a right path, but that they go too quickly. I beg their pardon; but I do not think the path is a good one. It appears to me that any work of reform ought to begin by touching the hearts of men. It ought to implant charity and the renunciation of self. This being done, one can, with some chance of success

proscribe acts of vengeance and violence, and establish philanthropic institutions. By placing woman in her proper position, the conjugal link would be purified and strengthened, public morals would be corrected, and the family, which is the basis of the state, would be regenerated. The result would be, respect for property and private rights, and honest guarantees for public order, without which trade will never flourish. Then the moment would arrive for telegraphs and railroads. To begin with them is to set the cart before the horse. A man may learn to work the telegraph wires and drive a locomotive, and yet remain a barbarian, sharpen his sword on the first man he meets after leaving the station, or, if the stationmaster has reprimanded him, perform *hari-kari* to avenge his injured honour.

All these questions are naturally subjects of warm discussion among the European residents. When I tell them my ideas on the subject they smile archly; they are too civil to laugh out loud; which, however, does not prevent my fearing that the attempts I see made around me will turn out ill; for experience proves that the contract with our civilization is always fatal to savage or semi-barbarous races, as long as they are deprived of the lights and benefits of Christianity.

But a truce to these reflections. Let us limit ourselves to bearing witness to the fact which, in the empire of the Rising Sun, is now of paramount importance. The ministers have embarked in an ultra-reform movement, either to direct or work it as a weapon against their adversaries—against the opinion of old Japan, which remains stupefied, silent, intimidated, but not so devoid of vitality as people imagine. I do not reproach them for it; but what I cannot approve of, is their total want of respect for vested rights, the arbitrary nature of their measures, the levity which attacks everything right and left, and the use they make, to carry out their work of destruction, of the name of the Mikado, whose *prestige*, although twenty centuries old, might well be eclipsed in their rash and inexperienced hands.

Lastly, in the midst of loud cheers—which, however, the least accident would convert into reproaches and injuries—the boat has left the shore, and is rapidly drifting down the stream. Will she arrive at a safe haven? It is possible. Will she founder? It is probable. No one can tell. Not being able

either to stop or to reascend the stream, they leave it to chance. The sight is a curious but not a new one. Already Guichardin has said: "That those who introduce a novelty into the machinery of the state can never foresee the course the movement will take, and rarely see the end of it."¹

¹ I venture to call the attention of my readers to a piece given in the appendix. It is an historical *precis*, of twelve months, from the end of September, 1871 (which is the date of my departure from Japan), to the end of September, 1872. The gentleman to whom I am indebted for it is a close and benevolent observer, who has inhabited Yokohama for some years. I will add some extracts of letters from another resident in the same town. He judges the acts of the reform government with more severity than the author of the memorial; but both deserve confidence and careful attention

END OF THE SECOND PART.

PART III. .

C H I N A.

CHAPTER I.

*SHANGHAI.—FROM THE 3rd TO THE 8th OF OCTOBER, AND
FROM THE 14th TO THE 16th OF NOVEMBER.*

The different appearance of the "Concessions."—The Chinese town, Sukia-wei.—A symphony of Haydn performed by the Chinese.—The Sisters' Orphanage.—Fluctuations in the present state of Trade.

October 3.—The sky is grey; the air sharp and cold. A fresh breeze blows from the north-east. One might fancy oneself in Russia. Yesterday we were feeling that we were under the equator. We have not, however, left the 31st parallel. At twelve o'clock the *New York* is at 200 miles from the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang, and already the sea is paler. Towards evening it becomes mud-colour.

October 4.—At ten o'clock we entered the "great river," as the Chinese call it, and not without reason; for after the Amazon and the Mississippi, it is the largest river in the world. The left bank is invisible. To our right the plains of the province of Kiang-su stretch onward till they disappear on the horizon. Some large English merchant steamers are paddling in the muddy waters of the stream, which is at this moment lashed by the wind. Pilot-boats and junks, with their huge sails all set, are tacking backwards and forwards as in the open sea.

At one o'clock the *New York* enters the Hwang-pu, passes before the French naval station of Wusung, and coasts along the flat, green, cultivated banks of the river, amongst which

villages are scattered, which recall the banks of the Humber in Yorkshire.

There is nothing in the scenery which, by its beauty or novelty, strikes the eye or speaks to the imagination. One has seen the like a thousand times before. Nevertheless, on the river, the animation increases as we near the great metropolis. Already, through a forest of masts, we see the imposing buildings of the English town, the houses of the American quarter, and the flags of the different Consulates.

We have passed before the dockyards and the docks of the American company, of which the great steamers of two stories, painted all white, serve the line of Yang-tse-kiang. Higher up you perceive, either starting, arriving, or at anchor, the ships of the English Peninsular Company and those of the French Messageries. Add to this the numerous English merchant steamers which have come straight from London, Liverpool, or Glasgow; those of the great Shanghai houses of Jardine and Russell; and near each of these leviathans, like planets gravitating round the sun, the Chinese *sampans*, employed in lading or unlading these big ships. There are also a large number of sailing vessels; but since the opening of the Suez Canal their number is sensibly diminished. It is steam which now monopolizes the seas. My eye rejoices at the sight of a fine Austrian corvette, the *Fasana*, Captain Funk, which has just arrived from Trieste. In the lower part of the harbour one sees nothing but a confused mass of masts, yards, and fantastic-shaped sails. There are junks of all sizes anchored under the walls of the Chinese town. The prow of each of these boats is ornamented by two great painted eyes. Unfortunately, the captains don't make very good use of theirs; or else, passing before the European steamers, by way of expressing their contempt, they provoke accidents, of which they and their boats become the victims. These great, staring eyes, which seem fixed upon you with sinister intentions, never failed, I own, to inspire me with secret terror. Being the symbol (though a lying one, it is true) of the vigilance of these vessels, they give them the appearance of monsters prepared to devour you.

We disembarked near the American quarter, and I fall with joy into the open arms of M. de Calice, our Consul-general at Shanghai, and resident minister in China and Japan. He offers

me, and I accept with gratitude, his cordial and splendid hospitality.

The more I examine this town the more it excites my admiration. Certainly its site, in a flat and marshy plain, is the reverse of attractive. In a picturesque point of view, it is about the most ugly country one can well imagine. It is also certain that the residences of the rich merchants, although fine, imposing, and pretentious edifices, are not models of architecture ; and as for its climate, Shanghai enjoys the reputation of being one of the most detestable in the world. But what I admire is the boldness, the perseverance, the elastic, energetic, indefatigable genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, ever rich in expedients, who first conceived the idea of building a town here, and who have succeeded, after a desperate but victorious struggle with nature, and with every species of difficulty—the silent resistance of the Chinese government, attacks from the rebels, commercial failures, rivalry between the immigrants of other countries, and dissensions even in the heart of the British residents themselves. It is true that the whole merit is not due to the English. The French government has had its share. But nine-tenths of the capital employed in the commerce and navigation of Shanghai are English ; and the white population, if you look to their origin, shows a proportion of six to one between the English residents and those of all other Christian nations. The difference between the spirit of the French people and the sons of Old England, which is so striking in the extreme East and wherever the two flags float side by side, is equally remarkable here. The English factory is the creation of individuals, helped by the moral support, and exceptionally and very rarely by the military and naval forces, of their government. The French establishments are the work of the government itself, accomplished with or without national concurrence.

The official agents of France march at the head of their colonists, whereas the British functionaries only form the rear-guard and reserve. The first inspire and direct their countrymen ; the second protect and often have to control them. The official agents of both countries are the constant object of the criticisms of their countrymen. The English complain of too much interference, the French of too little. The English exclaim : “Our consul meddles in everything ;” the French :

"Our consul cares for nothing." The truth is, that the task of the British authorities is less to direct than to control ; whilst the French consuls must govern and even reign. Withdraw these officials, take away the French flag, recall the French ship in the harbour, and I would bet you ten to one that in a few years the whole establishment will have disappeared. In an English factory things would be quite different. After the departure of their consul and of the Queen's troops, the residents would set about at once maintaining order, and, if necessary, organising a defence against an external enemy. There might be some bad or anxious times to go through ; but it is next to certain that the respectable elements would get the upper hand, and would establish a tolerable if not a good state of things. The French, I repeat, would depart in the wake of their civil and military authorities, and the few that remained would amalgamate with the natives. This we have often seen : and it has been often before said. If I inscribe it on these pages, it is that we may the better understand Shanghai. Far be it from me to disparage the noble French people. One may be a great nation, and yet not have the vocation of colonization. Besides, what is the meaning of colonization ? Is it merely the clearing of the soil ? In this point of view the colonies of Louis XIV. in Canada would compare favourably with the most flourishing of those of other nations. Is it to work the ground for the profit of the immigrants ? In that case the English deserve the palm which all the world allows them. But if we understand by colonization, carrying civilization into the hearts of the native population whose territory you occupy, then the Portuguese and Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seem to me to have been the first colonizers of the earth. Histories written—do not let us forget it—by pens which were anything but impartial, have tarnished (and justly, if the facts related be true) the reputation of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, and accused them of unheard-of acts of cruelty, oppression, and wrong. Even those who were reported gentle and humane employed means which our own century would not stand for a moment. But these kingdoms beyond the seas were rich and prosperous, and the capitals of the *presidencias* became the centres of civilization. The natives flocked into them, and took back to their homes,

with the light of Christianity (though perhaps feeble and uncertain) the ideas and usages (though very imperfect also) of civilized life. The progress made was real and lasting. Witnesses who are beyond suspicion—travellers who, like Alexander Humboldt, have visited the Spanish colonies at the beginning of this century—that is, at a time when Spain herself had long since fallen from her rank among the first powers of Europe—speak with admiration of the organization she had left behind—of the regularity of the administrative service in these colonies—of the security and order which reigned there, and of the wisdom of the colonial laws, drawn up and codified under the reign of the Philips. The Court of Madrid, it is true, drew from its territories beyond the seas a quantity of precious metals; but on the other hand the mother-country gave her blood. The constant emigration which finally exhausted Spain is, in truth, one of the principal causes of the rapid decadence of this noble and chivalrous nation. Even to this day the young men of certain provinces expatriate themselves in crowds. In the north, and especially in the Asturias, one only sees women and old men. The young ones are gone to Havana, to Peru, or to Rio de la Plata. When traversing the hamlets buried in the gorges of the Cantabrian mountains I used to see notices put up in every direction announcing the departure of such and such ships from Santander, Giron, and Ribadesilla, for Cuba and South America—all, it was stated, furnished with a surgeon and a chaplain. Alas! both one and the other are necessary, for in these passages the mortality is frightful. Every one of these emigrants (and formerly even more so than now) becomes, very often unknown to himself, an agent of civilization. Thus, see the results. Wherever the Spaniards have reigned we find Indian tribes who have embraced Christianity, and adopted, in a certain measure, our habits and ideas. The greater part of the politicians whom we now see at the head of their republics are of Indian origin. I have had pure redskins as colleagues; and I have seen ladies of the same colour, dressed by Worth, delighting in Patti's *roulades*. I do not quote these personages as models of statesmen; or these fair critics as great authorities in music; but the fact is none the less significant. Well, this is the work of Spanish colonization. Can one say the same thing of the

effect of English emigration? Evidently not. I set aside all question of India, which I have not yet visited. But everywhere, especially in North America, the contact of the Anglo-Saxon race with semi-barbarous savages is fatal to the latter. They only adopt European vices; they hate and fly from us, and that is the wisest thing they can do; or else they perish miserably. In every way they remain what they have always been—savages. But what is the use of discussing the comparative merits of different nations? Rather let us render to each their due. Now let us see what the “stranger devils” have done here, and how they have set about it.

The Hwang-pu, which in reality is only a creek, appears at Shanghai to be a majestic river, about half-a-mile wide. It runs from south to north, and then turns suddenly towards the east. It is in this bend that a new-comer first discovers, on the left bank, the houses of the American quarter, or “concession,” as it is called. It is separated by a little stream, called the Suchow Creek, from the English concession, which in its turn adjoins the French, the most southern of the three. Another little creek divides the French quarter from the Chinese town.

The American concession contains, besides the Austrian Consulate and the North German Confederation, some low houses, a good many sheds and shops, and further to the east, a new street, lined with fine houses. The English “concession,” however, is the great centre of commercial activity. The receipts of the town for the current year, arising from taxes, post office, &c., are reckoned at £60,000. With the practical good sense and absence of prejudice which distinguishes the Yankee, the principal American houses have been built on the English concession. One arrives there by crossing over a little bridge thrown over the Suchow creek, and there one sees, all the length of the quay, called the *Bund*, a row of great buildings, which are perfect palaces, built in British taste certainly, but all having a veranda, that indispensable accessory in a climate where tropical heat alternates with Siberian frosts. Nothing can be more imposing than the look of this long line of princely residences, with their façades turned to the quay and the view of the Hwang-pu, the centre of their commercial prosperity. A vast inclosure surrounds the different buildings

of the British Consulate, the law courts, and the residence of the English judge. Then follow the houses of the merchant princes. Those of Jardine & Co. and of Dent are the most striking. On the quay, fronting the houses, is a public garden. At this moment the fine trees are bending under the fury of a black east wind, which is stripping off their yellow leaves, and freezing the blood of the passers-by. The only thing wanting in this fine Bund is a stone dike. But stone is the one thing needed at Shanghai, which is built on the edge of a great alluvial plain without any materials for building. Beams of wood, therefore, replace granite; and numberless plank piers, called *go-downs*, enable those who have practised gymnastics to reach or leave their boat in safety. Shanghai has two or three churches, of which the largest has no belfry from want of capital. Behind this curtain of palaces the English town stretches away towards the west. Here the taste for what is beautiful and splendid gives way to the exigencies of what is useful and necessary. Nothing is to be seen but warehouses, depots, stores, and shops; these last richly furnished with all English productions. One could fancy oneself in Oxford Street or the Strand. In this point of view, neither Yokohama nor any other European town in Asia, saving Calcutta and Bombay, can bear a comparison with Shanghai. Further on is the quarter inhabited principally by Chinese. In the shops, kept by tradesmen with black pigtails, you find again every article of English manufacture, not of such good quality perhaps, but at very reduced prices; for the Chinaman has the superiority over the European merchant of being always cheap. In other words, he is contented with small profits, and is not in a hurry to be rich, which in the long run ought to give him an advantage over his white competitors. All the houses are numbered, but the Chinese disdain figures, and prefer words. Even the great houses condescend to adopt the *social reasons* adapted to the taste of the country. Thus, Dent & Co. call themselves "Precious and obliging;" Jardine & Co. have chosen the title of "Honest and harmonious." In the streets there is a mixture of white and yellow men, and of a few Chinese women, but hardly any Europeans. At Shanghai, too, that lack of the female sex, which is the great want in the far East, produces melancholy consequences. However, in the last year or

two this rare and precious article begins to be imported. The clerks who have gone home for their holidays come back married. The number of homes in consequence increases, and the morals and manners of the place already feel the sanitary influence of good and virtuous women. At this hour the Bund is full of people—on foot, on horseback, in carriages, and in wheelbarrows. These wheelbarrows are built on the principle of an Irish car, with one wheel, pushed by a Chinaman. Two persons sit on them back to back, their feet supported by a plank. I saw some fine Australian and Cape horses, which they pay very dearly for, and some ponies of the country of the Mongol race. For sometime the great steamers of the Pacific Company have brought horses over from California. The heads of the great commercial houses have beautiful equipages; their clerks, gigs or saddle-horses.

Following the quay, we come to the French concession. The Bund goes on; but, except for the activity which reigns round the great offices of the Messageries Maritimes, and those of the Shanghai Steam Navigation Company, both placed in this concession, the animation and business life of the place seem to have stopped short at the limits of the English quarter. The houses of the residents, too, cannot be compared with those of the British colony. On the other hand, the sumptuous residence of the consul, the great cathedral, and the municipal palace, strike the eye at once. The difference between these two quarters of the town is extraordinary. There the merchants, the residents, without any preconceived plan, and according to the wants of the moment or their own pleasure, do the whole work. Here it is the government that watches, that thinks, that reflects, that acts methodically and bureaucratically—the government, in fact, has conceived, ordered, and carried out everything. The residents are simply the subjects of a despotic administration. If they resist they are easily put down. It has happened that the municipality has shown itself intractable. The consul dissolved them at once, put the most refractory councillors in prison, and quietly went on his way. Our road led us to the Chinese town, situated, as I have said, to the south of the European concessions, and surrounded by a high wall. We went in by one of the seven gates, and, traversing a perfect

labyrinth of streets and lanes; we looked at everything curious around us—the great temple, with a garden where there are more sham rocks than trees and flowers; the tea-houses, which cannot be compared with those of Japan; and lastly, the *restaurants*, frequented, one kind by gentlemen, the other by the lower classes, but both being equally remarkable for their villanous smells, for the noisy talk of their guests, and the disgusting dirt of the waiters and cooks. I have read so many descriptions of Chinese towns, that the first I visited did not come upon me with the charm of novelty. I did not even take the trouble of taking any notes. One must, however, declare, to the honour of the people of Shanghai, and in the interest of truth, that the greater part of the travellers whose books I have read exaggerate a little the horrors with which their descriptions are filled. Certainly there are corners, public places, and by-streets here, where one had better shut one's eyes and stop up one's nose, and where one sees scenes worthy of appearing in Hoffmann's fantastic tales. But the principal streets of Shanghai in the Chinese quarter are not worse than what one sees of this kind in the south of Europe.

To be able to leave this untempting place, we have constantly to cross and recross streams of human beings, give and receive pokes from their elbows, and expose ourselves to other inconveniences peculiar to Chinese crowds. In one little square the people were gathered into a compact mass. A juggler was the attraction. Thanks to a superhuman effort, I managed to squeeze myself close to the ragged artist, who evidently had gone without his dinner, and who, judging by the few *sapéques* he receives, is as likely to go without his supper. On his sharp, witty face, one reads deceit, impudence, and misery; and yet this poor devil does wonders. I am tempted to ask myself if there is not some magic in it. I actually saw him swallow half-a-dozen little cups of fine porcelain, and disgorge them again after a few moments. I could not believe my eyes; but I attest the fact, and I leave it to anatomists and medical men to explain it. The other day, however, I was told that his companion, not being able to disgorge them, and having somehow missed the trick, died amidst the most horrible sufferings.

But now, thank God! we are out of the inclosure. We are in the open country, and can breathe freely. Before us stretches

a flat, green plain, without trees, and as ugly as it is monotonous. On the horizon a pagoda of several stories high stands out against the leaden-coloured sky. At a little distance from this tower, and about five miles from Shanghai, rise the large buildings of Sû-kia-wei, surrounded by a fine garden. This is the old and celebrated Jesuit college. Founded in the seventeenth century, ingulfed at the time of the great persecutions in the common ruin of all Christian establishments, given back to the society at the end of the last war, again abandoned at the approach of the Taepings, and reoccupied after their flight, it has risen from its ashes more prosperous and more flourishing than ever. The fathers—all except the superior, who is Italian, and three Chinese—are French. All wear the dress and the long tail of the Celestials. The boys in the college belong almost entirely to native Christian families. There is an orphanage for the children of the lower classes who have been brought here by their parents. A thing which is curious and difficult to explain is, that the number of children has considerably augmented since the terrible massacres of Tien-tsin, last year, which made such a sensation throughout the empire. People say that the English carry their habits and traditions with them to the antipodes, or wherever they go. The same thing may be said of the Jesuits. The establishments of the society are like one another all over the world. One or two large rooms, a corridor in the middle of the house, on both sides the cells of the fathers, small, but beautifully clean; the classrooms and dormitories of the scholars, the kitchens and refectories—the whole impressed with the like stamp of order and discipline. The scholars pass through a course of classical studies in the Chinese sense, and learn every kind of useful knowledge. The orphans are taught all sorts of trades. Each of these young men, on returning to his family, will bring back with him the germs of a new civilization. Everybody, fathers and students, seemed gay and happy and in good health. The superior would not let us go without having improvised a little concert. Under the direction of a Chinese father, four of the students began to play a symphony of Haydn's. The reverend conductor of the orchestra, with a huge pair of spectacles on his nose, directed, cheered, and with *bâton* and eye kept time and guided these juvenile virtuosi,

who, fixing their little eyes on the music, and perspiring from every pore, managed to perform very satisfactorily one of the finest compositions of this great master. Haydn performed in China and by Chinese!! Why be ashamed to own it? We were all greatly touched and pleased.

This mission consists of upwards of eighty fathers; but the greater portion are spread over the different provinces of Kiangsu and Nganwei. Twice a year they meet here for a retreat, and to go through the spiritual exercises; after which a few days are given to rest, to the exchange of ideas, and the enjoyment of the moderate European comfort which the college has to offer to these devoted men, whose whole lives are a series of labours, perils, and privations of every kind.

At a short distance from Sû-kia-wei is a house of education for young girls and an orphanage, under the care of some sisters.² The superior, a young lady of most pleasing exterior, a soft and yet intelligent face, did the honours of her establishment with the grace and easy manners of a person in the highest society. Her French is the pure Parisian of the Faubourg St. Germain, from which she came to bury herself in this terrible solitude, and to consecrate the best years of her life, her health, and probably life itself, to the arduous duties of her vocation. By a special favour, we were admitted into the boarding-school, which is generally closed to men. It is a large court surrounded with little rooms, where, grouped according to their ages (which are from five to sixteen), these young girls receive an education suited to their position in the world. They all looked well and happy, and were simply but nicely dressed. None of them seemed to me to have any beauty; but perhaps my eye is not yet accustomed to the style of women and things in China. I am not then a competent judge of feminine charms, as they are understood in the Celestial Empire. Although dying with longing to stare at this rare apparition of a European, the yellow young ladies obeyed, nevertheless, the rule which expects them to redouble their zeal and application in presence of the superior. One set, their books in their hands, were repeating their lessons out

² Of the Society of *Les Religieuses Auxiliatrices des Ames du Purgatoire*, founded by Mlle. Eugénie de Smet, in religion Mère Marie de la Providence; born at Lille, in 1825: died at Paris, 7th of February, 1871.

loud; others were doing needlework; and some few, magnificent embroidery.

We were taken to the orphanage, the "*salle d'asile*" of the babies, brought to the sisters by their families or picked up in the street. These poor little creatures, all girls, who, when they arrive, are just bundles of skin and bone, hardly breathing, devoured by vermin, and generally full of disease and wounds, are baptized, washed, their wounds dressed, and if they survive, brought up in this house, and married to their co-religionists, or else placed as servants in Christian families. We went into one of the large rooms. It was spacious, beautifully clean, and well ventilated. All along the walls are ranged cradles, each containing two children, placed head to foot. A number of sisters, leaning over them, were tending them with the utmost care. Strange and marvellous change in these little existences, which reckon only a few hours! Yesterday these poor little creatures had been thrown on a dung-heap, left to be devoured by the pigs or to expire in a slow and horrible agony. To-day they have found mothers who, to save them, have come from the uttermost parts of the earth on the wings of God-like charity.

France is rich enough to pay for her glory, her ideas, her caprices, and even her faults. Since the days of Louis XIV. she has held to the idea of pervading the whole earth, and striking all nations with the prestige of her greatness. The pursuance of this policy imposes upon her, it is true, in these distant regions, sacrifices which are not strictly in accordance with the material interests of her traders. But this consideration does not stop her. She has given herself the honourable and civilizing mission of protecting her co-religionists all over the world. Do not let us look too closely into her motives, which perhaps are not all purely religious. The results have been, and are, as everyone must allow, the most important services that could be rendered to humanity.

In the world of ideas, the French are the most expansive people in the universe. By doing both great good and some harm, they have impregnated the whole civilized world with their tastes, their ideas, and even with their fashions. But no nation has so great a dislike to leave their homes. French emigrants are the least numerous everywhere; and even those

one does meet with, are not (saving certain honourable exceptions) the brightest specimens of their nation. The truth is, that France offers to her children space and means wherewith to support them, to arrive at a comfortable independence, and, occasionally, to riches and the highest offices in the state. Those who quit her shores rarely find beyond them the fortune which they have disdained to seek at home. But, side by side with these emigrants, who are not always successful, there are others, who, while living and acting in comparative obscurity, surround themselves in their distant country with an aureola of imperishable glory. In China, as in every other foreign land, wherever you see above the Consulate the French flag flying, you perceive likewise, in the neighbourhood, the spire of a church, and alongside a convent, a school, a hospital. There human minds are being enlightened by civilization, and human hearts by faith; there the wounds of both souls and bodies are healed, miseries are alleviated, and the apostolic virtues of charity, love, self-abnegation, patience, and devotion are exercised in the highest degree. All these missionaries and Sisters are not French, it is true: Italy, Spain, and Belgium have furnished their contingent; but the great majority of these Christian heroes and heroines belong to France; and it is France which shields them with her powerful protection.

Built not far from the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang, on the shores of a deep river, accessible to the largest ships, Shanghai was, from time immemorial, the natural port of Suchow, that rich and flourishing city, which, thanks to its position on the great canal, amidst a network of navigable streams, is considered the principal emporium of the north of China. Canals and creeks unite the two towns. The distance which separates them is only ninety miles. Already in the middle of the last century, the agent of the East India Company had recommended the establishment of a factory at Shanghai. The execution of this project was not carried out for ninety years. It was only at the end of the first war, and in virtue of the treaty of Nankin,¹ of which one of the principal clauses opened the land and port of Shanghai to foreigners, that the English could set foot in this town. But if the birth of the settlement was slow,

¹ Signed in 1842.

the progress of the new-born colony was slower still, and its existence remained a problem for a long while. The climate was said to be very unhealthy; and was so in reality, for the soil of this immense alluvial plain, which forms the province of Kiangsu, hardly rises above the level of the river. Both stone and wood were wanting, and the ground was a perfect marsh. At only a foot or two below the surface, you came upon water. It was necessary then to build upon piles and to bring stone from a great distance. For about ten years it was a struggle for existence. Happily about this time, silk rose in a most unexpected manner. Other foreigners arrived. The governments of France and the United States demanded and obtained "concessions" of their own; and the Chinese sold, for a very small sum, the fields and gardens which surrounded the town. It is on this land that the sumptuous buildings of the European Shanghai are now built.

After great sacrifices the difficulties of the ground were overcome. Sanitary works diminished those obstacles which the climate seemed to oppose to the permanent installation of the whites. To-day, intermittent fevers and ague have almost entirely disappeared; and very soon it seems as if Mr. Medhurst's prediction would be verified, and Shanghai become one of the healthiest towns in China.

The interior organization of the factory offered difficulties of another kind. The new colonists had to manage the susceptibilities of the imperial authorities, the prejudices of the Chinese people, the national jealousies between the English, French, and American residents—in fact, to make an appeal to the sense and autonomic instinct so profoundly ingrained in the Anglo-Saxon race, although comparatively rare with the French. They had hoped, at first, to make one solitary cosmopolitan establishment. This project was wrecked owing to the justifiable repugnances, as I consider them, of the French government. The Americans, after a good deal of hesitation, ended by a complete incorporation of their concession with the English one. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Consul-General at Shanghai, and later on, Minister both in Japan and China, acting in concert with his colleagues of France and the United States, had the merit of elaborating and persuading the possessors of the territory to adopt a constitution, which, though

modified lately in the liberal sense, still governs the Anglo-American settlements ;¹ but which, with regard to the French concession, has had to undergo some radical changes.

The emperor being the proprietor of the soil, those who have bought the land are, according to Chinese law, only tenants at will. They have, however, obtained a lease in perpetuity, on the condition of paying a nominal fine to the government. It is on these conditions that it is allowable for the subjects of the foreign powers who signed the treaty with China to acquire land within the limits of the concessions, and exceptionally beyond it, within a *rayon* of a certain number of miles. The contracts of sale between the Chinese and the foreigners are deposited at their respective Consulates, who remit a certificate to the buyer, which, duly legalized by the *taotai* (or governor, properly speaking, "the head of a circle," but always a great personage, called "his Excellency"), takes the place of a legal title to the property.

In the English and American concession, the task of the consuls, setting aside judicial functions, is purely negative, and is limited to the obligation of examining if the acts of the municipality do not contravene the stipulations of the Treaty of Tien-tsin. The *summa rerum* is intrusted to a municipal council, composed of a president and six members, elected every year by the landed proprietors and other residents who have the right to participate in this election. It is this council, responsible to the electoral body, which distributes and levies the taxes, takes care to keep the piers, bridges, and roads in good order, and undertakes to find and pay a police force, whose business it is to watch over the maintenance of public order and the repression of crime. Seventy men chosen out of the London constabulary are sufficient for the work. The officers of this corps, like all the other civil *employés*, are named by the municipality. Although the foreign concessions reckon a Chinese population of 60,000 souls, the tranquillity and security of the settlement leave nothing to be desired. With regard to British subjects, justice is administered in the first place by the consuls, and as a last resource by the supreme

¹ This was in 1854. To understand the details read "The Treaty Ports of China and Japan," by W. F. Mayers, N. B. Dennys, and Ch. King ; also the official correspondence published by the French government.

court of Shanghai; for the other foreign residents, their respective consuls are invested with judicial powers. All the expenses fall on the community. The government takes no cognisance of it.

They have also arrived at settling in a simple and practical manner the relations of the residents with the local authorities, and the intervention of the latter in certain delicate matters where it is a case of proceeding in the civil courts against the Chinese residents, or when some crimes have been committed by the Chinese on the territory included in the concessions. Such is the constitution which at present is in full force in the Anglo-American settlement, which becomes every day more cosmopolite. It is, as I said before, entirely distinct from the municipal organization of the French concession, which was published in 1868. In virtue of this act, the municipal body is composed of the French consul and the eight municipal councillors, of whom four are French and four are foreigners, both one and the other chosen by an electoral body, of whom the consul gives and revises the list. It is again the consul who convokes this assembly; who convokes also the municipal body, who *présides* over it and has the right of suspending it, with only the check of having to give an account of his reasons for so doing to the French minister at Peking, who, in cases of difficulty, refers the affair again to the foreign minister in Paris. The council debates on all questions referring to the budget, the receipts and municipal expenditure, the repartition or recovery of taxes, &c., the plans of public buildings, all sanitary measures, or any other business which the consul may see fit to submit to them. The results of these deliberations, however, are not carried out without the consent and decision of the consul himself, who (always with the reserve of the approbation of the French minister at Peking) may refuse to execute the measures proposed and voted by the Assembly, whether they regard the construction of public buildings, or expropriations, or sanitary improvements, or what not. The council appoints all officers attached to the municipal service, but these again are subject to the approbation of the consul, who may put a veto on any such appointment, or suspend or revoke at any time the holders of these places. Again, public security rests solely with the consul. The body

of police, whose pay is charged to the municipal council, is placed entirely under the orders of the consul, and it is he who appoints, suspends, and dismisses his agents. This constitution, which contrasts so strongly with the organisation of the English settlement, answers its purpose very well. But it converts the French concession into a colony governed by the consul; while the English establishment is self-relying and independent, the intervention of the consul being limited, as we have seen, to the exercise of a negative control.

The results of the English system have gone beyond one's expectation. Look at this town of palaces; count, if you can, the masts of the ships, with which the port is bristling; look at those great leviathans of steamers continually coming and going; examine the commercial statistics of any one of these large houses, and you cannot fail to admire the vigour, the energy, and the vitality of the Queen of Yang-tse-kiang and of the Yellow Sea, and the strength of the link which binds the immense Celestial Empire to Europe, America, and Australia; and all this is the work of a handful of brave, enterprising men! Their country's cannon has opened the way for them; and the breach once made, they have established themselves so securely that it is not very probable that they will ever be dislodged.

Those were remarkable men, those merchant princes of the early days! Work and worry have thinned their ranks; others have made their fortunes, retired from business, and gone back to England. To-day there are only four houses of this stamp—Jardine, Russell, Herd, and Gib-Livingston.

During my short stay I made acquaintance with the "big wigs" in the financial world, and I must say that I never found myself in contact with men of more agreeable manners, or better instructed in their own sphere. Do not believe what has been said about the merchants in the East. The witness which impartial men, who know them thoroughly, bear to their loyalty and upright, honourable conduct on all occasions, utterly demolishes the accusations brought against them by certain writers, who either could not or would not understand the real state of things. There is, of course, one dark side—the opium trade—now perfectly legal, but immoral in my eyes from the fact that it furnishes a poison to the people, the

deleterious effects of which, as far as I myself have seen, cannot possibly be exaggerated. Those who are most interested in this trade do not attempt to deny it. Their only excuse is that the excess of alcoholic drinks, so frequently seen in Europe, produces analogous effects; that opium smokers do not all fall victims to this fatal habit; that many of them know how to indulge in it in moderation, and so suffer no evil consequences; that the sin, after all, cannot be said to lie at the door of the English, as the production of opium has been extraordinarily increased in the interior of China of late years.¹ The only real argument, they say, that they could bring against us (and in reality it is not one) is borrowed from the political necessity which does not allow the Indian government to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy plants and the making of the drug.

San Francisco and Melbourne are, like Shanghai, the work of individuals and not governments: but the capitals of California and of the Australian colony have sprung and grown up on their country's soil; Shanghai is an exotic plant, growing in the open air, exposed to all the winds of heaven, needing gardeners to care for it, a hothouse to shelter it, living in its own strength, and drawing from this foreign soil the nourishment it needs. Its short existence (for it is not yet thirty years old) is only a series of struggles, trials, admirable efforts, mistakes and weaknesses instantly rectified and atoned for by fresh attempts crowned with fresh successes. Like Hercules in his cradle, Shanghai has strangled the serpents of revolt. Local insurgents, taking advantage of the general disorder which the rebellion of the Taepings had caused, got into the Chinese town and maintained themselves there for a year and a half.² The factories were respected, thanks to the pres-

¹ I find the same arguments reproduced by Mr. Medhurst, in his book (so full of authentic information) "The Foreigner in Far Cathay:" London, 1872. A residence of thirty years in the country, to say nothing of his official character, gives to the British consul at Shanghai an authority which no one could or would dispute or deny. He is especially distinguished by his great and rare impartiality of mind. The only weak part about his book seems to me his attempt to excuse, or, at any rate, to palliate the opium trade, though evidently against his own convictions. I need only refer my readers to a quotation on page 88 of this valuable work.

² From September 1853 to February 1855.

ence of some men-of-war in the harbour and to the firm front presented by the residents. Then, for the first time, Chinese families in rich and easy circumstances came to take refuge in the concessions, and took the habit of living among the "foreign devils." After the retreat of the insurgents, however, they went home again. But very soon the rebel hordes again surrounded them. Everyone knows what rebellion means in China. It means burning, destroying, and massacring everyone, without distinction of age or sex: after which, epidemic diseases and famine ensue. The great province of Kiangsu underwent this horrible fate. Thousands and thousands of square miles were entirely devastated. When (in May 1860) Suchow fell into the power of the Taepings and was changed into a heap of ruins, hundreds of thousands of Chinese came to take refuge at Shanghai, where a few English troops, the armed residents, and a squadron of French marines, were enough to stop the flood of the rebellion. This struggle, which had its ups and downs, its joys and sorrows, lasted for nearly four years,² and forms a strange and curious episode, and one without precedent, I think, in the world's history. Fancy the insurgents—that is, as I said before, a set of merciless incendiaries and assassins—fancy them encamped on the other side of the Suchow Creek, only a mile's distance from the centre of the English town. Add to this the dismal spectacle, night after night, of villages in flames, and remember that these four years of anguish and peril were, at the same time, an era of the most furious speculation, of fabulous gains, and of the most exaggerated luxury. It is said that the Chinese fugitives might be counted by hundreds of thousands. It was necessary to lodge them. Buildings were run up in haste. Houses adapted to the use of the people of the country sprung up like magic. The rich merchants sunk their money in these ventures: those who had none borrowed it for the same purpose. Clerks, "compradors," factors, servants, everyone took part in the speculation, and everyone gained. Shanghai was deluged with gold. Beyond the "defence-creek," death under its most hideous forms, the ruin and misery of millions of human beings. Here on the river, thousands of junks, a great number of European vessels, and a considerable

² From 1860 to 1864

naval force. On the Bund, and in the houses of the residents, the ostentatious pomp of the *parvenus*, doubly insolent in the face of such terrible calamities.

But envious fate, which, if we are to believe poor mortals, is so inclined to laugh at the best-laid projects, began to be tired of such unmixed prosperity. The contrast between the miseries of the one and the overweening prosperity of the other, seemed to provoke her anger. The horrors in China had made the fortune of the English in Shanghai. A child of their own nation, inscribing his name in letters of gold in the annals of the Celestial Empire, was to be the involuntary instrument of their chastisement. The imperial armies had been beaten by the rebels all along the line, The English forces hardly sufficed for the defence of the European concessions and the Chinese town of Shanghai. Later on, they were able to clear a space of thirty miles round the factories. But it was impossible to advance further into the interior, or to deliver the unhappy province of Kiangsu from the scourge of the rebels. Nevertheless, an American adventurer, named Ward, with a following of rowdies of the worst kind, and some thousands of coolies, formed a band, which was called "Ward's force," and which did good service. After the death of Ward, the command passed to a certain Burgevin, who united in his own proper person all the vices and all the audacity of a *condottiere* of the lowest class. This monster, who was dismissed the service, passed over to the enemy, the rebel Taepings, but very soon quarrelled with them, was shut up in a cage, marched from one town to another, and finally perished miserably in crossing a river. At this time they learned that the English government had authorized its officers to serve temporarily under the Chinese colours. A young officer of the Royal Engineers, Major Charles Robert Gordon, took the command of the remains of the shattered "Ward force," organized it anew, brought it up to 6,000 men, converted it into an excellent body of troops, inspired it with all soldier-like virtues, led it on from victory to victory, annihilated the rebels, and re-established, in less than a year, peace and tranquillity throughout the whole extent of this vast province.

The investment (more or less strict) of Shanghai had lasted for more than three years. It was hoped that the greater

part of the immigrants would settle there permanently. They had brought their wives and children, and, thanks to the contact with the foreigners, easily found means to earn their bread.

The rich Chinese and those in easy circumstances had acquired, as people thought, a taste for the comforts, security, and enjoyments of European life. Vain and terrible illusion! The very day when the news of the taking of Suchow¹ (one of the great deeds of Gordon's heroic band) arrived at Shanghai, the Chinese began to make their preparations for departure. The upper classes were the first to regain their ravaged homesteads: the great mass of their fellow-countrymen followed them in a few weeks. In less than two years, the whole Chinese population, which reckoned some hundreds of thousands of souls, fell to 65,000². All the new quarters built for their yellow occupants were abandoned. Very soon, lands which had been bought for fabulous sums ceased to have any value at all, and, as the greater part of these houses had been built on credit, bankruptcy became the order of the day. The consternation was such, that at first they despaired of surviving the

¹ November 1863.

² In round numbers, taken from official sources, the following is a tabular statement of the native and foreign population of the Anglo-American and French concessions and that of Hongkow (the right bank of the Hwang-pu:)

Anglo-American Concession—

	1862-3	1865	1869
Chinese	250,000	90,500	86,500
Foreigners	3,000	5,130	7,200

French Concession—

Chinese	80,000	55,500	32,000
Foreigners (French)	300		300

The total of 7,500 foreigners—that is, English, American, German and French—includes, with the residents, the floating population of the ships. Since 1869 this floating population has diminished, in consequence of the decrease of tonnage, in proportion as sailing-ships have been replaced by steam. To-day, according to statistics which I believe to be correct, the foreign population of the concessions does not amount to more than 6,200, in the following proportions:—

English	3,200
Americans	1,300
Germans	700
French	400
All other nations	600
Chinese population	100,000
Chinese city and its suburbs	125,000

crisis. But if tempests ravage the soil they purify the air. Shanghai came out of this fiery trial wounded, temporarily impoverished, but regenerated, warned by her past faults, and understanding (for several reasons which I shall allude to later) that the era of fabulous gains and sudden and princely fortunes was closed to her for ever.

It is impossible to understand Shanghai without taking into account the commercial movements going on in other ports of the Chinese empire opened to foreigners. And no one can have a correct idea of them without knowing Shanghai, which is the queen, the metropolitan, and the regulator of all European commerce with the Celestial Empire.

It has already been said that Shanghai owes its fortune and its conditions of existence in a great measure to its geographical position. Situated at only a short distance from Suchow, the victualling centre of so many provinces; near also to the Yang-tse-kiang, the high road which leads to the silk-producing districts; at a short distance from the sea, that road which leads everywhere, and which especially leads to England, Shanghai is the greatest emporium of English goods consumed in China. By Suchow, they reach the very centre of the empire; by Tientsin, Peking and all the northern provinces; and it is a formidable rival to European commerce in the south—that is to say, of Hong Kong, which it begins to eclipse; of Canton, which is only a shadow of its former self; and of Macao, that town which seems to sleep under its beautiful sky, and only lives on heroic memories, the trade in coolies, and its gambling-houses. Until these last times, Shanghai monopolised altogether the trade of the Yang-tse-kiang. It is still and always will be the principal emporium. But since the opening of the ports of Hankow, Chinkiang and Kinkiang there is a slight diminution in the exportation of tea, the first of these three factories, situated in the interior, 700 miles from the mouth of the river, having begun to export directly to London, Odessa, and Melbourne. As a general rule, the tea of the provinces of Kiangsi and Hupeh is brought by the American steamers which ply on the Yang-tse-kiang, sold here, and re-exported to Europe and America. The opening of the little trade-ports on the coast has also, though in a less degree, reacted on the Shanghai market. But it is not likely that this rivalry will seriously

damage it. Its distributing power remains intact. To understand it, it is necessary to cast a glance on the transformation which European commerce in China has undergone in the last few years.¹

The times of great and startling successes are already long since past. In those days colossal fortunes were made, and as rapidly lost. Men speculated, or rather I should say, gambled with unknown elements. Men of genius guessed the wants of the Chinese market, and founding their calculations on the suggestions of instinct, sometimes realized enormous profits. Others, less happily inspired, but also more rash, ruined themselves in the outset and disappeared from the scene. Of rivalry, there was little or none. By the power of capital, a limited number of great houses distanced all smaller competitors, and possessed, in fact, the monopoly of the Chinese commerce. Between these great houses, however, the rivalry was as keen as possible. We have all heard of the steamers which Jardine and Russell used regularly to charter and send to Singapore to get the last quotations of the London market, and thanks to their extraordinary speed, to bring them to their proprietors a few days, or it may be only a few hours, before the arrival of the regular mail. The amelioration in the P. and O. Service, and that of the Messageries Maritimes, without speaking of the telegraph which has been established during the last few weeks, has put an end to this kind of speculation, which, however, deserves to be had in remembrance, because it gives one an idea of the ways of trade at that time. To-day

¹ I here give a summary of the information I have successively obtained at Shanghai, Che-fu, Taku, Tien-tsin, Peking, Hong Kong, Canton, and Macao, and I purposely abstain from giving the figures. Such of my readers as may be interested in this matter will find them in the consular reports published by the English government, and in the annual "Reports on Trade," printed at Shanghai by order of Mr. Hart, which are very minute and full of interesting details. What I wish is to give to my readers a general idea of the recent phases in European trade, of the causes which determined them, and the results which probably will ensue. Mr. Hart, inspector-general, Mr. Harrison, commissary of the Chinese custom-houses, the consuls of the different nations, and some leading European merchants whom I met with in my wanderings, and last, not least, Mr. Charles Winchester, formerly consul at Shanghai, have been most good-natured in giving me every kind of information, for which I take this opportunity of thanking them.

we have two new elements to contend with : the perfect knowledge which has been acquired of the wants and tastes of the country, and the growing rivalry not only of a great number of Europeans, but also of native merchants. The result is this : first, the gift of divination has no longer any field for its exercise. There is no longer any guess-work. Everything is known. Therefore, there are no more speculations flying about : no more gambling or fabulous profits ; no more fortunes gained in a day. People are become more solid, more prudent, and more reasonable. Business is now done in China as in London or Liverpool. One may grow rich ; but it will be slowly, by the sweat of one's brow. As to rivalry, it has become possible since, by the establishment of different banks, everyone—that is, everyone who can give sufficient securities,—can obtain money. In other words, the banks have destroyed the monopoly of the merchant princes. Among the new rivals, we must reckon the Germans and the Chinese. As in Japan, and as in the Pacific States of North America, everywhere, in fact, where they appear in the arena, the Germans beat the Anglo-Saxons by their greater frugality, the simplicity of their habits, and their willingness to be contented with small profits. But the Chinese possess all these qualities in a still higher degree. Formerly English manufactures, brought in English ships, were consigned to wholesale merchants of the same nation ; other English merchants, either at Shanghai or in the smaller ports, sold them retail to native traders, who carried them into the interior. Thus each article, before it came to the consumer, passed through three hands. To-day in the trade-ports, the Chinese buy direct from the importer the goods they want, and sell them at once to the consumer. Hence a notable reduction in the profits of the English houses established at Shanghai and Hong Kong ; but indirectly a great advantage to trade and English navigation, and for this reason : that the goods, no longer passing through so many hands, can be sold at a cheaper rate and consequently in greater quantities.

One may attribute to other causes the diminution of the importance, not of trade in general, for that, on the contrary, increases, but of the returns arising from individual operations. Thus, the opening of the small ports, and the establishment of

factories in each of them, has naturally drawn away part of the transactions which formerly were concentrated in Shanghai and Hong Kong. The opening of the Yang-tse-kiang to foreign navigation tends, as I have said above, to deprive Shanghai in part of its importance as the great emporium of tea, the three ports situated on the banks of this stream having begun to export it directly. More than this, the black teas gathered in Hunan and Hupeh, and formerly sent to Canton to be from thence shipped to Europe, now take the shorter route of Hankow and the Yang-tse-kiang. A look on the map will suffice to make us understand to what an extent the establishment of the "foreign devils" on the Blue River and its neighbourhood makes itself felt in the heart of this immense empire.

To sum up all I have said, the commercial history of the Europeans in China is divided into two eras, separated the one from the other by the disasters brought about by the excess of building speculations and the exodus of the Chinese from Shanghai. The first was the reign of chance, of the unknown, of audacity often crowned with success, of monopoly, wild hopes, and frightful luxury. The second era is a slow but continual transformation, which has not yet attained to its full development; the rivalry of smaller merchants, rendered possible by the establishment of banks; the cessation of the monopoly formerly possessed by the merchant princes; the increasing rivalry of the Chinese themselves; the lowering of the price of English goods and European articles in general, and in consequence the increase of their consumption; lastly, in all business transactions, greater firmness, smaller individual profits, but increased returns for the majority—that is, for English and European trade in general. In this last point of view—which is the only one possible to impartial judges—this new phase of the commercial existence of Shanghai deserves our suffrages.

But the merchants settled in China, and even the heads of the great houses and almost all business men, the last arrivals as well as the pioneers of early days, judge very differently of the present state of things. They see their profits more and more reduced. Some who have arrived with the hope of realizing, like their predecessors, great fortunes in a short

time, have soon discovered their delusion. Add to this the necessity for the one to reduce their establishments, which are on too expensive a scale for the present times, and in their business transactions to restrict operations begun in better days, which are of too great magnitude now ; for the others, to endeavour, by a multitude of little privations, to square their accounts and make both ends meet ; and you will understand the terrible complaints heard on all sides of the stagnation of affairs and the decline of trade. The grounds for such complaints are real enough as regards individuals, but contrary to truth with respect to the general development of navigation and foreign trade. The result is, a general feeling of discontent, felt and expressed in different degrees certainly, but real, deep, and important, because it might at any moment seriously affect the political relations of the foreign powers with China.

CHAPTER II.

PEKIN.—FROM THE 8th TO THE 29th OCTOBER.

The weariness and length of the voyage to Peking.—Che-fu.—The Bar of Taku.—The Pei-ho.—Tung-chow.—Arrival at Peking.—General aspect of the town.—Scenes in the streets.—The Temple of Heaven.—Confucius and Buddha.—The great Lamaserie.—Shops and Chinese curiosities.—The Jesuits' Observatory.—The last word of bureaucracy.—Pei-tang.—The Portuguese cemetery.—The tombs of the Mings.—Nan-kow.—The Mongolian Chain.—The Great Wall.—The Summer Palace.—The Climate of Peking.—The Imperial custom-houses intrusted to strangers.—Mr. Hart.—Position of the Diplomatic Corps.—The question of audiences.—Visit to Prince Kung.—Departure.

October 8.—The voyage to Peking is always a serious business. In the very best weather it takes ten days to go there from Shanghai, and eight to return. The steamers of the great companies do not touch at any port to the north of the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang. But the ships formerly employed by Jardine and Russell to bring the first European news from Singapore, and to-day to trade between the treaty ports, hold frequent communications with Tien-tsin. The Jardines possess eight vessels; the Russells eighteen, thanks to the amount of Chinese capital embarked in their houses. Among these vessels there are some magnificent ones, which keep up the speed of former times; there are others which have suffered from the changes of the last few years. Fate willed it that, except for safety, we fall into the worst luck possible. The *Dragon* of Jardine's is a nutshell; good in a storm, perhaps, but a horribly slow goer. The food, the cabins, the waiting

are all equally detestable. But the captain, an old sea dog, knows his trade. His staff is composed of a first and second officer and an engineer. Saving these four Englishmen, the whole crew is composed of coolies ; for here, as in the American Pacific boats, European sailors are not to be had ; or if you do get them, they are of the worst possible description, without control or discipline, given to drinking and gambling, and deserting on every possible occasion. More than this, at one or two of the most important points, lighthouses are entirely wanting. Fortunately, the officers of the English and French navy have made a hydrographical survey of the coast, which we are about to follow. Lastly, only a short distance (about 120 miles from Cape Shantung) separates us from the unknown and inhospitable shores of the Corea. To visit Peking, October is the best month ; but it is the worst for navigation. At this season the Yellow Sea is lashed by the north winds, which, rising unexpectedly, blow for twelve hours with the utmost fury in the Gulf of Liätung, for twenty-four in the Gulf of Pé-chi-li, and further south for three or four days.

We left Shanghai this morning, and arrived towards noon at the mouth of the Yang-tse-kiang. In consequence of the bad weather, the captain cast anchor close to the lighthouse. Alongside of us is a magnificent steamer of Russell's. She left Shanghai three days ago. What a pleasant prospect ! It is blowing a regular gale. A freezing rain is falling in torrents. A black curtain hides the shores from us altogether. Below us the river is foaming ; angry crests rise above its muddy waves. In the cabin my time is spent in hunting cockroaches. The steward smiles at me disdainfully. "So much time wasted !" he says to me in his "pigeon" English :^{*} "*Many piecy beetey.*" He seemed quite proud of them. "No boat of Jardine's has so many," he exclaimed. There are only four passengers on board, and these four passengers are, myself ; a young Englishman, M. J. M., my amiable fellow-traveller across the Pacific, whom I found again at Shanghai ; his friend, a young American ; and Mr. Boyce. Mr. Boyce is the principal architect and inspector of the government buildings

^{*} A kind of *lingua-Franca* which the English and Chinese make use of in this country.

belonging to the English government in China and Japan. From going frequently to Peking he has picked up a very tolerable acquaintance with the Chinese tongue, and has been good enough to volunteer to be our guide.

October 9.—At nine o'clock in the morning the *Dragon* weighed anchor, and went out to sea. Weather awful ; wind still to the north. The ships, whose course is towards the Liätung Gulf, are obliged to steer to the north-north-east. It is an immense way round, but the only means of avoiding the shoals caused by the quantities of slime and other matters which the Yang-tse-kiang brings from the interior, from the western provinces, and even from the mountains of Thibet.

October 12.—Yesterday and the day before the weather was very bad. To-day all is changed. The storm has exhausted itself. The sun has been pleased to unstiffen our shrammed bodies ; the air is light and bright. At eight o'clock we neared the promontory of Shantung. The fantastic outlines of the mountains reminded one of the coasts of Provence ; but the grey-green, yellowish sea has none of the beautiful tints of the bright blue Mediterranean. During the whole morning we coast along the cliffs. At their feet is a narrow border of green, with here and there little fishing-villages. There is nothing surprising in seeing houses rise up everywhere, when we remember that this province of Shantung alone is said to contain 28,000,000 of inhabitants. At eleven o'clock at night we cast anchor at Che-fu.

October 13.—Che-fu is, so to speak, a colony of Shanghai. Certain speculators from that great emporium built some houses here a few years ago, which are at present occupied by about 120 Europeans and Americans. In this number are included the inspectors of the French naval station and the cosmopolite officials of the imperial customhouses. The concession extends to the foot of a little promontory crowned by the residence of the English consul and by a Chinese lighthouse. The native town, which is small, is called Ten-Tai. In front is a chain of low rocks.

We are in a harbour full of Chinese junks built at Bankok

(Siam) for the Chinese merchant service. There is a good deal of activity in the roadstead, and a brilliant future is prophesied for this factory. It will be, they say, the centre of the Corean trade, and of that of the Russian sea-coast. In the meantime Che-fu has nothing to boast of but its climate, which is the most temperate and healthy on the whole coast. During the hot season it is, consequently, the resort both of the rich merchants and the diplomats. Then this solitude is brightened up a little. One sees smart and elegant ladies and gentlemen in bathing costumes, all lodged in two or three wretched little houses, but well fed by a certain Signor Pignatelli, an enterprising Italian, who has had the courage to open an hotel (the best in China) on this inhospitable shore. Everything is comparative in this world. In my eyes, Che-fu is monotonous, *triste*, and ugly. But to the toilers at Shanghai and the exiles of Peking, it is a real terrestrial paradise.

We breakfasted with Mr. Mayers, the principal author of a book which cannot be too highly recommended, called "The Treaty Ports of China and Japan."¹ At twelve o'clock the *Dragon* again got under way, crossed slowly enough the Pé-chi-li Gulf, arrived towards evening before the bar of Taku, and there ran fast aground in the mud!

October 15.—The rising tide enables us to get afloat again. The bar is passed, and we enter the Pei-ho. This river is a perfect sea—an ocean—at this moment. The whole country, from the mountains of Mongolia to the Gulf of Pé-chi-li, more than 10,000 square miles, is under water, and 2,000,000 of the inhabitants ruined. Since the beginning of this century² the province of Chi-li had never been so cruelly tried. The *Dragon* passed by a multitude of villages, all more or less submerged. Some men, squatted on the banks, were striving to get a miserable subsistence by the help of some large nets, which they plunged into the stream by means of a kind of rocker, and which they drew out again filled with a multitude of little fishes. The country—at least the small proportion of it which is visible—the clear and cloudless sky, the dry atmosphere, the willows, the fields of maize, and tufts of rushes, made me fancy myself on the banks of the Lower Danube.

¹ Quoted above.

² The great inundation of 1803.

The houses even, which are all built of mud, have no particular Chinese character. The men alone remind the traveller of the distance which separates him from Europe.

The Pei-ho, so dreaded by sailors on account of the continual shiftings of its current, is worse than ever at this moment. A few days ago, one of the steamers coming down, struck on the flags of the great highroad to Peking, which is still under water ! From one reach to another we steam on, slowly enough, for the stream has endless windings. At last, towards twelve o'clock, we perceive the spire of a church ; about twenty German, Norwegian, English, and Danish sailing-ships, all dressed out with flags in honour of Sunday ; and a great yellow house, the English Consulate. We are at Tien-tsin. This most wearisome voyage is, therefore, at an end. Eight days and seven nights making 750 miles !

October 16 to 19.—This morning an unexpected difficulty—*i.e.*, the absolute refusal of the *taoiai*, or head of the custom-house, to give me my passport—threatened to bring abruptly to an end my peregrinations in the Celestial Empire. Mr. Lay, the English consul, having been obliging enough to ask for this indispensable article for me, was answered by a categorical refusal. "This foreigner," said his Excellency, "has nothing on earth to do at Peking. He will have no passport from me." To which Mr. Lay, referring to the stipulations of the treaty, replied : "If you choose to refuse him a passport, he will simply go without one." The answer was not long in coming : "I do not choose," replied the great man with a black pigtail, "that this foreigner should be guilty of an infraction of our laws. Here is the passport." What do you think of this way of masking a retreat ? As to the passport, it is a fine specimen of Chinese calligraphy. It ought to be put under a glass case.

This difficulty having been happily smoothed down, we settle ourselves comfortably enough in our boats, each of which is furnished with a great sail, and manned by three rowers. In China, without reckoning the natural arteries of the country, an immense network of canals intersects the whole territory. Everyone prefers travelling by water. Hence they have brought this kind of locomotion to great perfection. At the moment I am getting into my *house-boat*, as it is called, I see a Chinese of

superior appearance arranging my property, making my bed, and giving minute directions to A-kao, my young page, a charming and intelligent child, whom one of my Shanghai friends has most kindly lent to me for the voyage. This Chinese, to my still further amazement, addresses me in the purest possible French ! He turns out to be Father Delmasure de Roubaix, a Lazarist, who is at the head of what remains of the Catholic mission of Tien-tsin.

Here we are fairly off. If it were not for the draughts of air, and our unpleasant proximity to our rowers, their snoring during the night, and the odours they exhale night and day ; if it were not, also, for the slowness of our progress, the hideous monotony of the country—a bare and flooded plain up to the very edge of the horizon—this little voyage would be very agreeable. There is not a breath of wind ; and our men, who are toiling for sixteen or eighteen hours a day, are constantly obliged to track and drag the boats after them. Whilst they are painfully ascending the stream we often land, and, walking through the fields, rejoin our floating-houses at dinner-time. It is always with great satisfaction that I hear A-kao, standing on the prow, cry out : “ *Bleakfast leady.* ” (The Chinese cannot pronounce the *r*.) At a given signal the cooking-boat rejoins the four house-boats, and we step into Mr. Boyce’s, where, thanks to the provisions brought from Shanghai and Tien-tsin, and to the skill of our native cook, a most excellent meal is served up to us.

The villages which I go through on foot offer no object of interest. But everywhere there is a crowd. The population swarms. The children call me a *foreign devil* ; the men look at me with a cold, inquiring glance ; and begin to laugh disdainfully as soon as I have passed ; the women run away and hide themselves. Pedlars go from house to house crying their miserable wares. Everything is dirty, poor, and mean, saving Nature, who has amused herself by creating innumerable Chinese.

Higher up the inundations begin to diminish. We come upon well-cultivated fields—cotton, beans, the castor-oil plants, and thousands of peasants hard at work. Their carts have curious teams ; here, a horse and an ass ; there, a buffalo, a donkey, and a cow. I saw one which was dragged by ‘hree

men, and another with a woman and an ass harnessed together. On the river we met numberless junks, some of them of great tonnage.

To-day, the 19th October, at twelve o'clock, we arrived at Tung-chow. The distance from Tien-tsin by water is a hundred and twenty-six miles, and eighty by land. The ordinary time taken in the voyage is four or five days. Ours has only lasted three.

Tung-chow, situated thirteen miles to the east of Peking, is united to the capital, of which it is the port (for the Pei-ho arrives here from the north-east), by a canal and a royal road, all paved with slabs of marble, but completely neglected and hardly possible for carriages. A forest of masts stretches as far as the eye can reach; and the shore swarms with human beings—yellow, dirty, and covered with rags. All are occupied with the lading and unlading of ships. Behind this ants'-nest, at a little distance from the stream, stretch the sombre, crenellated walls of the town. Further on one perceives a high pagoda of several stories. Saving the sky—which, for the moment, is bright—the earth and the water, the skin and the clothes of the inhabitants, the walls and the beasts of burden, all are mud-colour.

Hardly had we reached the shore when a Cossack belonging to M. le Général Vlangali, the Russian minister in China, followed by a *mafu* (or groom) came on board. He brought me a most kind letter from the envoy, who, warned by a messenger of my arrival, sent me his horses, offered me anew the shelter of his hospitable roof, and, as a man of experience, gave me some useful hints as to the way of dealing with the Mongol pony which he had destined for my use. The Cossack delights me. To everything that I say in German, French, or English, he answers me by one single word, of a sound difficult to seize, but which he repeats again and again, with an energy which fills me with confidence. I learnt afterwards that this magic word was "Slusheyu" (I will obey). "I wish to start at once."—"Slusheyu." "My companions want horses too."—"Slusheyu." "How are we to get through this crowd without being suffocated?"—"Slusheyu." And this was not a vain word.

This child of the steppes guessed all I wanted; with him

instinct replaced the knowledge of languages. To begin with, he pilots me admirably through the crowd. Half-way we meet a European on horseback. This was M. Starzoff, the head of the most important Russian house in Tien-tsin, and I think in China. He took me outside the town to a temple, transformed into a hotel, where (the rare) European travellers are accustomed to lodge, presented his young wife to me, accompanied me into the town, and, with the help of the Cossack, found horses for all my friends.

We first made the tour of the ramparts. The muddy waters of the Pei-ho, so full of life and business near the town, but which higher up are entirely deserted, lose themselves in the far distance. A slight elevation of the soil and a few trees intercept the view towards Peking. At our feet is a sea of black roofs. The streets are like crevasses. You can only just see the heads of the camels which are passing. The crowd, which throngs and hustles one another, screaming and shouting, remains invisible. Below the wall, and all along our road, lies the disgusting filth of many generations. One feels oneself in Dante's circle—

"Pute la terra che questo riceve."

In some places the broken wall had hardly enough solid stones left to place one's foot upon. But the horrible prospect of retracing our steps makes us bravely face this perilous passage. Finally, by scrambling over the remains of a staircase, we come into the street. The little caravan is at last organized. Madame Starzoff is an excellent horsewoman. She has put on her riding-habit and placed herself at the head of our column. The streets are narrow and crowded, the pavement slippery. At each step I hear M. Starzoff cry out: "Beware of the camels!"

They certainly look at us with an evil eye. Evidently the foreign devils are not popular in China. The camels and mules bite you; the dogs bark at you; the Mongol ponies kick and rear whenever you try to mount them. Although we went as quickly as we possibly could, we were more than half an hour going through the town.

Our amiable hosts of Tung-chow took leave of us at the fine bridge called Palikao—built of white marble, and ornamented

with curious sculptures—which has become so famous since the last war. The high road being in such a wretched state, besides being encumbered by carts, horsemen, and foot-passengers, we follow the south bank of the canal ; but the time is running on ; the gates of Pekin are rigorously closed at sunset ; so that we had no alternative but to ride as hard as we could, sometimes on the dikes, sometimes in the path, sometimes across the fields. Groups of trees, villages, and solitary houses, surrounded by kitchen-gardens, contrast pleasantly with the monotonous banks of the Pei-ho, and especially with the loathsome horrors of the town of Tung-chow.

On coming suddenly out of a hollow road an exclamation of surprise and delight escaped us, and involuntarily we each stopped our horse short. Before us was the sun's disk. Just below this setting luminary, like a pale, transparent black band, was stretched out, as far as one could see, an immense crenellated wall. On three points only this straight line was broken by the double roofs of the gates of the town. One can tell the distance they are from each other by their different shades. Above this sombre wall, hanging in the blue atmosphere like a mirage, are the crests of the hills, on which rises the summer palace. Further on, looking like soft white clouds, are the Mongol mountains. Half an hour after, we passed, by the gate called Tung-pien-men, into the Chinese town ; and by an inner gate into the Tartar one. This is the grand moment for our Cossack. At our approach the armed guards rushed to the gate to bar the way, and prevent our entrance ; but the sight of our Russian horseman acted like a talisman on these Cerberuses. We were allowed to pass without the smallest molestation. They did not even ask for our passports. The most kind and cordial of welcomes awaited me at the Russian Legation. At last I am in Pekin. The dream of my childhood has been realized in the decline of my days.

Pekin, built many centuries before our era, fallen to the rank of a provincial town after the dissolution of the kingdom of Yen,¹ of which it was the capital, conquered by Genghis-Kahn,² abandoned and rebuilt, has only become again the capital of the empire since the beginning of the fifteenth

¹ In 222 B.C.

² In 1215

century. From this era we may date its great wall and its oldest buildings. Peking, in that sense, may be called a comparatively modern town. Its walls remind one of our strong castles in feudal times. Only, here, everything is colossal: while in Europe the buildings of the middle ages are of small dimensions. The walls of Peking are fifty or sixty feet high; twenty, forty, and fifty feet wide; and of a circumference of more than twenty English miles! In spite of this great extent, sixteen gates only give access to the town.

The capital of the empire is composed of two towns, the Tartar and the Chinese one. Seen on a ground plan, it represents two parallelograms. The Tartar town is placed vertically as it were, on one of the sides of the Chinese city. These appellations arose from the separation which for a long time was maintained between the conquerors and the conquered—between the Chinese and the men of the north, who had arrived from the other side of the Mongol mountains. To-day a great many of the Chinese live in the Tartar town; and time has mitigated, though not entirely effaced, the antagonism between the two races. In the centre of the Tartar town is the palace of the emperor, the imperial town, called the “Forbidden City,” surrounded by walls, and, as its name implies, inaccessible to mortals. The streets cross one another at right angles. Some are wide, and some narrow. High walls hide the houses of the rich from the curiosity of the passers-by. The only houses which are visible are miserable to look at, being nothing but mud huts, without any attempt at architecture or any trace of ornament. In the Chinese town, where the commercial and industrial life of the place seems to be concentrated, there are whole streets with nothing but shops well furnished with native goods and a few European articles. The chemists’ shops, the tea-warehouses, and the tobacco stores, are distinguished by magnificent fronts in lacquer or gilt work, and by some colossal signboards hung vertically to some poles placed before the doors.

In the Tartar town the interminable streets, which furrow it from north to south, deserted at intervals, or lined with poor cabins, alternate with beautiful shops and walls surrounding invisible palaces. But go on again a few steps and you come back to solitude and misery. And yet you have never deviated

from the straight line which reigns supremely in the capital of the Celestial Empire. These large arteries were formerly paved with marble, which also covered over the streams. To-day everything is falling into ruins. The temples are badly kept. The official residences of the great mandarins, always placed at the angles of the streets, are not distinguishable from the "yamens" of other towns—an inclosure or palisade round the whole; a great doorway, ornamented with a coarsely-painted dragon; one or two flag-staffs; and on the threshold a host of beggars and place-hunters. These public buildings—even the palace of the ministers, the Tsungli-yamen—do not shine in cleanliness. That irresistible enemy, dust, has invaded and tarnished them all—covered them with mud, and saturated them with villanous smells; for before arriving at these higher regions it had dwelt in more humble domiciles and whirled through the streets, which in many places are simply immense depots of filth and impurities of every sort.

It is not an easy task to walk about in Pekin. Whether you are on foot or on horseback, you have not the time to look about you; and yet, if everything is not beautiful, all is curious, new, and interesting. But your attention is absorbed by the holes which the rain has made in the flags, by the deep ruts left by the cart-wheels, by the little bridges of planks thrown over black and stinking streams, by the long files of camels with two humps (the height of elephants) which are bearing Mongols with large faces, flattened noses, foolish laughs, but frank and loyal expressions. Beware, too, of the hack-cabs which abound. They are carts harnessed to one or two ponies, covered by the half of a cylindrical tent, and provided with a kind of hood or awning, which shelters both coachman and horses. These primitive carriages circulate by hundreds, for litters and sedan-chairs are the privilege of mandarins of a certain rank. Here comes one of them. Four coolies carry his chair; they are going at a trot; half-a-dozen servants follow him. Their liveries are dirty and worn, and the chair is in the same state: but the mandarin who occupies it has a clean face and hands; his linen is white; his dress cared for; all about him breathes an air of high bureaucracy. Furnished with a huge pair of spectacles, he is profoundly absorbed in reading a file of papers. He is a member of the Council of

State, going to the council and preparing his report. An obstruction in the street compels us for a few minutes to stop still right opposite this magnate's chair. He stares at us with a disdainful look, and then returns to the study of his papers.

It is impossible to get on. Let us take this quieter side-street which runs along the wall of the "Forbidden City." But here comes another difficulty—a middle-class marriage procession. The young couple, the near relations, and the other members of the family or friends—all those who have been invited to the wedding, in fact—are in hack-cabs. It reminded me of Paris and the young couples with their escorts who drive about the Bois de Boulogne.

We wander about in this way for hours, which seem to be only so many minutes. Our Mongol ponies, saving sundry impatient freaks, behave themselves admirably. We have ridden along the sides of the "Imperial" or "Forbidden City," which is situated, greatly to the inconvenience of ordinary mortals, in the very centre of Peking, thus breaking the diagonal line of the streets, and compelling the passers-by to make a great *détour*. Now we come into the principal thoroughfare, which crosses the northern quarter of the town, and the imposing spectacle of a great funeral is before us. To judge by its magnificence, it surely must be the remains of a minister or some member of the imperial family whom they are bearing to his last abode. My error is quickly rectified: he who is about to rejoin the spirits of his ancestors is only a little official of the fourth class. But reverence for the dead and the love of family—those two fundamental virtues in the Chinese character—explain the pomp displayed in these circumstances. Unfortunately, this proof of the regrets with which the dead are surrounded is often a source of great difficulties and even ruin to the survivors. The body was borne under a huge baldachino in scarlet cloth, richly and barbarously ornamented with fringes and gold baubles. Before the coffin an empty chair, hung with white, was carried, which was supposed to hold the soul of the departed. The family followed in hack-coaches. Every one was in mourning; even the hackney coachmen had a white handkerchief on their hats. The family and friends formed the shabby part of the procession; but the dead man himself made his exit out of the world like a great personage. To the

magnificence of the coffin corresponded the number and richness of the flags, parasols, and gilt or lacquered lances, which were borne by men walking two and two on each side of the road. I call "parasols" some long silk tubes, sometimes red, sometimes blue, ornamented with fringes, and richly brocaded in gold, some covered with inscriptions, others with grotesque designs of dragons and monsters. At certain distances, men dressed as fools, in tight-fitting clothes and caps of scarlet silk, struck a gong, and thus regulated the pace of the procession. Bands of music played alternately—that is, filled the air with harsh and discordant sounds.

In contrast with the pomp of this funeral scene was the indifference of the passers-by. I did not see a single one who stopped. In fact, it was as much as they did to cast a glance at it, and that glance was an ill-tempered one, for business-men don't like obstructions in their way. They are besides *blasé* with these sights, which are repeated every day, and which interest no one but the mourners, and especially the dead man himself.

I like walking about Pekin, for here everything is different from what one sees elsewhere.

We are in a street leading to one of the gates of the "Forbidden City." I have a great wish to peep in ; and as the double gates are open I can give myself that satisfaction. Only what I see of the Pekin reserved for the emperor, and what I know of the Pekin accessible to the profane, is as like as two peas.

Our attention is attracted by a group of people gesticulating and howling round a half-naked man. A Chinese woman, foaming with rage, is behaving to him like one possessed. This man has just stolen a little thing, which he still holds. It was a horrible and yet grotesque scene ; to paint it, one needed the pencil of the artist of the "Danse Macabre." All of a sudden there is complete silence. An old man appears. Gentleness is depicted on his face, and dignity in his manner. He summons the accuser and the accused, and puts them through a short interrogatory. Then he touches the thief on the shoulder and walks away. Everyone hastens to make a line so as to give him a free passage. At a distance of two hundred steps follows the malefactor, with his arms crossed

on his chest and his head bent. This old man is a police agent. The unhappy thief, who seems to have other sins on his conscience, has been arrested : he is going to prison, and he knows what awaits him there—torture, the bamboo, hunger, sickness, and death.

We have escalated the walls, and are above the great central gate which leads from the Chinese to the Tartar town. It is called Chien-mên. We are looking towards the north. At our feet is the Corean quarter, which is composed of mud huts ; further on, what appears to be a great forest, the tops of the trees sprinkled with dust. Above this moving mass of dead greyish-green rises to our right the tower of the Russian ecclesiastical mission. Before us are the yellow roofs of the imperial palace—a large group of buildings forming a square, and surrounded by gardens, of which the finest ornament is the *artificial mountain*. This is the culminating point of Pekin. The principal gateway, which gives access to the imperial town, is at a short distance only from where we are standing. It strikes us by its shabby appearance. This, however, is according to the ideas of the country. The greatest riches are hidden under a poor exterior. Beyond the “Forbidden City,” though at a great distance, one sees the two unfinished towers of the French church. Nearer to us, to our left, rises above the trees the Portuguese cathedral. Below us on both sides of the gate, of which the entablature serves us as an observatory, are seen imposing masses of sloping walls, which divide the two towns. This exterior inclosure, which is crowned with fine battlements, is supported by strong buttresses. The plan is not varied ; it is composed of two elements, which are continually repeating themselves ; but the optical effects of distance, and the consequent softening of the colours, enable you to measure—in thought, at any rate—the enormous dimensions of this gigantic work. At the foot of the wall, all along a deep ditch, files of camels come and go incessantly. Turn towards the south, and you will see a still more busy sight. A magnificent bridge of white marble leads to the Chinese town, and to a great thoroughfare always thronged with foot-passengers, beasts of burden, and carts ; this is the industrial quarter. On the horizon, in front of you, rises above a curtain of trees the triple roof of

the Temple of Heaven. Towards the south-west an elegant pagoda, of several stories high, attracts the eye. Beyond, stretches a great sandy plain, across which the north-east wind is sweeping furiously, dashing the waves of sand against the walls, and sometimes covering them half-way up. Accumulated at the foot of the vast inclosure, these moving downs threaten to bury the wall itself; but the next violent gust will scatter them all again to atoms. Nothing can be more *triste* than the country round Pekin: it is a steppe without any apparent limit. The horizon is lost in the dusty haze of the air, so that you see the tops of the mountains, but rarely their base.

Pekin is like a great camp of barbarians bivouacking round the tent of their chief, and sheltering those who till the ground. The nomad protects the tiller of the soil. Ah! it is indeed Asia; and I understand that, in the imagination of the people of the high central lands from Ural to Kashgar, from Kiachta to Hindukush, Shuntian (Pekin) is the city of cities, the terrestrial paradise, the centre of the world. To me it is the type of the ancient cities mentioned in the Bible. It is Babel or Nineveh—grand, heroic, and barbarous.

After taking some solitary walks, I joined a joyous and numerous cavalcade of horsemen. We are all mounted on good Mongol ponies—a little rough, perhaps, somewhat vicious, and disposed to rear and take the bit between their teeth, as children of the steppes are apt to do, but well-fed, well-groomed, and proud of the noble blood which flows in their veins.

We cross the Chinese city in all its length, and come out on a great, irregular square in front of a vast inclosure, and of the gate (happily open at this very moment) of Tientan, the Temple of Heaven, which the emperor goes to visit once a year, and which the rest of the time is abandoned and closed—closed especially to strangers since some American travellers—men, women, and children—took it into their heads to organize a picnic on the very altar of the great *annual sacrifice*. But there is a way of accommodating matters with heaven, or rather with the guardians of the temple which bears its name. Only, in order to get in, there must be a combination of craft, boldness, and money. The gates are open, and fate smiles upon us. According to the advice of one of our amiable guides, we

pretend to be going quietly on our way. Then he starts his horse off at a gallop, flies past the group of guards who wish to dispute his passage, and enters the first court of the temple. We follow him, and find ourselves within the inclosure.

Mr. L——, with his lynx eyes, at once perceives that another of the gates is half-open. The same manœuvre is repeated, and in a few moments we are in the inner court. The guardians, half-a-dozen men, whose liveries, both as to cleanliness and appearance, leave a good deal to be desired, surround us with cries of remonstrance. This is the moment to open negotiations, and for our gentlemen-interpreters to show off their knowledge of the language and their diplomatic skill. Very soon the Chinese change their tone. Then, in sign of respect, they let their pigtails fall upon their shoulders, which, according to the custom of the common people, were rolled round their heads. A few more explanations, and angry looks give place to smiles and demonstrations of respect. In a word, the affair was settled. It was a question of calculation—that is, to approximate the number of strokes of bamboo which the guardians would receive having let in the “foreign devils,” and to make us pay a corresponding number of *taëls*. The sum having been arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, we are free to enter. They only entreat us, with piteous cries, to carry off nothing and to destroy nothing, for in that case it would not be a question of bamboo, but of losing their heads. That would go beyond a joke.

The Temple of Heaven, with its park and courts, surrounded by walls and ditches, covers ground of more than two miles in circumference. The sacred wood, however, which is composed of cedars and other fir-trees, has a neglected appearance. The principal building is the sanctuary of the annual sacrifices; it was built in the middle of the last century. On a circular terrace, surrounded by three balustrades in white marble, rises the temple, which is also circular, or, properly speaking, polygonal. The walls of the building consist of a fine grating, fantastically sculptured, and enamelled with blue glass-work. Three roofs, placed one above the other, affecting the shape of parasols, and composed of blue tiles, cover this building, which is at one and the same time elegant and *baroque*, fine and savage—disturbing to the eye from the curious crossing of the lines, and

yet pleasing from the harmony of its colours; the deep blue of the roof contrasting agreeably with the dark-brown walls and pure white balustrades. Seen from a certain distance, the curves in the balustrades as they descend and the curves in the three parasols, which seem to bring them close together, produce the strangest possible effect. One cannot help admiring the imagination and invention of the architect. But the merit is not altogether due to him. The effect is mainly produced by the great size of the buildings and certain optical laws. Chinese imagination goes for little or nothing in the matter.

The interior is forbidden to mortals unless to the emperor, the princes of the blood royal, and the personages in the suite of his celestial majesty. Huge locks and bolts seemed to stop us hopelessly on the threshold of the sanctuary. Happily, none of the guards have thought it necessary to follow us. Sure of their bastonade, and sure also of their *faïls*, of which they have already pocketed a certain portion on account, they leave the Temple of Heaven to our discretion. I therefore try the bolts, and one of them is obliging enough to yield. Each of us has the consciousness of being about to commit a grave indiscretion; but curiosity gets the better of us. We go in. Four great wooden columns, sculptured and painted, and united above by four large beams equally coloured, support a gallery ornamented with pilasters, on which rests the cupola. As far as the feeble light enabled me to judge, I should say the cupola was flat, and, like the columns, beams, and walls, ornamented with woodwork painted and lacquered; and it is the only one I have seen like it in China. It is from the inside that, thanks to the light from without, one can fully appreciate the rich and varied beauty of the trellis-work, which takes the place of walls in this curious building, and is like nothing but the finest spider's web. There is no idol or statue whatever, and nothing to remind one that you are in a house of prayer. It is simply a magnificent and colossal kiosk, worthy of being the meeting-place between the Master of Heaven and the master of earth.

The uncovered altar, on which the annual sacrifices are offered, is simply a circular platform of white marble thirty feet high, and composed of three stages, of which the diameters

measure one hundred and twenty, ninety, and sixty feet. Here, as in all the other buildings belonging to the Temple of Heaven, the number *three* predominates. The number of steps is three, six, nine, and so on—always a multiplication of three. It is the same thing with every other part of the building, as, for example, the flags of the pavement and the balustrades of the galleries. In the Temple of Earth, situated to the north of Pekin, it is the number *two* which prevails. No one could explain to me the mystical meaning of this sacred geometry.

We also visited the kitchens, with their great boilers, where the flesh of the sacrificed beasts is cooked ; the great corridor leading to the hall of prayer ; and, lastly, the house occupied by the emperor and his suite during the great annual sacrifices. All these buildings are in a tolerably good state of preservation ; but the interior is neglected and covered with dust. This is perhaps owing to the emperor being a minor, and so not visiting the sanctuaries yet.

I have seen all the most celebrated temples, and everywhere I have been shocked at the evident neglect in which I found them, and especially at the absence of the faithful. The official residences of the great mandarins are not better cared for, because these dignitaries, compelled to keep up their *yamens* at their own expense, rarely remain in office more than three years. But how explain the miserable turn-out of their secretaries and their servants ? the still more miserable state of the high roads throughout the empire, of the streets of the capital, of the canals, of the bridges built in the last century of fine marble and now falling into ruin ? How account for the general look of decay in the whole country, which contrasts so strongly with the qualities and dispositions of the Chinese people, who, with vigour, activity, and intelligence, invade America, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, rivalling everywhere (though within certain limits, yet on a footing of equality) the nations which are the most advanced in material progress and civilization ?

This question, like so many others, I have asked of men who, by their position, by their experience (the fruit of a lengthened residence in China), and by their knowledge of the language, of the men, and of things in this country, were better

able than any others to give me the information I sought for Mr. Williams, an American missionary, author of a book entitled, "The Middle Kingdom," and who has inhabited China for the last thirty-four years; General Vlangali, Russian minister; Mr. Wade, first interpreter of the Legation for many years, and now English minister; Mr. Brown, his secretary-interpreter; Mr. Low, minister of the United States; the German geologist, Baron de Richthoven, who has visited several portions of the empire, and whom I saw start for the distant provinces of Kansu and Sze-chuen; Mgr. de la Place, vicar apostolic at Peking; M. Favier, of the same mission; M. Lenzi, interpreter of the Russian Legation; M. Annecke, *chargé d'affaires*; M. Bismarck, interpreter of the German Legation;—all these gentlemen, with a kindness and good-nature which greatly touched me, never wearied of answering my questions, enlightening my doubts, and rectifying my errors. These interesting conversations filled up the first hours of the day, and singularly abridged the long autumn evenings, which I always passed under the hospitable roof of General Vlangali, or in the *salons* of the other Legations.

"This decadence," I asked, "is it only apparent, or is it real? Is it the nation or only the dynasty which is being extinguished?"

"This is a theme," they answered, "which is both complex and inexhaustible. China is a country of contradictions. The ideas of the people are essentially conservative. Their ways of thought, habits, dress—saving some insignificant modifications—are to-day what they were a thousand or a couple of thousand years ago. But nowhere are buildings constructed which are so little solid or durable. With the exception of a pagoda at—(the name escaped me)—in the province of Kiangsi, of which the construction goes back to the tenth century, there is not in the whole empire a single edifice which reckons more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty years.

"They are essentially patriarchal; and yet, except eight or nine princely families, they have no hereditary nobility. On the contrary, the nobility conferred by the emperor descends one degree in each generation, and finally disappears. The son of a marquis, for instance—that is, of a man whose rank corresponds with the rank of a marquis in our country—will be

an earl ; his son, again, a baron ; his grandson will have no title at all. The princes of the blood are an exception to this rule, and etiquette grants them great privileges. The ministers themselves are, *vis-à-vis* these men, in a very inferior position. On the other hand, all influence in the affairs of state is refused to princes of the blood.

"Everyone may rise to the highest posts, the son of a coolie as much as the son of a prince, provided he has passed a B.A. examination in the principal town of his district, obtained a licentiate in the capital of his province, and a doctor's degree in the University of Peking. A doctor may aspire to the highest grades in the social hierarchy. As a literary man he becomes a member of a body which has real power, but to enjoy individually his part in this power, he must follow an official career, the doors of which are open to him in proportion to the academic honours he has received. One may say then, and with reason, that China is essentially a bureaucratic country. And yet there is no state in the world where the number of functionaries is so limited. In this immense empire there are not above 12,000 mandarins,¹ that is, taking the word in its common sense, which is, a man in the pay of the state. For—and this is another contradiction—in no part of the world has the principle of self-government, the autonomy of each parish or town, been so fully developed.

"Let us go on now to consider the relations between the sovereign and the people. The Chinaman is the submissive and obedient subject of the emperor. The emperor himself is the representative of God and destiny. The obedience paid to him must therefore be blind and unlimited. He is emperor only because God has willed it so. If he be a bad prince, so much the worse for the Chinese ; but that does not alter the obligation laid upon each one of obeying his decrees, however iniquitous they may be. Of all crimes the greatest is rebellion. But if the rebellion succeeds, it is evident that Heaven has willed it so. If, in consequence of a victorious rebellion, a usurper takes possession of the throne, he enters immediately

¹ It is well known that this title of *mandarin* was given by the Portuguese sailors in the sixteenth century to all officials, great and small. It comes from the Portuguese word *mandar*—command, and is entirely unknown to the Chinese themselves.

into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges (and they are unlimited) of the chief of the dynasty he has dethroned. Success gives legitimacy, because is not success due to the manifest will of God? Thus the first duty of a citizen is absolute fidelity to his sovereign; and, at the same time, an immediate and absolute acknowledgment of whatever may be an accomplished fact. Can any contradiction be greater or more striking?

“Having said thus much, we come to your question. The Chinese people, having so high an idea of the power and authority of the emperor, refer to him for a thousand things. The maintenance of public order, the execution of the laws, the repairs of the state buildings, bridges, high roads, canals, fortresses, seaports, all this is the emperor's affair, not the people's. Well, it happens that the present emperor is a minor, that his father was a man of debauched habits and narrow mind, who never gave himself the trouble to look into the affairs of state; and that his grandfather was or passed for being a man of very second-rate intelligence. The trade of a sovereign is no sinecure in China. If the emperor takes no part in public affairs, or if he neglects to fulfil his duties, public interests suffer. Thus, look at Pekin at this moment; the streets are like gutters, the streams are all open, the flags of marble, which formerly covered them, are broken, and their scattered pieces still further impede the circulation; the temples are in a state of dirt, which would be shocking to the faithful if the faithful ever visited them; the public buildings are in the most deplorable state; and outside the capital, the canals, those great arteries of the country, are more than half ruined; the royal roads are transformed according to the season, into dried-up torrents, rivers, or marshes. All this is the result of the last two reigns. An energetic, active, and intelligent prince would put all this to rights, and, in a few years, do away both with the effects of the bad government of his predecessors, and the decadence which strikes every European, but which does not surprise the natives.”

This afternoon was devoted to a visit to the great temple of Confucius, Wên-Miao and to the great Llamaserie, the Yung-

ho-kung, both one and the other situated to the north-east of the Tartar town. From the university and temple of the great philosopher to the sanctuary of the great god there is only a step. But in the order of ideas, the distance which separates them is enormous. People say that the Buddhist religion is the most widely-spread on earth. I doubt it, and think that the number of adherents to Confucius, that is, the rationalists, is still larger. But here they are in presence of one another. Look at the residence of the philosopher. You enter by a picturesque court, planted with cypresses, of which the branches by a well-known process, are made to stretch out horizontally. Let us leave to the learned the care of determining the age of certain stones like bells, and covered with characters, which have not yet been deciphered ; which is not surprising, if it be true, that Confucius, five centuries and a half before our era, inscribed them with his own hand. The great hall is a magnificent empty void. No idols, only inscriptions, the names of the philosopher and of his disciples, and the whole covered with thick coats of dust. Here the emperor comes annually to say his prayers.

In the University of Confucius, which is situated close to the Temple, and, I think, forms a part of it, the complete works of the sage and of other classic authors, inscribed on tablets of black stone, are arranged all round a little court. All these buildings have an academic stamp about them, together with a kind of court atmosphere ; which correspond with the position and turn of mind of the head of the sect, or rather of the pedant professor, and the elegant, learned courtier, called Confucius ; and with the high rank of the protectors of his remains, the emperors, who have built and rebuilt these houses, which are wrongly called temples, for they have nothing to do with religion. Kien-lung, whose reign embraces two thirds of the last century,^{*} built the pretty apartment where the emperor comes every ten years to sit on a richly-sculptured wooden throne, to hear read out to him some chosen pieces of classic authors.

We have now come to the great Llamaserie of Yung-ho-kung. The bonzes, who are Moguls, are all in one hall saying their office. One amongst them, the overlooker of the building, apostrophised us with a kind of brutality. By a blameable

^{*} From 1736 to 1796.

distraction, I had forgotten to throw away my cigar. As a punishment, I am condemned to expulsion. But M. Lenzi, the first interpreter of the Russian Legation and my amiable guide, manages to appease the Cerberus, and the office, momentarily interrupted, resumes its course. The priests, novices, and acolytes, all vested in yellow tunics and cloaks, and all with their heads completely shaved, were squatted on some benches and chanting in choir. As to physiognomies I have rarely seen any more stupid or more clever. Alongside of men, exhausted by fasting, with eyes half closed, and an ascetic look, there were younger ones full of life and health, and some little boys whose eyes glistened like burning coals. As to the voices, two or three basses, worthy of the Venice or Paris Opera, overpowered the nasal sounds of the multitude.

It has often been remarked by travellers how much the solemnities of the Buddhist temples resemble the ceremonies of the Catholic Church. Close to this hall is the sanctuary of Buddha—a sombre, narrow, but immensely high chapel, entirely filled by the colossal statue of the god. The darkness adds to the terrors of the spot. To see the details, and reach up to the huge ears and shoulders of the divinity, we must go up several stories.

Alongside are the apartments, now in ruins, which the emperor, Yung-mên, built for his thirteen sons, to prepare them for an existence which was more claustral than princely. The rooms, opening out of a corridor with circular doors, are very small, but rich in pretty details. The house is built against the northern wall of the town. I cannot say how delighted I was with this fine but savage picture.

The great interest of the day to me was the striking contrast between the Temple of Reason and the Sanctuary of Faith—between intellectual exercises and ascetic practices—between philosophic speculations and superstitious belief—in a word, between Confucius and Buddha.

Pass from a Wesleyan chapel, with its four bare walls, to the pulpit of St. Peter's during pontifical high mass, and you will find a less striking difference. Confucius was a moralist. He gave maxims and counsels full of wisdom; but politely declining the discussion of a future state, he sought the source of good and evil in the reason and will of each soul.

People say that the Chinese are born sceptics. Is this a well-attested fact? If so, another, which no one disputes, would seem to give the lie to this assertion. All educated persons are sceptics; but all the people are believers. The learned have been fed entirely on the works of Confucius. Is it not probable that it is precisely these doctrines of the philosopher, which in the course of twenty-five centuries have moulded men's minds, and developed those sceptical tendencies which are so convenient during life, and so powerless to sustain or give us comfort at the moment of death? I read in a book of an American Protestant missionary, whose name I forget, that the literates in China, who are all atheists, ordinarily return at the hour of death to the belief and practices of Buddhism; and Catholic missionaries have confirmed this assertion. But if the savants will not admit the existence of a God, there are no legends so fabulous, no superstitions so gross, as not to be believed by them, just as our strong-minded men and women believe in spirit-rapping and table-turning. At this moment, in the north of China, the event of the day is the discovery, near Tien-tsin, of a little serpent, brought by a peasant and exposed in the temple. It is a dragon, they say; and a dragon is a god. The entire population, the governor-general of the province, the *taotai*, and the magistrates of the town, are all gone with great pomp to adore the little beast. I asked some one, whose judgment makes him an authority, "whether the governor and other great personages did not look upon this visit to the serpent as a political act—as a concession, in fact, made to the popular superstition? or whether they shared in it?"

"I am convinced," replied my interlocutor, "that the vice-roy is as fully persuaded of the divinity of the serpent as the lowest coolie." And to bear out his assertion, he mentioned to me several facts which had lately occurred. Only the other day one of the secretaries of Legation fell ill: they found out that his house was damp, and the minister hastened to take measures to improve its sanitary condition. He spoke of it to a mandarin of high rank—a very intelligent, and even learned man,—in a word, one who was very much superior to the greater portion of the men of his class. "Do you fancy it is the damp which has made that house unwholesome," he replied gravely. "It is, *fonshué* (literally *wind* and *water*—that is, a

charm—evil spirits). Why did you build that chimney so close to your secretary's house? It is from thence that the evil spirits come out. Don't you understand? Of what use is it to seek for any other explanation? It is quite evident."

"If the Portuguese cathedral," continued my friend, "has not been destroyed during the two last persecutions of the Christians—if it be still standing, it is doubtless owing to the extreme aversion which the Chinese have for the demolition of great houses. They believe that the evil spirits who inhabit them come out of the ruins and infest the whole neighbourhood. On the other hand, I believe that the literates, to hound on the Tien-tsin mob against the missionaries and Sisters of Charity, excited their fears (probably shared in by themselves) of the towers and spires, which always fill the Chinese with dread, as attracting the evil spirits. The spire of the Catholic church in that town was a continual source of irritation and disquiet to the inhabitants. If they did not entirely destroy it, it was owing partly to the solidity of the construction, which resisted all their efforts, and partly because order was re-established before their work could be accomplished. Look what happened here. When the two towers of the French church, which has been recently built, had got to a certain height, the government intervened, and made use of the pretext that from the top of these towers indiscreet eyes might peer into the gardens and courts of the imperial city. But the true reason was the spirits; and Mgr. de la Place has done wisely to obey the wishes of the Tsungli-yamen."

These superstitious people are not fanatics. I have been assured that, in matters of religion, among both learned and unlearned, and, which is more astonishing, among the Chinese Buddhist clergy themselves, fanaticism in religion is unknown. It is not the same with the Mongols. The nearer one gets to Thibet, the more the intolerance in religious matters increases. In China everyone may save his soul in his own way; and if, unhappily, an exception be made for the Christians, it is from political motives, and not on account of their faith.

The different sectaries of Confucius—the Taoists and the Buddhists—live quietly alongside of one another, and I have never heard that their peace was broken by any religious discussions.

When Mgr. Mouly, the last vicar apostolic at Peking, died (in December 1858), they gave him a pompous funeral in accordance with Chinese ideas. His body was carried to the Portuguese cemetery in a rich coffin. The clergymen, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, followed, bearing the cross at their head. All the foreign ministers followed the procession, which had to cross the great thoroughfare leading to the gate of Ping-tsu-men. The streets, as everyone knows, are only raised dykes with two low sides. Well, all the people in carriages whom they met, and among them was a prince of the blood, easily recognized by his green coach, got out of their own accord on the footway, leaving to the Christians what we should call the place of honour. The people looked on with interest and curiosity, without showing the smallest hostility.

There are, at Peking, three or four noted shops, well furnished with fine porcelain, sculptures in wood and ivory, enamelled china (*cloisonné*), and jade. Here, as everywhere else, second-rate articles abound, and real objects of art which deserve the name are rare and at an exorbitant price. They offered me two pretty vases of old china for £80 sterling, an enormous sum if you consider the value of money at this moment and the nature of the article. It is true that both foreign and native amateurs abound. Europeans cannot trade in this capital, where there are very few foreign visitors, and where the only residents are the members of the Legations and the missionaries. But the Chinese merchants make *battues* in the houses of individuals and send their purchases either to Shanghai or to Tien-tsin through the medium of the European houses there—the china, especially that known as *cloisonné*, being highly appreciated in the elegant world of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Really beautiful things, however, are rarely found in the shops. The best way of making purchases is to buy things when the occasion offers. The merchants bring to the Legations a quantity of objects which are more or less curious: it is a kind of pedlaring which is renewed several times a week, and gives a little variety to the monotonous lives of the diplomatists, whose days, alas! follow and repeat one another. But it is not enough to have these curiosities shown to one; one must know how to bargain, that is, to fix the price yourself and never ex-

ceed it ; that is to say, you must be a *connoisseur*, and not be in a hurry. The owner of the coveted bit of china will carry it off, disappear for a month, reappear, then go away again, and finally, perhaps, at the end of a year, accept your price. One of the best *connoisseurs* I know in such matters is General Vlangali. To poke about with him in the streets of Pekin and to examine in his company the multitude of curiosities, which almost every day are spread out in his garden for sale, is one of the most amusing studies and yet the greatest temptation possible.

To sum up the whole, I have seen very few things which seemed to me to possess a really intrinsic or artistic value. What struck me most in the productions of the best periods was the beauty of the colouring and the finish of the work. I think the Chinese have less taste than the Japanese ; that their colours are more startling and less harmonious ; their designs less rich in invention and deprived of that *humour* which, in my idea, makes the principal charm of Japanese art. Jade, which is an extremely hard stone, and very difficult to work, is particularly liked by the natives. In some shops there is a great choice. Every man of rank wears a ring of white or green jade.

Europe is flooded with ivory carvings. Here I have only seen one real *bijou* ; the rest were commonplace and uninteresting. In an artistic point of view I prefer wood-carvings.

Their lacquer-work does not seem to me comparable to the old Japanese lacquer. As to porcelain, however, contrary, I believe, to the general opinion, I give the preference to the Chinese. Of course, I am speaking now of large pieces of the first class. General Vlangali has a small but precious collection of the vases of the Ming dynasty, and of the emperors of the last century. The most ancient, those of Ming, go back to the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth. They are remarkable for the brilliancy of their colours ; those of the last century for the boldness of the design. It is impossible not to recognize the influence of European taste. How explain that strange and curious analogy with *baroque* art which I have already spoken of in the Japanese sculptures of the reign of Taiko-Sama and his immediate successors ? As to what concerns China, the explanation is more easy. It is to the Jesuits,

then holding high positions in the court of Peking and constantly in communication with Europe (from whence they obtained books, maps, designs, and instruments), that we must attribute this infusion, though in a small degree, certainly, of Italian *baroquism*, and later on, of French *rococo* of the time of Louis XIV.

The vases now made at Peking are inferior, both with regard to design and colouring; nevertheless, they still manufacture some fine things; and in this branch of industry I do not see the falling-off which struck me so much in the same productions in Japan, and especially in the vases of Nagasaki. As to the *cloisonné*, it is certainly not to be compared with what was made in the last century. The designs are less correct and pure, and the enamel does not possess those delicate shades so admired in old specimens. We went to see the studio of a ceramic artist. Nothing could be more simple than his tools or his proceedings. In the middle of a little court a few feet square, was a fire, round which two children were walking and fanning the flame, so as to produce a given heat. Alongside, under a miserable shed, two or three workmen, under the superintendence of the master, shared the toil, and really produced some very pretty things.

For my part, I own I cannot be enthusiastic about Chinese china. It is artificial and not artistic. Real classical beauty is entirely wanting. The more our communications with the extreme East are multiplied, the more I think the taste will diminish in Europe for objects of which the great merit, originally, was precisely the difficulty of obtaining them.

M. Fritsche, a learned young Russian, sent by his government on a scientific mission, has been good enough to accompany me to the Jesuit observatory, situated to the east of the Tartar city, between the Tung-pien-men and Chi-ho-men gates. We cross the south-east angle of the town: an agglomeration of mud-huts and of a multitude of miserable-looking human beings. But how they swarm! What is the population of Peking? The geography books, which we learnt by heart in our childhood, reckoned the number at 3,000,000. This, however, must be an evident exaggeration. I put the question to Mr. Williams, the best authority in these matters, and to two

diplomats, who are also very well versed in such calculations. All three owned to me their complete ignorance. The census made by order of the imperial government does not deserve reliance, they said. One is, therefore, reduced to conjectures. Their calculations vary from 1,000,000 to 800,000 or 500,000. At the time of Baron Gros' embassy, himself a studious and well-informed person, he obtained from Prince Kung statistical details which gave the population of the empire and its tributary states at 525,000,000.¹ According to Mr. Wade, the Chinese population before the Taeping rebellion amounted to 400,000,000. The opinion of certain authors who have, since this period, diminished the population by one-half, is evidently erroneous.

Here we are arrived at the end of our walk, a square, low tower, adjoining the wall of the town. In the court are two planispheres supported on bronze consoles, in the form of dragons, beautifully carved. On the entablature of the town, equally in the open air, are several quadrants and a celestial globe, on which is marked the heaven of Pekin: the whole in a perfect state of preservation. My companion assured me that, in a scientific point of view, these instruments are real *chefs-d'œuvre*. They are not less so as works of art.

Look at this massive wall, this long line of crenellated bastions, the results of brutal force. At your feet, in the town, a labyrinth of huts, surmounted by a forest; beyond, the desert; then the horizon; and, above all, the azure sky. Everywhere the most profound silence, interrupted only by sounds which seem to come from the celestial regions: they are white clouds of pigeons which, at an extraordinary height, vibrate, in passing, their Eolian harps.² Everything in this scene is strange, fantastic, or barbarous, saving these instruments, destined to measure heaven, abandoned it is true, but respected by men and by the elements; eloquent remains of an already distant epoch, when it seemed possible that millions

¹ See Blue Book, China I. (1872) p. 6. See also, "On the Population of China," an interesting article by Dr. Martin, of the French Legation at Pekin (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* Juillet-Août, 1872).

² At Pekin pigeons swarm. They are all furnished with tiny bamboo whistles which are excessively light and which are fastened between their wings to protect them from birds of prey. The sound of this ingenious little instrument varies according to the speed of their flight.

of human beings; not by force, but by persuasion, and with the double light of preaching and of science, might be gained to Christianity and civilization.

Very often, when I have been walking about Peking, I have thought of the heads of our diplomatic offices, who taught me so carefully how to copy a despatch, how to fold it in a particular manner, and especially how to give to everyone the courteous appellation which is his due; to shade, with a nice discernment, the "perfect," "distinguished," or "highest consideration," &c., &c. These worthy men, these noble masters of paper and ink, have for a long time slept the sleep of the just. Why cannot I evoke their names? How they would rejoice to find a great capital entirely peopled with their fellows! In truth, the Chinese seem born bureaucrats. This is explained by the fact that they must pass through the bureaux to arrive at any important official position. If the mandarins are few in number, a great number of Chinese possess the kind of knowledge required of such functionaries. Look, for instance, at the servants, who, in a social point of view, are very superior to ours: from their careful dress and their scrupulously clean nails, you might take them for gentlemen. What is the essence of red-tapism? The worship of routine. Routine is your compass, your gospel, your habitation, your prison. It guides, enlightens, and sustains you in doubt; it shelters you in political tempests. Governments fall, states crumble, but the the public offices remain. After the storm is over you find there the same faces, the same ideas, if they have any, and the same ways. The lodging is narrow—there is no room for genius; but good sense, solid acquirements, a strong sense of duty and perfect honesty, find there their home. To restless spirits, to men above the average, or who imagine themselves to be so, for those, in fact, who kick against the pricks, such a position becomes a forced imprisonment.

In the capital of the Celestial Empire everything breathes of red-tapism. The subject of Chinese functionaries was often discussed in our talks. They are accused of rapacity, venality, and cruelty. The organization of the empire; the union in the hands of the same official of administrative and judicial functions; the independence which the representatives of the

emperor enjoy in the provinces, which are real kingdoms ; the want of control of any sort ; the obligation weighing upon them to send considerable sums to the imperial treasury ; their miserable pay, which compels them almost to fleece those under them ; the habit of the Tsungli-yamen to make them disgorge on their return to Peking, not in favour of the shorn sheep, but of the state treasury ;—all this and a thousand other circumstances explain, if they do not justify, the abuse of justice, and the arbitrary acts of which the mandarins are perhaps justly accused.

Fortunately, the strong family tie and the spirit of autonomy, which are both so powerful in China, especially in the south, joined to the horror they have of the intervention of the mandarin, and of any recourse to his tribunal, considerably restrain the action of the civil power, and replace it, in a great measure, by patriarchal authority. Courts where, alongside of the man whose age and social position give him the greatest importance in his native town or village, are seated the notables of the clan or of the municipality, take cognizance of all matters of civil and often of criminal law. Tolerated—but not, I think, legally constituted—these courts cannot pronounce a sentence of death. Nevertheless, rather than refer the case to the mandarin, rather than expose the criminal to have his head cut off, or, which is the most ignominious fate, to be hacked to pieces in little bits, and thus to compromise the fate of his family, who are generally ingulfed in his ruin, the patriarch, after having pronounced the sentence, says to the condemned : “Thy crime is of such enormity that we ought to send thee to the *taotai*, who will cut off thy head. If thou wilt escape this punishment, go into the next room, where thou wilt find a cord or some poison.” There has never been an instance of the criminal preferring to go before the mandarin.

These delegates of imperial power are, therefore, certainly not popular. It is alleged, as an excuse, that they are all more or less in the hands of their subordinates, who are also very few in number and badly paid, so that they extort money wherever they can. But all the mandarins are not bad. Sometimes they win the esteem and affection of their subjects, and at the expiration of their vice-royalty they receive from them, as a testimony of regret, a scarlet silk parasol, on which may

be read, embroidered in gold, the names of the donors. It is this parasol which the functionary who is happy enough to possess one never fails to have carried before his chair when he appears in public.

One day, when taking a walk in the streets of the Tartar city, I saw pass, with great fuss and pomp, a band of servants preceding and following a sedan-chair. This was the minister of finance—a great mandjou lord, and, as chief of one of the eight banners, having the rank of marshal.

“The life of a statesman,” remarked lately this Chinese excellency, “is sometimes strewn with thorns. This is what has just happened to me. My vice-banner-chief begs to have his salary paid from the first of the month. But as he only entered upon his functions a fortnight after, this demand is inadmissible. But, unfortunately, in my position as chief of the banner, I cannot refuse him my support. I have, therefore, written a note to the finance minister—that is, to myself; and everything that could be said in favour of a pretension so ridiculous and so contrary to law I have said. This done, in my position as finance minister, I summoned my council, who, being all entirely of my way of thinking (that is, as finance minister), refused indignantly the petition of my vice-chief. This resolution, duly approved by me as finance minister, has been communicated to me in an official note, with every regard to my position as marshal of the banner. In this latter quality, I of course cannot fail to express my grave displeasure, which is naturally shared by my vice-chief. Also, he will not give in; and at this moment, as his natural head and protector, I am occupied in drawing up an energetic protest, which I fear will be displeasing to the finance minister. It is a grave and complicated matter. I do not know how it will end.”

There are four Catholic churches and parishes here, all served by the priests of the Lazarist congregation. The cathedral, *Nan-tang* (*Church of the South*), commonly called the Portuguese Church, is an imposing edifice of the seventeenth century, and, according to the peninsular taste, abounding in *baroque* ornaments. The *Quinas*, the old heraldic device or arms of Portugal, which formerly was placed above the portal of this temple, the fruit of the piety and munificence

of the "most faithful" kings, have been replaced by the arms of France.

Pei-tang (*the Church of the North*), situated in the centre of the town, near the "Forbidden City," is a fine Gothic building of modern erection. Its two towers remain unfinished. We know why. At *Pei-tang* is the residence of the vicar-apostolic, the principal house of the Lazarists in China, and the seminary. This site was formerly occupied by a Franciscan convent, which disappeared at the time of the great persecution.

The two other Catholic churches are called after their geographical position, *Tung-tang* and *Si-tang* (the churches to the east and west).

The diocese of Peking reckons twenty-seven thousand Christians, and the town itself eight thousand. Among the latter are a good many respectable artisans; and almost all the clock-makers of Peking. Clock-making was introduced into China by the Jesuits; and the Christian faith has, together with this art, been preserved in certain families, and propagated from father to son.

One Sunday—on a foggy, dark morning—I was carried to *Pei-tang*. Mass was going on, at which a large body of the faithful were assisting. They were all natives, arranged with the men on one side, and the women on the other. In the transept, five or six Sisters of Charity were kneeling in the midst of their pupils—a multitude of young girls. One of the missionaries played the harmonium; then, mounting on a stool, near the balustrade which separated the choir from the nave, he addressed a short sermon to the congregation in the Chinese tongue. Every face in this pious crowd was fixed upon him. From where I sat I could examine at my ease these upturned faces. I saw the same cut of features, but a totally different expression to the faces one meets with in the streets. Confidence, respect, and calm were stamped upon them—no trace of scepticism, or irony, or bad-tempered indifference, which is ordinarily to be seen on Chinese physiognomies. Almost all the foreigners who have visited the Christian missions in this empire, whether Protestant or Catholic, have been struck by the influence which the Catholic faith has on the expression and ways of those who have embraced it, and many English authors speak of it in describing their travels.

Mgr. de la Place, Bishop of Adrianople, and vicar-apostolic at Pekin, one of the glories of the apostolate of modern times, was kind enough to show me himself over his church, house, and seminary. The museum of natural history, which is unique of its kind, was made by the learned Abbé David, a Lazarist. The objects it contains come mainly from the province of Che-li. The ornithological part of this rich collection is the most appreciated by the learned.

The collection of books, formed in part out of the wrecks of the fine library of the Jesuits in old times, possesses some valuable works and atlases, the greater part being Dutch editions given by the emperors. In the fly-leaf of some of them one reads, in the large, bold characters of the seventeenth century, which time has already yellowed : "*Datum ab Imperatore Kang-hi.*"

In my visit to the seminary, Mgr. de la Place asked me to open some of the pupils' desks at random. Each pupil has one of his own, which contains his books, his writings, his razors, his little "goodies"—the whole arranged with great taste and in perfect order. Some had even invented a way of hanging little sacred pictures or statues in them, and of erecting tiny altars. It is the peculiar talent of this people to know how to utilize the smallest space.

We went into the garden, where the seminarists gave us a little concert. Not Haydn, as at Sû-kia-wei ; but real Chinese music, executed with strange instruments, the sound of which, on the whole, was pleasing. I especially admired a small kind of portable organ : that is, a series of flutes joined together, which the musician places vertically on his lips. In managing the numerous keys, his fingers have great difficulty in avoiding a contact with his nose, which fortunately, is not very prominent. There was a certain *tremolo* very pleasing to the ear : but how describe the effect on the eye ? A series of fillips, which the artist applied to himself, and which by the jerks of his head, he vainly endeavoured to escape. I held my sides with laughing, and the young *virtuoso*, far from being affronted, shared my hilarity.

The students are evidently well cared for, physically and morally. Their manners were simple, frank, modest, and pleasing. They all seemed in good health. Their very ap-

pearance does credit to the seminary at Pei-tang and to all those who direct it.

The Portuguese cemetery is to the west of Pekin, at two miles from the gate called Ping-tzu-mên. Like the cathedral and the library, it owes to the protection of the court of St. Petersburg, and perhaps also to the superstitious fears of the Chinese, its escape from destruction. M. Favier was kind enough to take me there. About two hundred tombs contain the remains of the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who for two centuries, exercised their devoted ministry here, and died in this part of the empire. Nothing can be more striking than the first appearance of this sombre necropolis. The Ricci, Schall, Verbiest,—those great names, which, with so many other of the fathers, figure in the most brilliant annals of science and of the apostolate, are buried in the oldest part of the *campo santo*. Their funeral monuments are composed of four principal elements: the sarcophagus, a kind of slab composed of one single, enormous stone; five large vases as incense-burners; and lastly, the tablets, which, crowned with dragons, and resting on tortioses, give, in Latin and Chinese, with the name of the departed, the dates of his birth and death. Everything is grandiose, imposing, and solemn. A colossal cross, planted on a culminating point, reminds the visitor that Christian remains are interred in these mausoleums.*

* Father Mattei Ricci, born at Macerata in 1552, arrived in China in 1583, and died at Pekin in 1610. He obtained the favour of the emperor and left some valuable works on morality and geometry. Father John Adam Schall, born at Cologne in 1591, arrived in China in 1622, and died at Pekin in 1666. Father Ferdinand Verbiest, born at Pitthem, near Courtrai, in 1623, joined the Chinese mission in 1659, and died at Pekin in 1688. He obtained the friendship and confidence of the great emperor Kang-hi (1661—1722), was professor of astronomy, and directed the Canon Foundry. We have a volume from him entitled “*Liber organicus Astro-nomiæ apud Sinas restitutæ*.” Everyone knows the attack of the Dominicans upon the Jesuits on the subject of the adoption of certain Chinese rites. The inquiry, which passed through an endless variety of stages, was definitively settled by Pope Benedict XIV., who forbade the missionaries, henceforth, to conform to Chinese customs. As soon as Rome had spoken the Jesuit fathers obeyed without reserve; but they ventured to maintain the following:—1. That they had always considered as purely civil and not at all religious, the Chinese rite concerning the honours rendered to Confucius and deceased relations. 2. That it was not only the Jesuits who understood in this sense the real character of these observances. 3. That certain poet

October 23.—This morning I started to visit the Great Wall. At Pekin, the gates of the city close at sunset and only open at dawn. The mules and baggage-horses which are needed for travellers and their suite, must be brought in from the country. Hence an annoying delay. We shall hardly arrive at our destination before the close of the day; and in the Celestial Empire, night is not a pleasant time for travelling. At last, at nine o'clock, our caravan gets under way and leaves the Russian Legation. M. Lenzi directs it.

To arrive at the north-west gate, called Têcheng-mên, we spend an hour and a half. But how could one go quicker? How cut that gordian knot composed of human beings, camels, horses, asses, carriages, sedan-chairs, bonzes, coolies, and peasants? Between the two gates, the inner and the outer, the pressure of the crowd is so great, that for an instant we begin to despair. At last we are out! We come into the long single street of a village adjoining Pekin, which is as dirty, as muddy, and as full of encumbrances as the most frequented thoroughfare of the city. Another half-hour and we have reached the country! Groups of willows, little ponds, and mud hillocks, alternate with cultivated fields and isolated farms. Are we in Moravia, in Hungary, or in China? The resemblance is so striking that I ask myself whether it was worth while to go and seek at the other end of the globe so vulgar and uninteresting a country.

The day is spent in trying to avoid the high road, which is all under water, and in scrambling on to the natural dykes which line it on either side. Very often these last end abruptly,

tions of these rites, which were declared superstitious, had been eliminated a long time before the Holy See had pronounced its judgment. This celebrated trial came back to my mind when I saw all those dragons and tortoises, symbols which appear so Pagan, but which, in the opinion of the Jesuits, are purely political and civil. One can understand that monks arriving fresh from Europe and having no knowledge, or a very imperfect one, of men and things in this country, should have been shocked at what they called and thought to be too great a deference to Paganism and a dangerous innovation. Hence their protest. Men who are entirely strangers to the dispute and well versed in questions of Chinese etiquette and rites, have assured me that it seemed to them extremely difficult to draw a line of demarcation between religion and politics: between the worship of the gods and the ceremonies which only symbolize the respect due to the emperor; and which hence are purely civil acts.

and our men have to plunge into the plain and be up to their middles in mud, swearing, gesticulating, and screaming at the tops of their voices. Of a road there is no longer a trace. One marches on, then, as best one can. Some of us are in litters, others on horseback. I chose the first method of locomotion, and rejoice in my foresight; for every moment I see one or other of my friends who are on horseback, rolling in the mud. Fortunately, we are in the midst of such a sea of that, that no one is hurt. Their toilets alone suffer. On the other hand, my mules trip at every step, and as we are going along the side of a ravine, the prospect is not very reassuring. Our muleteers and grooms are all Chinese Mohammedans. They choose them by preference because they are less hostile to Europeans. Such is the antagonism between them and their pagan fellow-countrymen, that they feel as if they have more affinity with the Christians. "We are of your religion," they said to us.

At nine o'clock in the evening, after a twelve hours' march, we arrive at the gates of the town of Chang-ping-chow. But they are shut; impossible to enter. We set ourselves to work to find a temple—they are always near the gates of the towns. We grope our way, therefore, along the interminable wall. By the uncertain light of a partially-veiled moon, the crenellated bastions seem to get larger, and prolong themselves indefinitely. But here is the temple. The priest who serves it, seated in the court, smoking his pipe, makes a sign for us to enter without disturbing himself.

October 24.—To-day will be remembered by me for ever among the recollections of my travels. I have seen the tombs of the Mings.¹

Thy are scattered temples in a plain separated from the rest of the world, on three sides by the chain of Mongol mountains, and towards Peking, by the gradual rising of the ground. One arrives by an avenue bordered with colossal statues coarsely carved: kings, horses, griffins, elephants, lions, and camels. They add to the tragic solemnity of the spot. Never did I feel myself so entirely alone.

The tombs are placed behind the temples, each of which is

¹ The princes of this dynasty reigned from 1366 to 1644.

surrounded by an inclosure. I counted thirteen, but I think the number is greater. We visited the last abode of the Emperor Tsuwên. Restored by Kien-lung,¹ it is to-day completely neglected. Admire first the dimensions of the great hall, of which the roof is supported by immense columns,² which are the trunks of natural trees, and the gift of the King of Siam. Visit afterwards the sarcophagus, which occupies a separate building. Then go up to the tower, from whence you may enjoy at your ease the heroic and funereal beauty of the site.

At our feet stretches the plain, torn by the beds of the torrents. Towards the east, at the distance of only a few miles, rise the first spurs of the Mongol mountains, thickly covered with brushwood. Making a great curve, these hills run towards the west. Their deep gorges are sunk in shadow, while their summits are glistening with light. Near us everything is of a kind of brownish-red : further on, of Sèvres blue. The last visible range of hills seem to melt their azure tints into those of the sky, which are hardly less tender. The northern vegetation, as far as one can see it, contrasts with the rich colouring of the south. The weather is magnificent ; there is not a breath of wind. A deep silence hovers over the necropolis.

A march of three hours leads us to Nankow.

On going down a steep hill, we perceived at the entrance of the ravine which leads into Mongolia, this little town, surrounded by dilapidated walls and a few groups of trees. We managed to lodge pretty well in one of those numerous hotels frequented by the camel-drivers on their way to and from the north.

Here we were told that the road was completely destroyed, and that the only way of reaching the Great Wall was to make use of the little sedan-chairs of the country. This so-called high road, however, is never practicable for carts. They are obliged to carry them on camel's backs, after having taken off their wheels.

October 25.—We leave our caravan at Nankow, and, in spite of the darkness, we start at five o'clock in the morning. Our

¹ He reigned from 1736 to 1796.

² The middle ones are 60 feet high, and of a circumference of nearly 12 feet.

carriage was a miserable little chair, without a back, carried on two bamboo poles. Two shorter ones, placed in the longitudinal axle of the chair and bound by cords to the two larger poles, rest on the shoulders of our four coolies, who march one before the other, two before and two behind. Furnished with lanterns, they advance rapidly. The road is the bed of a torrent filled with muddy, foaming water, amidst scattered blocks of rock. It is only by fording or by jumping from stone to stone, that our bearers can get along, and also by passing incessantly from one bank to the other. To keep their equilibrium they stretch out their arms like tight-rope dancers. They slip, they trip, but they scramble on. One of my men fell into the very middle of the current; but the others bore him up and there was no accident. I assure you our trust and confidence in these men, whom we had never before seen in our lives, and whom we shall never see again, was simply boundless! Long journeys make us fatalists. One must really become so if one aspires to the honour of being what the Yankees elegantly call a "globe trotter," *i.e.*, one who travels round the globe.

The air is soft, and impregnated with the bitter perfumes which are exhaled by the aromatic shrubs of the Pyrenees, or the Sierra Morena. We are on the high road to Mongolia. Genghis Khan followed it when he invaded China. His hordes probably presented the same aspect as the men whom we meet now, and who, squatted between the two humps of their camels, are dragging along others in their suite.

We halted for a short time at the fortress of Tsuyung-quan. The learned are divided as to the meaning of the characters with which one of the doors of the fort is covered. Among the crowd which pressed round us were several galley-slaves. In China, convicts, far from being dishonoured, enjoy, on the contrary, the sympathy of the people. These men wear round their necks a heavy iron ring, and another on their legs. These rings are fastened to an iron rod, which they hold in their hands like a stick. They seem quite accustomed to this *triste* garb, and honest men talk and laugh familiarly with them as if they had done no wrong.

The further we advance, the more we are stopped by interminable files of great and beautiful two-humped camels. They come or go from Kiachta. M. Starzoff, my amiable host at the

temple of Kung-chow, is sending there at this moment a caravan of 15,000 camels, bearing 60,000 cases of tea! This gives one an idea of the importance of the commercial relations of Russia with China.

The gorge through which we are passing narrows more and more. At one spot, named Vu-gui-tow, where a little temple is most picturesquely hung, and, as it were, encased between the rocks, in front of a red summer-house, equally resting on the flank of the mountain, the valley is simply a trench. I do not believe it is more than forty feet broad.

The last part of our road is the most trying. But our coolies, in spite of the thirteen miles they have already run in less than five hours, betray no fatigue, and deposit us at ten o'clock at the foot of the Great Wall, the *Ultima Thule* of my journey.

Seated on the top, above the gate, one foot in China and one in Mongolia, we can contemplate at leisure this celebrated wall.

Towards the north-east, after having crossed the narrow valley, it follows the crest and sinuosities of the mountains. On this side all the heights are crowned with towers. The wall rises and falls, and rises again in zig-zags, appearing and disappearing behind the rocks. One cannot take count of the distances, save by the gradations of colour, and by the lights and shades.

Towards the south-west the eye plunges into the valley we have just left. The rocks seem to precipitate themselves into the gorge and to be interlaced with each other. It is a chaos of rugged blocks of every shade and hue; dark brown, violet, grey, and blue.

Towards the south-west a mountain rises abruptly quite close to us. The wall mounts in a serpentine fashion, doubles itself at a right angle, and escalades the summit, which here takes the shape of a camel's back with two humps.

To the north-west the gorge opens out on a little plain. Beyond, a line of other mountains form the second range, and, as I am told, the last of the Mongolian plateau. The thickness of the air does not enable us to see them clearly. At this moment, long lines of caravans are crossing the plain and coming into the defile. In spite of the distance, the sharp

cries of the camel-drivers reach our ears. Everything in this picture is grand, sombre, and savage. The absence of sun adds to the indefinable sadness of the whole scene. It is a thorough picture of Central Asia.

Having returned to Nang-kow before night-fall, in spite of the advanced hour, we made another stage in the direction of Peking.^{*}

October 26.—We passed the night at Yaufan, in a good inn, that is, good from a Chinese point of view. At five o'clock we were again in the saddle. During the whole morning a thick fog shut out all sight of the country. Happily towards mid-day, after a painful march of six hours, always on wretched roads, the curtain of fog lifted. The sun warmed us gently, and lit up the country with its pale light. Great gardens surrounded with walls, fine buildings, summer-houses, and kiosks are seen on both sides, together with wooded hills which are reflected in a large sheet of water, and stand out against the soft blue of the Mongolian mountains. The spires of two pagodas, rising gracefully in the middle of the trees, give a local colouring to this beautiful picture.

We are close to the summer-palace, at the entrance of the Yuen-ming-yuen, or, the *magnificent circular garden of the emperor*. The inclosure being shut on that side, we went on towards Wanshow-shan. Going along, the caravan suddenly turned into a little lane, so as to leave the road free to two or three hundred cavaliers of martial bearing, well dressed and armed, some with guns and some (the most numerous) with bows and arrows. These soldiers belong to one of the mandjou corps, who are noted for retrograde ideas. The sight of Europeans acts upon their nerves; and we do well to keep at a respectable distance from these conservative warriors.

^{*} Everyone knows that there are two walls—the inner and the outer. But neither the learned Chinese nor their European brethren have ever been able satisfactorily to solve the question which is constantly mooted at Peking: “Which of the two is the most ancient?” The length of the Great Wall is about 500 miles. That part which I visited is crenellated on the Mongolian side. The height of this strange rampart varies from 30 to 32 feet, and from 10 to 12 feet in the spots where it crosses over the precipices. It is built of a kind of granite which is found in the mountains.

After a short negotiation, conducted by the clever M. Lenzi, and leading to a happy result, we were allowed to enter the court; then passing by a mass of varnished bricks, broken statues, and overturned columns, we went into the park, and from the height of an artificial mamelon we could contemplate the imposing remains of a monument created by the genius of a barbarous people^{*} and converted into a heap of ruins by the armies of two great civilized nations. The little that remains standing, and the broken bits of the sculpture have a *rococo* stamp upon them, which one is surprised to meet with in China. Everything here breathes a kind of court atmosphere; one feels oneself transported to Versailles, to Schönbrunn, or to Potsdam. Certainly there is no material resemblance, but there is affinity.

Breakfast was served in the garden, and our Chinese valet surpassed himself. If it be true that in Europe, even on the classic soil of France, the culinary art is on the decline, and that good cooks become more and more rare, one had better provide oneself with some from China. The Chinese are calm: they rarely loose their heads, and possess that greatest quality in a cook—delicacy of taste. Whilst we were enjoying a most excellent meal, seasoned by good appetites, the guardian approached and apostrophised us in language which was evidently the reverse of flattering. He was furious at our having encamped under a portico haunted by certain spirits, who have as little tenderness for the “foreign devils” as the Cerberus himself. For a long time the imperturbable Lenzi feigned to ignore the presence of this personage, who gesticulated furiously, and screamed like one possessed. At last, it was necessary to speak. “Go away from here,” exclaimed our mentor, with a gracious smile; “the smell of your pipe annoys us.” “Your meat infects the air.” “Very well, that is an additional reason for you to go away.” “That is true,” he murmured at last, and retired. This, they tell me, is the only way to treat these children of the south, to be very courteous, very calm, and especially very logical.

In passing rapidly through the town we saw nothing but

^{*} During the long reign of Kien-lung (from 1736 to 1796). This palace had so many visitors in 1860, and so many souvenirs were brought to Europe, as well as so many published descriptions, that I suppress the notes I took on the spot.

frowning faces. The inhabitants, who were formerly in easy circumstances, thanks to the long periodical residences of the court, have fallen into destitution since the sack and destruction of the palace.

Our short stay in the capital draws to an end. We have constantly had beautiful weather. This evening a high wind rose, which woke us in the night. To-day the air is again calm, but the thermometer has lowered considerably; at sunrise it froze. Winter is beginning, and will go on till the end of March. During this long period, saving a little snow which falls towards the end of November and in February, and which the wind sweeps away as soon as it falls, the sky is clear, and the sun shines; but with the terribly cutting north-east wind, the cold is severely felt, although the thermometer rarely falls (and that only for a few days) to fifteen degrees Réaumur. Clouds of dust then invade Peking and penetrate into the most carefully closed apartments. To take exercise or go out on horseback is impossible. The spring is short and disagreeable; the summer is most trying, owing to the intense heat and the mud. From June to September torrents of rain fall at short intervals, transforming the streets into gutters, and rendering them almost impracticable. I understand now how the prophet Jonah took three days to go across Nineveh. During this season the members of the diplomatic corps take refuge on the sloping hills near the summer palace, or at Che-fu. October is the only fine month. It is then autumn; and at this season, judging by my own experience, I may say that nothing could equal the beauty of the sky, and the soft and yet bracing air, which gives to everyone a feeling of health and strength. The climate is not unhealthy; there are few fevers or epidemic diseases, saving the small-pox, which in China, as in Japan, makes terrible ravages.

As a residence, always excepting this month of October, Peking is simply a hell. There is no kind of distraction to console you for the climate; no social resources beyond the tiny colony formed by the members of the diplomatic corps. The Lazarist fathers and the few Protestant missionaries, absorbed by the toils and duties of their ministry, do not frequent the salons of the Legations. Nevertheless, I heard few complaints. The younger diplomats, it is true, have now and then fits of discour-

agement ; but they very soon get accustomed to their almost monkish seclusion, and to this family life with its intimate and daily relations between them and their chief. The great want is women. Formerly there were seven : since the departure of Madame Low and her daughters the number is reduced to four. The wives and daughters of the American and English missionaries do not count socially. The greatest harmony reigns in this noble, and in every respect admirable little colony.

The Russian, English, and French Legations occupy vast spaces. A strong wall surrounds each of these buildings, which consists of the residence of the minister, the bungalows of the secretaries, the servants' quarters, the chapel, stables, and gardens. They are establishments, in fact, worthy of great powers. The Russian Legation, rebuilt or restored under the personal direction of General Vlangali, is distinguished by its noble and elegant simplicity. It consists of a group of houses scattered in a garden, and alongside, a vast court and its dependencies. It is from thence that I used to see the Cossacks start with the heavy mails for Kiachta. These journeys generally take a month. The couriers of the Russian government make the distance from Peking to Kiachta (1,300 English miles) in fifteen days. The members of the Legation ordinarily take that route, which they judge preferable in the good season (April and May) to the long navigation on the Yellow Sea and the Indian Ocean. They make use of a Chinese cart, to which two camels are harnessed, and carry with them provisions for thirty days, which is the ordinary length of the journey. At Kiachta it is very easy to buy carriages, and you find there also, as throughout Siberia, post-horses and posting stations admirably organized, together with very tolerable inns—in fact, civilization. By this route you can get over the distance from Peking to St. Petersburg in two months.

I cannot pass over one very remarkable man in silence.

It is well known that the Chinese government, wishing to put a stop to the frauds committed by its officials with the connivance of the European and American merchants, has confided to foreigners the direction and administration of the custom-houses established in the open ports. The chief, bearing the title of Inspector-General, is Mr. Hart, an Englishman, and other functionaries, his subordinates, all chosen by him and

placed under his orders, are of different nations. In Mr. Hart one sees a man in every respect above the average ; in him, intelligence, activity, and energy are all combined. He was in the consular service, and then passed on to that of the Chinese government, and reorganized the whole of its custom-house system. He has a very large salary, and pays his subordinates at a rate which is far above that given by our governments. He has, therefore, the first pick of the best men, rather to the detriment of the Legations and Consulates. The existence of this institution is a homage rendered to the honourable character of Englishmen in this part of the world, and does honour likewise to the Chinese government, which, in this matter, has enfranchised itself from its anti-European prejudices. Lastly, it gives Mr. Hart and his staff an opportunity of studying the country and creating relations with the people which, perhaps, some day may make his services as valuable to China as to Europe. Mr. Hart is still young, and up to the present moment very much esteemed at the Tsungli-yamen. He has lately made himself very popular with foreigners by the publication of a memoir, which he has "submitted to the imperial throne." In this curious piece of writing, the head of the custom-house and trenching on high political ground, denounces the vices of the Chinese administration and the faults and weaknesses of the mandarins in no measured terms.

Are the Europeans established at Peking exposed to any danger? To this question I was answered in the negative. But they own, at the same time, that there are two eventualities, either of which would involve them in great peril :—a rebellion against the existing dynasty ; or, if war with the European powers should become imminent, or should the Chinese government consider it inevitable. Then the hatred against foreigners would break out, and the authorities would lack the means or the will necessary to restrain it. "If we are not massacred on the spot, we shall be kept as hostages," was said to me. It will be a second Abyssinia.

They flatter themselves that the present dynasty will not be soon shaken. "The moral basis of society in this country," they say, "lies in a fatalist submission to the will of the

sovereign, as long as it is the will of Heaven that he should reign. To this kind of loyalty, which has nothing in common with the question of right, is joined the respect for parents and for old age. The result is a kind of stability, or rather of immobility." By this process of reasoning people try to reassure themselves and to reassure the ladies, who were very much alarmed by the terrible massacres at Tien-tsin, last year. One evening, after dinner, my charming neighbour at table—I am not going to betray her—said in my ear: "Do you think we shall be all killed some fine day?" This gives an idea of the position.

As to the men, not only the question of danger does not occupy their thoughts, but it does not exist for them. It would be doing an injustice to these bravely-tempered souls to think them capable of the least movement of fear. In Japan, as in China, the diplomats, merchants, and missionaries, all are convinced that there is no danger. They would never dream of it till the moment came to affront death; like sick men, afflicted with an incurable disease, who only remember it at the moment when they are in pain.

Have the European governments done wisely to establish their missions at Pekin? Let us listen to the "for" and "against."

There is, first, the question of audiences. Whoever approaches the emperor must prostrate himself, *i.e.*, make the *kow-tow*. It is in consequence of these pretensions that the ambassadors formerly sent to China failed. Refusing to submit to this humiliating ceremonial, they returned to their respective countries without having fulfilled their mission. To-day, the representatives of the powers residing at Pekin live at the doors of the imperial palace, and yet find themselves, for the same reason, deprived of the privilege of approaching the sovereign to whom they are accredited. In a European point of view this is intolerable. The Chinese, on whom the most severe penalties are inflicted if they dare raise their eyes to the sacred and divine person of their master, and who are obliged to shut all their doors and windows on the rare occasions when he goes through the streets to visit a temple—the Chinese, on the contrary, consider the preten-

sions of the European ambassadors presumptuous to the last degree. The members of the Council of State, when dealing with this question with the envoys, sheltered themselves behind the minority of their master. "Etiquette," they said, "is with us a part of our religious rites. We cannot, of our own authority, consent to its violation. The people would tear us to pieces. Wait for the emperor's majority; for he alone can grant you the necessary dispensation; and, again, it is to be feared that such a concession would injure him very seriously in public opinion."

The admission of the envoys is considered by Chinese statesmen to be a terrible humiliation and a national misfortune; because it will show the people that "The Son of Heaven" is neither the sole nor the most powerful sovereign in the universe. This explains the want of insistence which the English and Russian ministers have exhibited in this thorny question; for they have no wish, and no one can desire, to hasten the fall of the reigning dynasty. French diplomacy has, however, been more exacting; and, if it succeeds, which appears to me problematical, the cabinet of Versailles will have the honour of opening the doors of the imperial palace; but it is also on France that will rest the responsibility of the consequences. For the moment, the solution of the difficulty is postponed until the declaration of the emperor's majority—that is to say, till next year.

Let us point out other inconveniences.

The commercial interests of Europe in China are enormous. The amount of the transactions with England alone is reckoned at forty-two millions of pounds sterling a year! All this business is done, not in the capital, the entrance of which is forbidden to foreign merchants, but in the open ports, and especially in Shanghai. That would be the natural seat of the Legations. At Peking, blocked up by ice during nearly six months of the year, it is necessary, to correspond with Europe (saving by way of Siberia), to make use of the couriers whom the Chinese custom-house at Chin-kiang (one of the three trade-ports on the Yang-tse-kiang) sends to Peking with the Shanghai mails. If they are not robbed and murdered *en route*, which is not at all a rare occurrence, these messengers will take fifteen days to make the distance.

On the other hand, they tell me that the residence at Peking gives two great advantages to the European envoys—the being near the central authorities, and far from the European merchants.

The relations with the Chinese ministers are reduced to rare visits to the Tsungli-yamen; for on no occasion will Prince Kung or his colleagues receive any of the diplomatic corps in their private houses. Nevertheless, they meet; they can talk, and sometimes they thus prevent difficulties arising which, unless cleared up at the very beginning (and that supposes the presence of the ministers at the seat of government), might lead to bitter and serious complications.

Again, the Legations are thus free from the influence and atmosphere of the trade-ports. The residents there are all merchants. They have only their own profit in view. That one can understand. But the result is an unhappy tendency to establish on all occasions a solidarity between their commercial interests and the political interests of their country. The least impediment placed in the way of their speculations is immediately declared to be a violation of the treaties. Everyone has recourse to the minister of his own nation, and they make him responsible for the losses incurred, or the gains that have not been made. Commercial enterprises are put on a level with affairs of state, and the diplomatic corps find that they are expected to do nothing but smooth difficulties which rash speculators have created without thought or care. Living in this *entourage*, and finding themselves constantly under the pressure of exigencies put forward by rich, intelligent, active, and perhaps influential men in their own country, the diplomatic representatives would have great difficulty in preserving that freedom which is necessary to maintain the great interests of their respective countries.

October 23.—To-day I visited Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor Hien-fung, and in consequence, uncle to the present Emperor Tung-chi, President of the Council, and the most important statesman in China.

Everyone knows the part played by him on the advent of his nephew. At the approach of the Anglo-French troops, the court had retired to Je-ho. Hien-fung died there, on the 22nd

August, 1861. His reign of ten years had been marked by calamities and misfortunes of all kinds : the rebellion of the Taepings, the Anglo-French war, the impoverishment of the empire, and the decay of the government. His son being only seven years old, the dying emperor instituted a Council of Regency composed of eight members, all supposed to be most hostile to foreigners. The most remarkable among them were Prince De I, a near relation of the sovereign ; Prince de Ching, and Shu-shu-en, younger brother of the last named. A few days after, Prince Kung, to whom the reins of government had been intrusted during the absence of the court, had to notify to the foreign ministers the death of his majesty. In the circular one read :—" His sacred person, seated on a dragon, has mounted up to heaven." The return of the young emperor, which was for a long time put off, although advised and asked for with eagerness by Prince Kung, and at last resolved upon by the empresses, did not take place till the autumn.¹ Two days before the arrival of the new sovereign, the Prince, accompanied by his troops, went out to meet him, and when the members of the Council of Regency strove to prevent the interview, he declared he would employ force. His adversaries, intimidated by his threats, did not venture to make any resistance. The Prince, therefore, saw the emperor, and, what was more important, the two empresses, one the widow of Hien-fung, the other his concubine, but the mother of the present emperor. This last had, by a special brevet of the deceased emperor, obtained the title of empress.

Hardly had he returned to Peking than Prince Kung summoned the Council of Regency, and read to them a decree purporting to emanate from the young emperor himself. " The Council is dissolved ; its members dismissed, and the Regency is conferred on the Empress Dowager." This *coup d'état*, probably concerted with the two widows of Hien-fung during the Prince's visit to Je-ho, filled the members of the dissolved council with the utmost terror. The two princes and Shu-shu-en alone, instead of submitting to their fate, ventured to go to the palace with noisy protests and remonstrances. This act of audacity hastened their ruin. Fresh decrees followed. The censors and the nine higher courts were invited to send in

¹ 1st November, 1861.

their memorials, of which the most important were published in the English newspapers. In this crisis, where he was playing for his life, the Prince showed all the qualities necessary in such an emergency : presence of mind, calmness, and courage. Princes I and Ching were arrested in Pekin : Shu-shu-en, at a short distance from the capital. He was travelling with his wives and with a considerable armed force. But a young brother of Prince Kung's, to whom this delicate mission was intrusted, surprised his victim in the dead of night, made him prisoner, and brought him in triumph to Pekin.

The three councillors were accused of having forged the decree by which the dying monarch had appointed the Regency. Was this accusation just? I was told that the fact had never been proved, but that it was more than probable. The inquiry into the whole proceeding was conducted with such precipitation, that six days after the emperor's entrance, judgment was given. Princes I and Ching were condemned to lose their lives gradually, that is, to be cut in pieces from head to foot, but obtained a commutation of their sentence, that is, the permission to commit suicide. In other words, they were strangled in prison. Shu-shu-en, who was the object of the particular hatred of the empress-mother, whom he had had the imprudence to offend, was treated like an ordinary malefactor. He had his head struck off in the place appointed for public executions. This great personage walked to the scaffold with an air of perfect indifference, launched some clever sarcasms against his persecutors, and died with the utmost courage. The Pekin public is like all other publics in this world ; it loves success. Prince Kung became at once the popular hero and he has remained so, in the sense that they believe him to be the only man capable of governing China. He has also given general satisfaction by his having persuaded the empresses to transfer the court to Pekin.

Nevertheless, his task is not an easy one. The empress-dowager, who has never had any children, is of a gentle, indolent character. The mother of the present emperor, on the contrary, is said to be of a vindictive, restless, and ambitious nature. She has demanded and obtained a participation in the affairs of state. The reports of the high functionaries and of the different councils are addressed to the ministers

assembled at the Tsungli-yamen ; then, by the advice of Prince Kung, they are sent on to the two empresses, who give or withhold their seals of assent at the bottom of each report. The position of the prince *vis-à-vis* the empress-mother, who is in favour of his adversaries, is often very delicate, and has been several times compromised. At one moment, the disgrace of Prince Kung seemed to be complete. By a decree published in the "Gazette of Peking," he was dismissed and deprived of all his dignities. The news spread like wild-fire, and produced universal consternation. The highest persons in the realm were seen to shed tears, the empire was considered lost. The empresses were afraid, the decree was revoked in the name of the emperor ; and the prince reinstated in all his functions.

It was with a vivid curiosity that I went this morning to see so remarkable a man. After having rapidly passed by the eastern quarter of the town, we arrived at the Tsungli-yamen. A little group of people were gathered round the entrance of this too simple building.

Hardly had we set foot within the gates, than we were received by Wên-siang, member of the council, one of the two assistant secretaries, and by Tsung-Hsün, a celebrated poet, intrusted with the foreign correspondence, and one of the finance ministers. All important decrees concerning exterior or foreign policy emanate from his pen. These dignitaries and a third minister, made us pass by a little corridor which led into a small inclosure. There, in the midst of his court, stood Prince Kung. He took me by the hand, and led me into a little summer-house hardly large enough to hold a small round table, loaded with a multitude of little dishes : spiced meats, preserved fruits, and sweet things. My noble amphitryon made me sit down on his left hand, which is the place of honour. He and his ministers filling little saucers with these good things, invited us to eat and especially to drink. The wine seemed to me tasteless and heady, and it was not without sinister presentiments that I accepted their toasts. Fortunately, they were contented with my pretending to drink frequent copious libations. Tsung, the poet-minister, never ceased drinking. After each bumper, he showed me the bottom of his empty glass. Prince Kung laughed heartily, talked very

loud, and said that Tsung was an old drunkard. Towards the end of the meal he announced to me his intention of paying me a visit on one of the following days ; and as I expressed to him my very sincere regrets at being unable to accept this honour, my departure from Peking being fixed for the following morning, he filled my glass again, exclaiming :—"Well, if that be so, you must drink to-day the wine which General Vlangali would have offered me had I paid you a visit."

M. Bismark, who was good enough to act as my interpreter on this occasion, acquitted himself so admirably of his functions, that the conversation, which, however, was rather commonplace, never halted for a moment. I felt as if I were before the personage in the celebrated novel, "*The Two Cousins*,"¹ Pékong, the president of the office of ceremonies, who laughs and drinks with the imperial monitors, U and Yang. The prince, who was in very good humour (which, they say, does not always happen to him), joined in the conversation, and seemed to enjoy beyond measure the clever repartees and jokes of his colleagues. I told him that his fame had reached Europe. He replied, "Really, I do not know how I have deserved such an honour ; or to what I owe such consideration." "To your high birth, first of all," I replied, "and then to your courage and wisdom. By your courage you have obtained the place you occupy, and by your wisdom you have known how to retain it, and will continue to do so." The prince smiled. The allusion to the crisis so boldly brought about and so adroitly managed by him at the time of the emperor's arrival, seemed to flatter and please him. "I do not know how to answer you," he replied. "On the one hand, I cannot contradict you : on the other, I must not sing my own praises. Let us drink another glass !" At one moment the conversation took a more serious turn. Wên-siang gave me an opportunity of alluding to one of the vital questions of the day, and was entering into a discussion upon it, when a cold and severe glance from the prince made him stop short suddenly.

The visit having lasted more than an hour, I felt I ought to rise and take my leave. The prince promised to send me his photograph as soon as it was taken.² "You have other and

¹ Translated from the Chinese by M. de Rémusat.

² He kept his word, and I have his photograph.

more important things to think of," I replied ; "you will forget it." "No," he answered. "Besides," he added, turning to one of the ministers with a marked air of authority, "*you* will not forget."

We were conducted back again with the same ceremony. On taking leave of me, the prince repeated his regrets at my leaving Peking so soon. "All the more," he added, "that we shall never see one another again!" This kind and courteous expression was said with great simplicity and with a tone of sincerity which remains graven on my memory.

Yih-sin, Prince of Kung, is about forty years of age. He has, for a Mandjou, wonderfully regular features, and a languishing look ; he is short-sighted, and has a way of winking his eyes. A gracious and rather sarcastic smile precedes his pleasantries. Before speaking to you, he looks at you fixedly, full in the face ; but when he begins to speak, he looks down. His figure is slender and above the ordinary height. His complexion is sallow and his features are drawn, as if from over-fatigue. On the whole he has the indifference, the *laissez-aller* and the simplicity of a man of high birth. One sees also that he is a man who is rather *blasé* with everything ; and who has enjoyed power long enough to be surfeited with it ; which, however, does not mean that he would willingly give it up or let it be taken from him. His hands, which are rather effeminate, are remarkable, according to the custom of the country, for the enormous length of the nails. Men of high rank let them grow like this to prove that they do no manual labour ; just as they lame all the Chinese women to distinguish them from Mongol ones : it is a way of expressing that the Chinese are not nomads, as their women can do without the power of walking. The left hand of the prince was ornamented with a fine ring of green jade. The rest of his dress was remarkable for its simplicity ; a dark blue tunic, with the collar and the turning up of the sleeves, of a lighter blue ; on his cap a single button with a tassel of crimson silk. "This statesman," I was told, "is not a man of very superior intellect ; but he possesses in the highest degree the precious talent of knowing how to choose able men, and to employ each one according to his capabilities. He is brave and courageous. When the young emperor becomes old enough to take the reins of government,

the position of the prince will become critical." The three ministers were dressed exactly like their chief, except that they wore, hanging from their caps, magnificent peacock's tails. Wên-siang belongs to the dominant race. He has a pleasant face and the characteristic features of the Mandjous. Tsung-Hsün is a Chinese, and in this respect differs from his fellow-countrymen—that he looks what he is—a good-natured epicure. He never ceases repeating that the only things he cares for are wine and poetry.

October 29.—At last, the painful hour of departure has struck. This morning almost every member of this little colony has come to shake hands with me for the last time.¹ Our acquaintance only dates from yesterday, and yet I feel as if I were leaving old friends. The great courtyard of the Russian Legation is very full. Our "good-byes" are prolonged. Our Mongol ponies, held by the "*mafous*," begin to paw the ground. The kind and clever master of the house, his secretaries, and *attachés*, and the minister of the United States, do not leave us till the very last moment. What hearty shakings of the hand, and how many "*au revoir !*" "*au revoir !*" in Europe, be it understood, and not in China ! At last, in the saddle ! Some of these gentlemen, with M. Lenzi at their head, accompany us outside the town. Then we put our horses into a gallop. The Cossack, always up to his duties, takes care that the servants, the "boys," do not lag behind. Very soon we come in sight of the Tung-chow pagoda, then of its crenellated walls, then the masts of its junks. Towards night-fall, our boats spread their huge sails, and seconded by both wind and current, we rapidly leave behind us the capital of the empire.

¹ I deeply regretted not to have found at Peking M. le Comte de Rochechouart, *chargé d'affaires* of France, who, unfortunately for me, was, at that moment, absent.

CHAPTER III.

TIENTSIN.—FROM THE 31st OF OCTOBER TO THE 7th OF NOVEMBER.

The Settlement.—The Chinese City.—The Serpent-God.—The Club of celebrities of Shansi.—The Massacres.

THIS morning a confused noise wakes me up. Our boats are gliding rapidly between a double hedge of junks, anchored before a perfect chaos of houses and huts. We are at Tientsin. Half an hour later we disembarked at the European settlement. A most kind welcome, but at the same time a despairing piece of news awaits us. The west wind has driven away the water from the Bar of Taku. It is absolutely impossible to pass it. We are, therefore, stranded. When will it please the north-east monsoon to set us afloat again? God only knows! If the river becomes frozen before the wind changes, we shall have to winter at Peking. Fortunately, nothing could be more agreeable, poetical, and pleasant, than this involuntary halt. They fight as to who shall have us. Mr. Boyce and my young companions are lodged at the English Consulate. As on my first visit, I accept with great pleasure the hospitality of Mr. Henry Beveridge, agent of Jardine and Co., a fine type of Young England, and of a thorough gentleman, who thinks it no degradation to work. His charming wife, who is of French origin, and a native of Hong Kong, gathers every evening round her fireside, which is not a luxury, and round her piano, which she plays admirably, MM. de Maison-neuve and Sallandrouze, the commandants of the

Coulevre and *Scorpion*; M. Dillon, the French consul; and another young Frenchman, who is employed in the Chinese custom-house. Sometimes Father Delmasure comes to complete our little social circle. We laugh and talk, and exchange wits; and these are not wanting, for in this little *salon* we are in France. Outside, a freezing atmosphere, a sky of polished metal. The stars shine; the Pei-ho rolls her muddy waters in silence; the wind blows; and what a wind! How it cuts one's face! Do not be too much astonished; it comes straight from Siberia.

As to the mornings, they only seem to me too short. I have visited the Chinese city three times, and have made for myself an all-absorbing occupation. Since the massacres, sixteen months only have elapsed. Here people are still experiencing the reaction from this horrible event. Will it be reproduced? the residents ask one another. To answer this question, one must go back to the origin of the mischief. Has anyone done this? The reports of the English minister and consuls contain some precious information; but as, with the exception of one man, all the Frenchmen on the spot on that fatal day were killed, it was impossible to obtain their depositions, so as to fill up the gaps in the information obtained by the English agents. To collect the notes on the subject, to put them in order, to compare them with the Blue-Book and with the results of the researches made immediately after the catastrophe by the Abbé Favier, the Pekin Lazarist, this is the work I have undertaken, and which, with the eager help of some of the residents, I have been able to accomplish.

During my eight days' detention at Tien-tsin, I had the good fortune to see and be able to question three natives—a mandarin, a servant of the French consul, and a Christian belonging to the Lazarist's house, who were all more or less mixed up in the bloody scenes of the 21st of June, 1870. They answered all my questions with remarkable clearness and precision. With the help of this information, and an attentive examination of the spots, I have come to a conclusion, which I believe is a true one, of the real facts attending the Tien-tsin massacres. It is true I have discovered nothing very new or important which cannot be found in the Blue-Book and in the depositions obtained by the Père Favier. I have not been able to lift the

veil which still shrouds in obscurity the origin, the object, and the real authors of the crime.

It was whilst I was giving myself up to this task that the idea first came to me of publishing an account of my travels.

Let us first visit the Chinese city. As to the English and French concessions, they will be quickly described. In the first, you find, as in all the Chinese and Japanese factories, the *bund*—that is, a quay, lined with some fine and well-built houses. Here—and that alone proves how much everyone in this place must consider his personal safety—all the habitations are surrounded by a strong wall. Everyone has a watchman. Furnished with a rattle, he makes every night the rounds of the house, and does not cease, by the noisy sound of his instrument, to warn thieves of his presence, and to disturb the peaceable sleep of the inhabitants. I saw several fine houses occupied by the English, French, Russian, and North German consuls; by M. Hannen, director of the imperial custom-houses; by Mr. Beveridge, M. Starzoff, my amiable cicerone to Tung-chow; and several other Europeans. They are not very numerous. Nevertheless they have a club, and in this club I saw a ball given. In consequence of the inundations the guests came in boats. They could only find three lady dancers; but yet everybody was amused and pleased.

The French concession is as yet without houses. The small number of residents lived until lately in the Chinese town. The mission in the native city having now been definitively abandoned, they are building a church on French ground.

From the concessions to the Chinese town there are about two miles. At the time of my first visit, the neighbourhood was only one vast lake, reminding one of Venice and its lagunes, only without the Alps in the horizon. A *sampan* took us across the fields, striking here and there on hillocks, which were tombs. To our left we see a temple called "The Elgin" Joss-house, because the treaty was signed there in 1858. At last our boat stops near a group of mud huts. We are arrived. Sickened by the disgusting and mephitic odour, we stopped up our noses, and ran. It is the ordinary mode of going into a Chinese town, the whole outside of which is only a mass of human filth.

The town, properly so called, forms a square. Its walls are crenellated and flanked by towers at the four angles. It is in the suburbs that the trade and commerce of the town are centred. The town and suburbs are situated on the southern bank of the Pei-ho and of the great canal, which here joins that river.*

Another suburb stretches along the northern bank. It was there, near a bend in the Pei-ho River, that the cathedral was built, commonly called the French Church. This noble building, which was only just finished, was destroyed at the time of the massacres. The walls, the spire, and the little towers alone remain standing. As the staircases were burnt, the hired assassins of the mandarins could not mount up to the pinnacle to complete the work of destruction. Alongside of the cathedral was the establishment of the Lazarists and the French Consulate. These houses, consumed by the flames, have entirely disappeared. The site has been converted into a cemetery. Higher up, about five minutes' distance, is the yamen of the Commissary of the "Three Northern Ports." Behind these edifices stretches a perfect labyrinth of little streets and courts, inhabited by the dregs of the people, and by a turbulent set of malefactors.

The two banks communicate with each other by a single bridge of boats, which opens at certain hours to allow for the passage of the junks which ascend and descend the stream. We must add that the current of the Pei-ho is very strong, and makes the passage difficult and sometimes dangerous. Nothing, therefore, can be so easy as to cut off the communications between these two banks of the river. This is a fact which is worth noting.

With the exception of the Tartar city of Peking, where the Mongol element predominates, Chinese towns have all the same appearance. A ditch—or rather a sewer, round a crenellated inclosure; the gates, with two or three roofs, one above the other; then streets and narrow lanes, all filthy, full of dust, mud, or human filth; houses without architecture, shops well or badly furnished, and ornamented with gaudy gilt signs, where

* At Tien-tsin I was told that this watercourse is not the great canal, but another river called the Yüho. I leave to geographers the task of clearing up this point.

they sell drugs, tea, or tobacco. The houses of the rich are invisible : they are masked with high walls. Two or three yamen, more or less out of repair, but nevertheless, imposing from their two flag-poles at the entrance, their two dragons in stone or terra-cotta in the courtyard, and a crowd of people in rags pressing round the gates, either to solicit some favour, or to receive some bamboo strokes, or worse. Here and there is a temple. Do not let us stop to visit them : it is not worth while, nor worth the pushing and elbowing of the crowd, if you for a moment bar their way. Besides, how can one stop amidst this mass of human beings, with their wan cheeks, dirty complexions, and haggard eyes? They are like a stream pent in between deep rocks, and drifting, at one moment against a mandarin, or a rich banker, carried in his litter by coolies in livery, at another, against bales of merchandise, bullock-waggons or wheelbarrows full of women. They are not beautiful, this fair sex : but they are rarely seen in the streets—women of high birth hardly ever ; and those of the lower classes only when the affairs of their households absolutely oblige them to go out.

We are nearing one of the gates of the inner town. It is an enormous arch, all built of hewn stone, surmounted by a building of two stages, which resembles the tower of a pagoda. The passage is difficult. The carts and sedan-chairs splash about in the mud ; the foot-passengers slip and stagger on trestles raised three or four feet above the soil, and so narrow that two persons meeting find it almost impossible to pass one another. Is it the effect of imagination, or a reality? But these scenes in the Chinese streets act upon me like a perfect nightmare. One needs the pen of a Callot to give an idea of such grotesque, terrible, ridiculous devilries. The nearer we get to the gate the more the crowd increases. Ah ! why cannot I retrace my steps? But it is too late. This sombre, dark funnel is about to engulf us. My guide, the very type of a herculean Anglo-Saxon, does his best to open the way for me. I try to follow him, but the throng separates us. If I have the bad luck to fall on these slippery boards, no one will take the trouble to come to my rescue. It will only be one foreign devil the less in the world ! That is all ! He will have fallen down by chance, and by chance they will have crushed him to death. Chance pays no indemnities ; he is not exiled on the

banks of the Amoor. They don't cut off his head! And I, who am stumbling on the very edge of these slippery planks! at this supreme moment, feeling myself already under the wheels of the carts, or trodden under foot by the Mongol ponies and the porters, I seize, in my despair, the tail of a tall gentleman who is walking just before me. Can any position be more droll or more lamentable? An honest European holding on for dear life to the black tail of a Chinaman!—the Chinaman turning his head in a furious rage towards the man whom he is towing along in spite of himself, and whom he can't get rid of: for the crowd prevents his making use of his fists; whilst I, not daring to let go the tail, am striving, for want of words, to express my gratitude by the play of my face and a sickly smile, and, if possible, to appease his wrath.

For the last few weeks Tien-tsin has been in a state of excitement, in consequence of the apparition of a god metamorphosed into a dragon, who has shown himself to mortals under the form of a serpent, found by a Honan peasant, and exposed to the adoration of the faithful. The pagoda (which is miserable enough in appearance) where this new divinity is lodged, is situated on the northern bank of the river in the quarter of Tien-tsin which has the worst reputation. Some tortuous little streets lead to it. After having taken off our hats at the entrance of the temple, which dispenses us from all further acts of civility towards the little beast, we are admitted into the sanctuary, thanks to the protection of our friend, the mandarin. The offerings, among which were baskets filled with fruit, filled up almost every opening. On the altar, resting on a plate, covered with a sheet of yellow paper, reposed, rolled up and motionless, a serpent about forty centimètres long. We could examine him at our ease—at least, as much as the artificial darkness allowed. But the faithful succeeded one another without intermission, and prostrating themselves at the foot of the altar, deposited their gifts, and then went away without deigning to take any notice of the three stranger devils.

In front of the altar a theatre has been set up, where plays are acted from morning till night. A round table and some chairs, placed in the middle of the temple, are reserved for the mandarins and for the notabilities who come from far and

wide. After having made their *kow-tow*, they take their places in front of the stage, and seem to think no more of the god-serpent.

The guard of honour about the dragon is confided to an old military mandarin of the Tien-tsin district, who, at the time of the massacres, played a part which must be called equivocal, to say the least of it. Deprived of his place, as his only punishment, he was soon after appointed to the command of the Taku Forts. But it seems that this honourable official was bored there, which I should think was very natural; and that he sought too often the distractions of Tien-tsin, which ended in his being again deprived of his post. To indemnify him, doubtless, he was named chamberlain-extraordinary in the service of the little serpent. I had the advantage of making the acquaintance of this amiable personage, and was struck by the contrast which existed between his distinguished manners and his suffering face.

Place yourself under the protection of a native of high rank if you wish to see the Chinese town with either profit or pleasure. To-day, the young mandarin again does the honours of his native place. He is a real type of his class. A pale face, projecting cheek-bones, but well-covered, plump hands, nails like bird's claws, abundant tresses, a thick-set figure, promising obesity in maturer age; and for costume, two tunics, quilted with blue silk, worn one over the other, for it is cold; a cap, with the button of the required colour—the whole, both the individual and his dress—clean, cared for, and elegant. Add to this the manners of an official, full of deference, or imperious, civil or the reverse, according to the rank of his interlocutor—but never familiar. Avoiding the great thoroughfares, we stroll along from shop to shop. I saw some very fine pelisses. Tien-tsin has a considerable market in furs. We enter an opium-house—a sad and heart-breaking sight! “Bad! bad!” exclaimed our mandarin. “Bad” and “good” composed his English vocabulary. Happily, M. Dillon, the French consul, who has the goodness to accompany me, speaks Chinese with rare facility.

We went into the club of notabilities at Shansi. This province reckons a good many rich persons among its inhabitants, and those who come for business to Tien-tsin or who live there, seek the society of their fellow-countrymen. You may see

them every morning gathered together in their magnificent club. Our best circles in Paris, Vienna, or London could not bear a comparison with that of Shansi.

This vast establishment consists of several separate buildings and isolated summer-houses, where people meet to talk or receive friends. They are narrow, oblong rooms, furnished with tables and chairs, which according to the custom of the country, are arranged symmetrically along the walls. The latter are covered with finely sculptured trellis-work. In the theatre, which is ornamented with magnificent China lanterns, different pieces are performed all day long. The president of the circle was condescending enough to present us with an index of the plays inscribed on ivory sticks two or three feet long. Each of these sticks contains the name of a particular piece. We chose an historical drama. The actors hasten to finish a vaudeville that they were in the middle of performing, and whilst the "clowns" are being turned into heroes, our *Amphitryon* offers us a little luncheon. Tea is drunk in quantities. With great difficulty we escape a dinner also. But the theatre is filling rapidly. Several members of the club arrive. They are all men of high rank in their own country—literary characters, or rich merchants, some of whom, through their financial successes, have acquired the rank of mandarins. They bow profoundly to one another, shake their heads, and lightly bending forward, do the *chin-chin*, that is, show one another their fists, rubbing them and giving them a kind of rotation, quickened or slackened according to the amount of respect or affection which they owe one another. Then they go up to the square tables placed at the foot of the stage, each surrounded by four chairs. That is the moment to perform another series of demonstrations. No one will sit down first; nor take the left side, which is the place of honour. This polite struggle being over, and the actors having painted themselves, and put on the rich heroic costumes necessary for the characters they are about to represent, the piece begins. They made use of the same grimaces as in other Chinese theatres; the same noise from an infernal orchestra; the same fights and processions; the same skill in imitating the voices, walk, and gestures of women. It is well known that the fair sex are forbidden to appear on the stage.

The conversation with the president, in the meantime, does not flag. Among other civil speeches, he said to me : " Europe is worth more than China. You have the telegraph and railroads, and your streets at night are lit by gas. We are very much behindhand." What struck me in these literates was their exquisite politeness, and their easy graceful manners, which make one forget that one is in China ; but also the emptiness of their conversation and the poverty of their ideas.

After having shown us a fine temple full of horrible idols, the president, whose name I forget, had the moral courage actually to accompany us into the street ; and in presence of a crowd who looked at us with curiosity, but without any disagreeable manifestation, to make the *chin-chin*, in a word, to pass through all the phases of Chinese ceremonial.

Alas ! it was a courageous act. It is true that there have been no recent acts of violence to deplore, but a profound mistrust exists. It is reciprocal, Europeans and Chinese equally listen to the sinister rumours spread periodically of a coming war and of fresh massacres. Only in April last the natives talked among one another continually of the hour when they would *wash* (*i.e.* kill) all the foreigners. The European merchants, to the number of five or six, have kept their counting-houses and shops ; but they do not dare pass the night in the Chinese city. Every evening they retire for safety to the concessions.

Only one month before the events took place of which I am going to try and trace the mournful history, the great town of Tien-tsin enjoyed profound tranquillity.¹ There were certainly

¹ I have written the account of these Tien-Tsin massacres after verbal communications with the ministers accredited to the Pekin Court ; with the foreign ministers residing here and at Shanghai ; with Father Favier, Lazarist, sent by his superiors to Tien-tsin directly after the catastrophe ; with Dr. Frazer, the English physician ; with M. Starzoff, the Russian merchant, both of whom are settled at Tien-tsin ; lastly, with three Chinese interrogated by me with the help of an able Chinese scholar who was kind enough to act as my interpreter. They are : a mandarin, a servant of M. Fontanier's, and a man in the service of the Père Chévrier, Superior of the Tien-tsin mission, all three witnesses of the massacre. I did not see M. Coutries, the only member of the little French colony who survived the carnage. But I read his relation of the facts, which he made to his friends. I had the good luck to find in the club of the settlement the English Blue-

some men to be found who did not attempt to conceal their hatred of foreigners; sometimes injurious and threatening words were used against them; and it ought to have been known in official quarters, and at the Peking Legations as at the Consulates, that the whole state of affairs was anything but satisfactory. Ten years had passed since the opening of the empire, and no real advance had been made in reconciling the natives to the presence of foreigners. Nevertheless, saving one or two little incidents without any apparent importance, the five or seven or nine hundred thousand inhabitants of the town of Tien-tsin (so much do the calculations differ), especially the middle and lower classes, manifested no hostile or malevolent dispositions towards the handful of Europeans, missionaries or merchants who had ventured to leave the concessions and install themselves in the heart of this great and populous city.

In the first rank among these must be reckoned the French consul, the only member of the diplomatic body who, to watch over the Catholic establishments, preferred the exile of the Chinese town to the pleasanter and safer existence that he might have created for himself in the concessions. M. Fontanier, though of a quick and choleric temperament, was universally looked up to and respected. In later days, it was remarked by people about him, that his character had been rather soured. Friends began to keep aloof. Besides M. Fontanier, only one European resided at the Consulate, his secretary, M. Simon. The nearest neighbour to the consul was the Lazarist Father Chévrier, Superior of the Catholic mission of Tien-tsin. A low wall alone separated the courts

Book (China, No. 1, 1871), and I have also before my eyes "The Tien-tsin Massacre," by George Thin, M.D. (Edinburgh, 1870); also the "Mémoire sur les Affaires de Tien-tsin," printed at Fuchow in September 1870. The author is the Baron de Méritens, formerly secretary and interpreter to the French Legation at Peking; and then commissary of the Chinese custom-houses. These two pamphlets, without giving a complete recital of these horrors, are interesting from their appreciation of the events and of the conduct of the principal actors and victims on that fatal 21st of June. I have also seen the letters of the Père Chévrier and the Père Ou, written only a few days before their death. In quoting the Blue-Book in support of my story, my readers must understand that they are the "Papers relating to the Massacre of Europeans at Tien-tsin, presented to both Houses of Parliament." (China, No. 1, 1870.)

of the Consulate and the presbytery : but the relations between the two neighbours had cooled. Although naturally gentle and gay, M. Chévrier had left off going to the consul's. Irritated by the earnest but respectful representations of the Superior, who foresaw the coming danger, M. Fontanier had, on the 9th of June, formally forbidden him his house. A Chinese father named Ou, an excellent priest, zealous, learned, and amiable towards everyone, a Catholic literate, named Wang-san, and a few servants, in addition to the orphanage, completed the staff of the mission, which was much frequented by the native Christians.

On the other side of the water, in the centre of one of the most populous suburbs, not far from the river, in a small house near a small church, ten Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul were established, of whom six were French, two Belgians, one Irish, and one from Tuscany. These religious had the care both of the hospital and an orphanage. Dr. Frazer, the English physician, though established in the concessions and a Protestant, came constantly to visit and treat their sick. By the testimony of the most impartial witnesses, these good sisters were universally loved and respected. "Sister Mary" was continually sent for to the different Chinese houses ; and up to the last hour of her life never ceased to visit the homes of the poor. The other residents were French, English, Swiss, and Russian merchants and a French lady ; in all, about twelve or thirteen persons.

In the Chinese world, Chung-hou held the first place. He was one of the guardians of the hereditary prince, adorned with the insignia of the highest rank—a peacock's plume with two eyes—Lieutenant-General of the Han-chün division under the red flag and one of the Vice-Presidents of the War Department.¹ A Mandjou by birth and highly thought of at court, he had for ten years filled the functions of commissary of the "Three Northern Ports."² Like the Viceroy of Nankin in the centre of the empire, and as the Viceroy of Canton in the south, he was employed in the direction of all affairs regarding foreigners. The latter spoke warmly of his benevolence, his pleasing manners, and his perfect courtesy. The agents of the foreign

¹ Blue-Book, p. 83.

² These three ports are : Che-fu, Tien-tsin, and new Chwang.

powers, whose business it was to treat with him, had the very highest opinion of this functionary. *Vis-à-vis* the authorities of the province and of the town, however, his position was ill-defined, and in consequence full of embarrassments. Chung-hou had no jurisdiction in Chinese affairs. On this point, his influence over the governor-general of the province and over the *taotai*, and the magistrates of the town, was limited to confidential communications, and had only the weight attached to his Mandjou origin, his high rank, and the favour he enjoyed at Peking. He had, besides, the command of the troops assembled at Tien-tsin, that is, about 4,000 men, all armed and disciplined in European fashion.

The governor-general of Chih-li resides alternately here and at Pao-fing-fu, the capital of the province, situated at a hundred miles from Peking, and at the same distance from Tien-tsin. Tseng-kwo-fan, the newly appointed holder of this post, annoyed at the interference of Chung-hou, had lately changed all the mandarins in his government. He was absent at the time of the massacres.

The principal functionaries residing at Tien-tsin were : Chou, the *taotai*, or chief administrator in the departments of Tien-tsin and Ho-kien-fu ; Chang, the *chi-fu*, or prefect of the district of Tien-tsin ; lastly Lin, the *chih-hüen*, or magistrate of the town.

Properly speaking the *chih-hüen* is the chief, and though belonging ordinarily to the category of little mandarins, he exercises great influence over the population. He is the judge in all criminal cases, and even pronounces sentence of death, which, however, to be carried into execution, must be confirmed by the governor of the province.

There was besides the *chên-ta-chuai*, or military chief of the district.

A few days before the massacre, General Chên-kwo shuai arrived, who was a native of Hupch. Compromised during the rebellion, he had turned king's evidence and betrayed his old comrades to save himself. As a reward, he was raised to the rank of *ti-tu*, or commander-in-chief of a body of irregular troops. Being at the same time the terror and the disgrace of the government, this turbulent fighter, who was adored by the Peking mob, made himself noted in the provinces by continual

acts of violence and intense hostility against the Europeans. At Nanking and at Chinkiang he had tried to raise a riot among the people. No official duty called him to Tien-tsin. Followed by a band of five or six hundred malefactors, he came of his own accord ; and it was soon discovered with what intentions. Outside the official regions, the town contained a considerable number of what are called literates. One knows what these men are and what they feel on the subject of the white intrusion into their country. Do not let us forget also the forty-eight old and several new corporations of firemen. The heads of the former were all of the literate class. To these men, who are brigaded and always ready to trouble the public peace, we must add the *Imins*, or old volunteers, against the Taepings ; free lances, in fact, authorized to carry arms and always ready for any fray.

Nevertheless, no signs of movement or hostile preparation were visible. The people went on quietly with their own business ; Tien-tsin was in its normal state.

It was towards the middle of May 1870 that the position became anxious. Alarming rumours were in circulation and industriously spread among the lower orders. Certain children had disappeared. They had been kidnapped by persons in the pay of the missionaries. The Sisters had killed them. They had torn out their eyes and their hearts to serve for charms and magical remedies. This was not the first time that such absurdities had been propounded. Therefore it was hoped that these new rumours would vanish like the rest. Contrary to this expectation, however, they assumed greater consistency. The dispositions of the public (not of the mob, which were always bad), but of respectable people, visibly changed towards the Sisters. Vague and superstitious terrors seemed to have taken possession of the people. The good sisters, formerly so beloved and respected, met with nothing but cold or angry looks when they went out ; no one would make room for them or show them any of the usual marks of courtesy. One evening, angry groups gathered round their house, and it was the same the next day. The accusations against them were multiplied ; facts were asserted, and what is worse, believed. There was no actual disorder as yet, but a profound disgust and an excitement which became every

moment more menacing. The immense population of Tientsin was quivering like the leaves of the forest in the gusts which precede a great storm.

Fate seemed to conspire with the authors of these sinister rumours. An epidemic illness declared itself in the Sisters' Orphanage. Several of the children died. They were buried in the cemetery of the poor, behind the French Consulate. During several days some hundreds of people went there every morning.¹ Many of the coffins were opened, and the bones thrown here and there. Those of the Christians were grossly outraged. Père Chévrier rushed to the spot. He seized a man, whom they surprised rifling a tomb, and dragged him to the Consulate. He then and there saw M. Fontanier, and conjured him to speak to the Chinese authorities. He stated "that it would be easy for them to quiet the growing agitation; that the mandarins could do it at once; that if the thing was allowed to go on there would be serious misfortunes; that they would be lost in the midst of that huge, hostile population; that the concessions were far off; and that, besides, **menaced** themselves in case of an outbreak, they would be unable to assist them, as there was not a single man-of-war in the Pei-ho." Such was the language of the Superior of the mission. His proceedings, however, produced, unfortunately, no effect on the consul, who, to put an end to the missionary's importunities, simply showed him the door.

Nevertheless, the position became worse from day to day. This is how the Père Chévrier describes it in a letter written on the 16th of June, five days before his death: "Again am I behindhand—always behindhand! It is more than half-past nine, and I must write to . . . to . . . but first to you. Pray for me that at least I may not arrive in heaven after the gates are closed. The day before yesterday the Superior, accompanied by Sister Sullivan, made up her mind to go to the consul's. Two Englishmen, who went to see the establishment, advised this step. They were not badly received. There was no mention made of me. But with regard to the atrocious calumnies which are spread and believed more and more, it seems that, in the consul's opinion, the hour is not yet come to say a word to the Chinese authorities. One of the rumours

¹ On the 4th of June for the first time.

to-day is, that the first and second catechists (Chinese) are in despair because they have killed the daughter of the first and the wife of the second ! To-day, Corpus Christi, there were hardly any women at mass. The Pagans, who formerly were such great friends with the Christians, draw back now, and consider us 'bad people.' To-day I tried to prove to my congregation that they were happy mortals : '*Beati estis quum maledixerint vobis propter me. Gaudete et exultate quoniam.*' But this doctrine did not enter quickly into their heads. Sister Mary said to me to-day that when she goes into a village where formerly she was received with open arms, now everyone runs away and hides himself. They asked me if I did not fear for our own little establishment, as organized bands were going about trying to sow disorder and stir up the people against us. In the midst of all these devilish projects, we and the Sisters place our confidence above, and do not despair of receiving help from on High."

More anxious than irritated at the strange inaction of M. Fontanier, Père Chévrier went to the concessions. He addressed himself to the Russian consul-general, and communicated to him all that had passed between himself and M. Fontanier, entreating him to use his influence with his French colleague ; and, in concert with him, to appeal to Chung, and act upon the authorities of the town. M. Skatschkoff, judging the position to the full as seriously as the Lazarist father, instantly went off to the Chinese town. Arrived at the Consulate, however, he was refused admittance on the plea that M. Fontanier had gone out. He returned then to the concession, and demanded an interview in writing. M. Fontanier accordingly came to see him the next day. But when M. Skatschkoff began talking to him of the danger of the moment, he interrupted him with the words : "What business is it of yours to meddle ?" and instantly left the house.

Vexatious incidents followed one another in rapid succession. One evening a young girl stopped before a shop to buy some rice. According to Chinese custom, she did not go in on account of her sex. She held out her basket, therefore, in which were some *sapèques*. The tradesman filled it with rice, and was going to return it to her, when he saw that the young girl had disappeared, and was following an individual. He

left his shop, and called the attention of his neighbours to this strange fact. Evidently the man who was walking before the young girl was a sorcerer. How was it possible to doubt it? He was followed, insulted, dragged before the chih-hüen, condemned to receive so many blows of bamboo, and, for want of proof, released. The people went away, murmuring and dissatisfied. Two days later, two Chinese strangers made their appearance in the western quarter, inhabited by Moham-medans. They carried a sack on their backs, and were leading two little children by the hand. They were questioned to know where they came from, and what they were going to do, when the men made their escape. More than ever convinced that they were sorcerers, they were pursued, seized, and dragged to the yamen of the chih-hüen. In their sacks some Mexican dollars were found (the coinage generally used by Europeans) and some packets of drugs. Put to the torture, they owned to having bewitched these children by means of the drugs; and that the dollars had been given to them by the Sisters in payment of their crime! The chih-hüen actually allowed these depositions to be taken down. The law provides against the crime of sorcery. Besides, the confession of these two men had nothing surprising to a Chinese mind, even were it that of a literate or a mandarin. The chih-hüen referred the case to the chi-fu. The two men, convicted on their own showing of a crime said to be committed at the instigation of the Sisters, were condemned to death, and executed. It was implicitly condemning the Sisters and denouncing death to the Europeans. A proclamation by the chi-fu brought the facts to the knowledge of the public. Without directly naming the Sisters, it seems that the magistrate dwelt on the fact of the natural indignation of the people and the sympathy of the mandarins. Enchanted with this act of complicity on the part of the authorities, which they reckoned on working for their own ends, the authors of the disorders organized a popular demonstration. They clubbed together, and presented to the chi-fu, in token of gratitude, an official umbrella, on which was inscribed the names of the donors. The execution of the two men was carried out in conformity to a decree of Tsing-kwo-fan's, governor-general of the province, then absent from Tien-tsin. This high functionary approved of this summary

judgment, and authorized the execution of the sorcerers. In other words, he published martial law in consequence of the frequency of these imaginary crimes. The *chi-fu*, the military mandarin, and *chih-hüen*, next went to Chung. They enlarged upon the gravity of the matter, and asked for an authorization, which he refused, to make an inquiry on the spot—that is, to exhume and examine the bodies buried in the poor people's cemetery, situated, as we have said, behind the French Consulate. On this occasion the three mandarins solemnly affirmed that they believed the Sisters of charity to be guilty. Chung-hou maintained the contrary; and persisted in refusing the permission asked of him. At last, intimidated by the violence of public opinion, which was already unfavourable to him, he yielded. He did like Pontius Pilate, and washed his hands. The inquiry took place. This was the first act of the tragedy. The Chinese mandarins came into the inclosure of the mission, under the very shadow of the French flag, and were followed by a furious crowd, who, by their screams and vociferations, already anticipated the verdict of the magistrate. In the cemetery, several bodies were dug up and examined. In some cases the eyes were wanting—the natural result of decomposition—but this was interpreted as a positive proof of the culpability of both Sisters and missionaries.

A Catholic Literate who was at the head of a school in the neighbourhood, accompanied by one of his pupils, came on a feast day to Tien-tsin. In the evening, on their way back to their village, they stopped at a Chinese restaurant. Some men who were seated near him at table remarked that the pronunciation of the schoolmaster—he was born on the frontiers of Mongolia—differed from that of the child; an evident proof that he was a sorcerer. They beat him cruelly with iron bars heated in the fire, and dragged him before the *chih-hüen*. The inquiry proved his entire innocence, and on the demand of Père Chévrier, the unhappy man, who had one of his ribs broken, was carried on a litter to the Lazarist Mission, amidst the yells and groans of the mob. On the 14th of June, four days before the massacre, they arrested in a neighbouring village a young man named Wu-lan-chên. He was also accused of having bewitched a man. Brought before the *chih-hüen*, he made the following deposition: “I am a native of Ning-chin-

shien. I am nineteen years old. My father and grandfather are still living. My father's name is Wu-tsun : he is in his forty-fifth year. My mother's maiden name was Fang. I have not any brothers. I was married the first month of this year. Not having anything to do in the house, I left it on the 18th of February, and . . . went to Tien-tsin, where I earn my living as a boatman. Until this time I did not know Wang-san of the Ho-lou (of the Catholic Church), but on the 13th of June he gave me a drug and dragged me into the church. I did not cross the threshold. Wang-san insisted on my becoming a Christian. I began by refusing. Wang-san then said he would kill me. He frightened me, and I consented. He gave four dollars to a man named Tang with an order to keep them for me. On the 14th he gave me a little packet containing a soporific drug, and with it the commission to go about the country and recruit men by means of this drug. It was a fine sort of powder, folded in some thin paper. I went to Mu-chuang-tzu, and there met a young man about twenty years of age, dressed in a blue tunic and trousers of the same colour. I put the powder in the hollow of my hand, and with it rubbed the man's cheek. At once he became like one stupefied, and followed me. I returned in hot haste to the Catholic church, and gave the man up to Wang-san. In return he gave me five dollars and another packet of powder. I went to the village of Tao-hua-ssu, where I saw a man called Li-so occupied in drawing some water. I made him giddy with the powder, and he followed me in the same way that the other had done. But I was arrested by the peasants and taken before the magistrate. There are in the Catholic church seven men besides me employed as recruiters. Each night we slept in the inclosure of the church. Wang-san was our chief. Every morning he brought from an inner chamber a certain number of packets containing this powder. He gave one to each of us, and also 300 pieces of copper money for our food. When we had not been able to bring in any fresh person, we gave back the powder to Wang-san. (Here he mentioned the names of his pretended accomplices.) Wang-san is about twenty years old. He has a pale complexion, and is slightly marked with small-pox. After he had drugged me and taken me to the church he gave me an antidote. Hardly had I taken it than I recovered consciousness. Wang-san told me that after having taken tha

powder one must make a mixture in which they put sweet herbs, the calapash of a grasshopper, and that of another insect, dried in the fire and pulverized, and some sesamum oil. This decoction, drunk hot, makes you all right directly. Yesterday, after having followed me, the villagers asked me what was to be done. I replied that they must give this antidote to Li-so, and that he would be cured as soon as he had taken it. I hid in the sash of my trousers the five dollars I had received for having bewitched the man from Mu-chuang-tzu. I lost them when I was arrested. During my stay at the Catholic Mission, Wang-san gave me every morning before I went out a red powder to take, like snuff. After having taken it I felt all my courage revive, and thought of nothing but how I could recruit people. When I returned in the evening a few drops of the drug given me by Wang restored my consciousness. But then the gates were shut, and I could not get away.”^{*}

In consequence of this (utterly ridiculous) deposition, the chi-fu and the chih-hüen requested Chung-hou to demand the extradition of Wang-san. Then followed the same hesitations and evasion on his part. He either did not dare or would not take this step against the French consul. “They were welcome,” he said, “to act according to their judgment, but on their own responsibility.” They took possession accordingly of this unfortunate man. The chih-hüen put him to the question, when he was most cruelly tortured, and then sent back with his ankles broken and mangled. On the 19th the taotai presented himself to the Consulate. He brought the deposition of several witnesses, who declared they had been the victims of these recruiters of children employed and paid by the missionaries. He demanded an authorization from the consul to make an inquiry. M. Fontanier had not much difficulty in proving to him that all these rumours were false, and the work of evil-disposed persons.

Some hours after, the chih-hüen, accompanied by an emissary of the police, appeared again at the Consulate. M. Fon-

^{*} The Blue-Book, p. 18, gives this curious document. I reproduce it *in extenso* because it throws a strong light on the customs, ideas, and superstitions of the Chinese people. The reader will see later on that the magistrates of Tien-tsin owned, themselves, the entire falsehood of Wu’s depositions, who was only the miserable instrument of the authors of the carnage.

tanier tried to excuse himself; but, the magistrate insisting on seeing him, he was obliged to make a virtue of necessity. The Chinese official was consequently introduced into the drawing-room whilst his suite invaded the Consulate. An animated conversation followed between him and the French consul. Their angry voices were heard in the ante-chamber. The mandarin insisted on an official inquiry being made in the houses of the missionaries and Sisters, and dared to threaten the consul with the resentment of the population. The latter, no longer master of his anger, broke up the interview, declaring he would not treat the affair with anyone but Chung. The chih-hüen left the Consulate in a furious rage, and the consul dispensed himself from accompanying him to the gates, according to the rules of etiquette. At the moment the mandarin was going out, M. Fontanier was heard to say to him: "If there be a tumult, I shall consider you responsible." The secretary, who followed the chih-hüen, drew near to the consul and begged him, in a low voice, not to mix him up in this business. That same day, the English doctor, Dr. Frazer, on leaving the Sisters' house, was attacked by the mob, and only saved by the fleetness of his horse. In the hospital was a captain in the English merchant service. Although he was seriously ill, the Superior hastened to have him removed to the concessions, fearing he might, otherwise, perish with the Sisters in the massacre which she already foresaw.

For the last few days, General Chen-kwo-shuai had been at Tien-tsin. His arrival was the signal for an increase of the agitation. The streets were covered with incendiary placards. They cried for vengeance on the recruiters and sorcerers of their children. In passing by a group of people who were whispering together, the comprador of a European resident heard these words: "Let us kill all the foreigners." Others replied: "Quick, quick, let us make an end of them; now is the moment, for there is not a single man-of-war in the river."

On the 20th of June a great crowd was assembled on the quay. Some men more audacious than the rest threw stones and bricks against the Mission and the Consulate. Night dispersed these groups.

Chung, informed by a message from M. Fontanier of the

scene of the day before, came himself to the Consulate. Although pretending to excuse him, he spoke in severe terms of the chih-hüen, and complained of the little attention he had paid to his remonstrances. He said, "that it was in vain he had tried to prove the falsehood of the rumours spread against the missionaries. At last he had been compelled to allow them to have their say." His conduct seemed to entitle him anew to the public epithet, of being "the right hand" of the Europeans. Whilst these confidences, mingled with amiable words, were being interchanged between the representatives of France and China, the one pre-occupied with his personal embarrassments, and taking good care not to allow that there was anything serious in the affair, the other lulled by a false security, which seems almost inconceivable, the missionaries and Sisters did not give themselves up to any illusions. They felt and knew that the hour of their martyrdom was at hand. M. Coutries, one of the residents in the Chinese city, had met the Père Chévrier in the course of the day. "Come to-morrow to mass," said the good priest; "it is time to prepare ourselves for death."

That same evening M. Thomassin, interpreter of the French Legation, arrived at the Consulate with his young wife. This young couple had just arrived from Europe. They had been urged to stop at the concessions: but being hurried, they preferred passing the night in the Chinese town, so as to continue their journey to Peking on the morrow. Little did they think that they would there meet their death! In the concessions the greatest consternation prevailed. The residents not only trembled for the fate of their fellow-countrymen, exposed to such grievous peril in the Chinese town, but they feared also for themselves. A deputation, composed of Dr. Frazer and four more of the notabilities of the place, went to the English consul to intreat him to send for one of the gun-boats stationed at Che-fu. Mr. Lay, fearing probably to increase the panic, seemed not to share in it. He had already written to Chung on the morning of the 20th, begging him to publish a proclamation exhorting the people to civility towards foreigners. In consequence of the insult received by Dr. Frazer, he repeated his request in a second note,¹ which was sent to Chung the

¹ Blue-Book, Mr. Lay to Mr. Wade, pp. 19-32.

next morning, only a few hours before the massacres. The evening before, [20th of June,] he sent the following message to Mr. Wade:—"We are urgently in need of a man-of-war. When there are none in the Pei-ho disorders of this kind increase. That the spirit of the Chinese is very hostile to all foreigners at this moment is an undoubted fact. The fire has been smouldering under the ashes: now it is on the point of breaking out." He was amazed at the inaction of M. Fontanier as regards the Sisters. Everyone asked, in fact, why in the world they were not sent to the concessions? If it were not possible for them to leave the convent by daylight, and all together, could they not, at least, withdraw them, one by one, at night? But M. Fontanier did nothing, for he did not believe in the danger.

The very day of the massacres, before they were known at the settlement, Mr. Lay wrote to Mr. Wade:¹ "It is my painful duty to inform you that the state of things here is very unsatisfactory. For some time the Chinese have threatened to kill all foreigners, and to drive them from Tien-tsin. These last days the excitement has increased. The Chinese have announced their intention of burning the Catholic church and the French Consulate, and of killing all foreigners. . . . I do not think that we are actually in danger of death, but I am very anxious concerning our property, our warehouses being full of merchandise. Every day reports are spread that we are to be killed or driven away. . . ." He wrote also to Che-fu to hasten the return of the gun-boat. Wiser than his French colleague, whom an inexplicable fatality seemed to blind, Mr. Lay saw the danger; but even he did not measure it in its full proportions. In the Chinese city the gong was already summoning the assassins to their bloody work, while he was writing the lines we have just read.

We are now arrived at the ill-omened 21st June. According to the pious advice of Père Chévrier, M. Coutries went very early to the cathedral to attend the six o'clock mass. The church was quite full. A large number of native Christians, feeling that their last hour was come, crowded round the confessionals of the two fathers. By nine o'clock far more considerable groups than the day before had gathered before

¹ Blue-Book, Mr. Lay to Mr. Wade. p. 21.

the mission house and Consulate. Very soon projectiles of all kinds began to fly against the windows. An invasion seemed imminent. It was ten o'clock; the taotai, the chi-fu, and the chih-hüen with a numerous suite arrived at the gates. They brought with them Wu-lan-chên,^{*} the wretched man whose denunciations against the missionaries we have read above. Received by Père Chévrier, who had himself asked for the inquiry, they were taken over the whole house, questioned all the servants, and at last owned themselves that they could find nothing suspicious whatever. The miserable Wu-lan-chên, confronted with the two missionaries and the servants, became confused, and did not know either the persons he had denounced or the localities which he had pointed out in his previous depositions. At last the magistrates, disgusted with their failure, and full of angry spite at having been duped by Wu-lan-chên, retired amidst the ironical laughter of the crowd, but without attempting to make the least effort to calm the mob or make them disperse. They simply got into their chairs and said they were going to refer the matter to Chung. This last official had just sent for the head of the mission, and Père Chévrier hastened to obey his summons. Chung began by repeating that he did not attach the least weight to the calumnious rumours which had been circulated; nevertheless, in order to disarm suspicion, he begged of him in future to let the mandarins know the birth-place, name, and, in case of necessity, the death of all such children as should be received in the mission school or into the Sisters' orphanage. The Père Chévrier gladly consented, and hastened to return to his house. There the state of things had become worse. Fresh stones were thrown at the church, threatening cries were heard on all sides, and the mob seemed ready to commit any excesses. Men belonging to the fire brigade had mingled with the people. Their presence was a bad sign. Père Chévrier, on going back, found all the glass in his church destroyed. Nevertheless, he sat down to dinner and made believe to eat, wishing thus to reassure the Christians and give them an example of quiet courage and resignation. The tumult increasing, he presented himself before

^{*} He is still alive in the prisons of Tien-tsin.

the populace, and invited them to enter the house to convince themselves of the entire falsehood of the rumours spread against the missionaries. At the same time he ordered all the gates to be thrown open. It was then one o'clock. The mob rushed into the courtyard, and then, as if seized with a sudden panic or shame, retired again into the street. But after a few minutes, encouraged by some one among the crowd, they came back again and invaded the house. Seeing that their last hour was at hand, and despairing of any help from the consul, whom he rightly judged was as completely lost as himself, the good Père Chévrier made a last appeal to Chung-hou. He sent him his visiting card by a servant—for visiting cards are much thought of in China,—told him the extreme danger of their position, and asked for troops. Having done this, in haste, the two fathers, Chévrier and Ou, took refuge in the church, which they barricaded. Four other Christians were also there. After having heard the confessions of Père Ou, Père Chévrier received the same Sacrament from his brother priest, when the doors of the church yielded to the violence of the blows. The two fathers took refuge in the sacristy. There we will leave them for a moment to see what had become of the French consul.

You remember that the Consulate and the Mission touched one another, only being separated by a low wall. The building inhabited by M. Fontanier looked upon the quay, if one may so call the space between the river and the houses. Like all European habitations in China, the Consulate was surrounded by a veranda. It was there that, attracted by the noise, the consul and his two guests, M. and Mde. Thomassin, were quietly watching the first scenes of the tragedy. The consul had sent M. Simon, his secretary and his "literate," to Chung, to ask for troops. Whilst these two officials tried to reach the yamen of the high commissioner, M. Fontanier, wishing to take advantage of M. Thomassin's approaching departure, began to write to M. de Rochechouart, the French *chargé d'affaires* at Pekin.* "Our little town of Tien-tsin, generally so quiet," he writes to his superior, "has been troubled the last few days by cries and crowds who have gathered in the neighbourhood of the Consulate and of the Sisters of Charity."

* Blue-Book, M. Fontanier to the Count de Rochechouart, p. 20.

Then follows an account of the visits of the taotai and of Chung-hou, and also of the scene with the chih-hüen. "A little incident," he goes on, "which might have taken a serious turn but for the intervention of Chung-hou, but which to-day is pretty nearly at an end—Chung having besides promised me that in a few days he will publish a little proclamation to quiet the people's minds."

While reading these lines, written at ten o'clock on that fatal morning, one seems to be in a dream. The cries with which this *little* town is disturbed the last few days—this *little* town having six or seven hundred thousand inhabitants! The *little* incident—that is a serious quarrel with the chief magistrate who has already plotted his ruin! The *little* proclamation which Chung promises to publish *in a few days* to appease men's minds! Why, M. Fontanier, in a few hours you will yourself be a mutilated corpse!

Chung sent some police agents. "How!" exclaimed M. Fontanier. "I ask for soldiers and he sends me a few mandarins!" In a rage he went down into the street and told them to go away. In truth, finding themselves powerless to disperse the mob, and being themselves attacked, they quickly disappeared. One of them, who was cruelly ill-treated, only saved himself by jumping into the ferry-boat and getting to the other side of the water. The consular messenger tried to prevent the yells of the crowd. He was beaten, and saved with great difficulty by the cook.

At this moment M. Coutries, who was close to the door of the Consulate, saw on the right bank of the river a Chinaman richly dressed, and surrounded by a numerous suite. The mob saluted him with acclamations of joy. After having spoken to the people for a few moments he retired, pointing with his hand to the Consulate, and turning round to the unoccupied establishment of the Jesuit fathers. Directly the cries and sinister noise of the gong recommenced, and the mob began to throw stones against the house (which had been hitherto respected) of the fathers of the society.

M. Fontanier, after having waited in vain for the succours he had demanded of Chung, resolved to go himself in search of them. Armed with a six-barrelled revolver, and accompanied by his secretary, M. Simon, who had hastily put on a sword, he

left the Consulate by a back door, in spite of the entreaties of his servants, and tried to gain the residence of the commissioner for the "Three-ports," which was not far off, by passing through some little back streets. M. Coutries, armed with a gun, and the principal Chinese servant belonging to the consul, seeing the danger to which he was exposing himself, ran after him in hopes of being able to rejoin him.

We have mentioned that Père Chévrier had sent a man in whom he could trust with his card, and a verbal message for Chung. This servant likewise tried to reach the yamen by the back streets; but attacked with stones, frightened by the crowd, and finding it impossible to get through it, he retraced his steps, and then perceived the consul and his secretary, the first seizing a Chinaman by his tail, and brandishing a pistol in the other hand. The Chinaman was one of those little mandarins whom Chung had sent to re-establish order before the church and the Consulate. M. Fontanier, in a furious passion, overwhelmed this man with reproaches. "How," he exclaimed, "you a mandarin, you do not attempt to appease the people and yet you still dare to wear your button! Come with me directly to Chung-hou." These words, heard and repeated round the consul, added to the fury of the mob. On all sides they cried out: "He is going to kill a mandarin!" Arrived at the yamen, they found the gates shut. The consul burst open the door with one blow of his foot, and rushed in, accompanied by M. Simon and the mandarin. The servant of Père Chévrier did not dare to follow them into the second court; but he could distinguish the angry voice of the consul, exclaiming: "How! our very lives are threatened, and you do nothing to protect us!" He did not hear any other noise. Very soon M. Coutries and M. Fontanier's servant arrived. These three were consulting as to what had better be done, when they were all of a sudden attacked by the soldiers and servants of Chung, who were assembled in the outer court, to the cry of, "Kill! Kill!" The consul's servant was knocked down, and received several pike wounds; a secretary of Chung's managed to save him. M. Coutries owed his life to the protection of a friend of his, a little official, who hid him in a dark cupboard. The next day Chung had him escorted to the concessions. M. Coutries thought he heard his protector say: "He is not a Frenchman;

he is English." The servant of the Lazarist fathers, watching for a favourable moment, escaped unperceived.

What passed in this interview between the consul and Chung-hou no one knows, unless people choose to believe the statement of Chung himself, whose veracity seems to me more than doubtful. These are the terms in which, on the very day of the massacres, he describes, in a report to the Tsungli-yamen, the last visit of M. Fontanier :—¹

"After having taken leave of Père Chévrier, wishing to dispel the suspicions of the people and reassure the foreigners, I was occupied in drawing up a proclamation in that sense, which I intended to publish immediately, when, about two o'clock, I heard there had been some fray between the people of the cathedral and certain idle vagabonds gathered near the church. I had just sent an officer to inquire into the disturbance and re-establish tranquillity, when I learned that M. Fontanier himself had come to the yamen. I went to meet him. The consul was in a violent rage, and carried two pistols in his waist-band. Another foreigner, who accompanied him, was armed with a sword. Both of them rushed forward to meet me; and hardly had he come near me than M. Fontanier began to speak in a most improper manner, drew his pistol from his sash, and fired it in my presence. Fortunately, no one was hurt, and M. Fontanier was arrested. As it would not have been dignified on my part to have come to blows with him, I retired. M. Fontanier, in coming into the reception-hall, broke all the cups and other objects on the table, and never ceased vociferating with rage. I again approached him, and told him that the crowd (which had gathered round the entrance of the yamen) had taken up a menacing attitude; that the fire brigade had joined them, with the evident intention to assist them in any mischief; that I feared disorders might ensue, and therefore begged him to stay where he was. But he, regardless of his life, rushed out of the yamen. I sent some men with orders to rejoin him and serve him as an escort."

Such is the account of one of the interlocutors. The other perished a few minutes after this interview. One must then hold to Chung's version of the affair. But leaving out the lies which this high functionary did not blush to tell about

¹ Blue-Book, Chung hou to the Yamen of Foreign Affairs, p. 21.

the death of the consul, and which he was subsequently obliged to retract, the account we have just read is only admissible on the supposition that M. Fontanier had completely lost his head. To fire a pistol in the interior of a yamen, in presence of a mandarin of high position, if not at him, would have been an act of sheer madness. There is no doubt that the consul was killed on the spot by the soldiers and mob stationed near the Consulate; and perhaps Chung-hou, even if he had wished it, could not have saved him. On the other hand, it is affirmed that, on returning towards the Consulate, M. Fontanier seemed like a drunken man.¹ But if in the midst of a pack of devils thirsting for his blood, in the face of Chung's cowardice, and the scarcely-disguised treason of the magistrates, the unfortunate Fontanier had for a moment lost his reason, his trouble of mind had not stifled the accents of his brave and loyal heart. His post was at the Consulate. He had to protect, not only the missionaries, his neighbours, but M. and Mde. Thomassin, his guests. It was then to the Consulate that he strove to return. He knew that he was thus meeting death; that in staying with Chung he would probably be safe; but he did not hesitate for a moment in rejecting the offer of the high commissioner: and, followed by his secretary, he left the yamen. About a dozen little mandarins, ordered by Chung to protect him, followed him on foot.² The chih-hüen, first in his chair, and then on foot, marched by his side.

The unhappy consul had scarcely crossed the threshold of the palace, when he received a lance-thrust in the side. This was his first wound. He was then in a fearful state of over-excitement. They saw him gesticulating violently. Perhaps to calm him and prevent his adding to the irritation of the mob, the chih-hüen touched him with his hand. The consul thought himself insulted. "Wretched chih-hüen!" he exclaimed, "miserable mandarin! will you do nothing to keep back the

¹ This was the expression of several ocular witnesses, of whom the greater number were native Christians, who told it to the Lazarist fathers. His servant, when questioned by me as to the pistol shot in the yamen, was silent. A short time after the event he declared he had heard it, then he denied it. M. Coutries and the servant of Père Chévrier (this last also interrogated by me) declared that they heard nothing like the firing off of a pistol or of any fire-arm whatsoever.

² One of these officials was the mandarin whom I questioned myself.

mob?" The magistrate shook his head, saying, "That is not my business."¹ They were then on the quay, where several little streets meet, all of which at this moment were full of men, armed with pikes. They rushed instantly upon the two Europeans. M. Fontanier used his revolver, but hit no one; then, turning to the chih-hüen, fired straight at him. He, being a little man, and seeing the pistol turned towards him, had the presence of mind to hide behind his servant, who received the charge, was fatally wounded, and died a few days after. The mob cried out, "He is killing us! Let us kill him and all those who try to prevent us!" These words were the signal for the flight of the chih-hüen and all the mandarins of the escort. They were at this moment close to a little pagoda, half-way between the bridge of boats and the church. It was half-past one o'clock. The two Frenchmen, though badly wounded by the lance-thrusts of their enemies, resolved to make one more effort, charged the crowd boldly, and opened a passage which enabled them to reach the great gate of the Consulate, but there, overpowered by numbers, they sank under the blows of their murderers. At this moment, the two fathers, Chévrier and Ou, pursued by a horde of assassins, who had tracked them into the sacristy, jumped out of a window into the court of the Consulate, and endeavoured to hide themselves in a little summer-house, surrounded with rock-work: but the wretches, who had just despatched the consul and his secretary, rushed upon them and killed them.

These were not the first victims. M. Thomassin and his young wife had, during M. Fontanier's absence, quitted the Consulate and taken refuge in a neighbouring house, inhabited by some Swiss merchants, MM. Borel. If they had remained there they would have been saved; but, taken with a sudden panic, and hoping to reach their boat, which was waiting for them at a very short distance off, to take them to Peking, M. Thomassin, armed with a pistol and a Chinese sword, went out with his young wife. A stone was thrown at them, and he had the imprudence to fire on the crowd. Instantly he was cut to pieces, and his young wife killed by a blow of a hatchet on the nape of the neck.² Their bodies, completely stripped, were

¹ Account given by the Christians who were interrogated by Père Favier.

² Proved by the examination of the corpse.

thrown into the river, and the next day fished out close to the concessions. It was after this first crime that the crowd rushed upon the Consulate and began to demolish it.

When the chih-hüen saw the consul lying mortally wounded by the side of his secretary, this mean-spirited assassin was filled with terror. He ran back to Chung: "A terrible misfortune has happened!" he exclaimed. "The consul has been killed. I reckon upon you to save me." "How can I save you?" replied the high commissioner. "I shall have a great deal of trouble to save myself. You are the chief magistrate of the town. It was your business to quiet the people. So far from doing so, or fulfilling your duty, you have encouraged the disorders. If the consul has been killed, the only thing you can do is to protect the other Europeans and prevent pillage."¹ Hastily taking off his official costume, Chung then left his yamen, and staying prudently near the gate, watched in silence the sinister spectacle of the burning of the cathedral, mission-house, and Consulate, which were speedily consumed by the flames.

It will be remembered that the most turbulent portion of the Tien-tsin population lived on the north bank of the river, and that a single bridge of boats connected it with the inner town and the great suburbs on the opposite side, where the church, convent, and orphanage of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul were situated. We may remember also that the confraternity of firemen on both sides of the river sympathised with the assassins, who, directed by invisible agency, openly encouraged by General Chên-how-shuai, and secretly by the military mandarin of the district, only waited for the signal to begin the work of blood. This signal was given at mid-day. In five different quarters of the town the gong called the firemen and volunteers to arms. The most simple prudence would have recommended the prevention of a union between these two disorderly bands by stopping the crossing of the river. Nothing could be so easy. They would only have to withdraw one of the boats which formed the bridge. It was not, however, till after the massacre of the consul that Chung gave this order.

¹ This curious colloquy is, it seems to me, one of those facts which cannot be invented. The mandarin whom I have mentioned above related it to me, and said he had been present and heard the words himself.

They were on the point of obeying him, when General Chên-how-shuai appeared on the quay, and insisted on crossing the bridge. They did not dare resist him, and he crossed, dragging over with him a whole horde of assassins. On the left bank of the river the work had been accomplished—the Europeans had been killed, their houses and church pillaged and burnt. Now for the Sisters.

For more than a week the poor Superior had been in the greatest anxiety and agony of mind as to the fate of her Sisters and children. She had, as we have already mentioned, considered the position so dangerous that she had sent away the English captain from the hospital in spite of his precarious state. Dr. Frazer, that good Samaritan, who every day, and sometimes twice a day, devoted himself to the care of the sick in the hospital, had been very nearly assassinated the last time he went to see them. He had only escaped, in fact, owing to the fleetness of his horse. Since this adventure he had not dared to return to the Chinese city. Their communications with the Lazarist Fathers had likewise been stopped, as the Sisters did not dare, as before, show themselves outside their gates. For the last three days a dense crowd, yelling and howling, had been stationed from morning till night in the neighbourhood of the convent. Nevertheless, flight was still possible. In the night the Sisters might have made their escape to the concessions. But then, what would have become of their orphans and their sick? Utterly abandoned, without any human succour, surrounded by a fanatical mob, who were evidently ready to commit any excesses, these holy and courageous women made up their minds to remain and fulfil their duties to the end.

These are their names :—The Sister Superior, Marie Thérèse Marquet, born in Belgium, 46 years old ; The Sisters : Marie Séraphine Clavelin, born in France, 48 years old ; Marie Pauline Viollet, born in France, 39 years old ; Marie Anne Pavillon, born in France, 47 years old ; Amélie Caroline Legras, born in France, 36 years old ; Adélaïde Marie Angélique Lenu, born in France, 38 years old ; Marie-Clarinde Andreoni, born in Tuscany, 34 years old ; Alice O'Sullivan, born in Ireland, 34 years old ; Marie Joseph Adam, born in Belgium, 34 years old ; and Marie-Anne Noémi Tillet, born

in France, and 44 years old. About a hundred children were in their orphanage. Towards half-past two o'clock, to the sound of the gong and the letting off of petards, a horde of assassins, crying out, "Death to the French!" "Death to the foreigners!" arrived before the convent. They set fire to it, and the door was burst open in a moment. The wretches found themselves face to face with the Sister Superior, whom they immediately thrust through with a lance, and finished by sword-cuts. The other Sisters took refuge in the church, in the cellars, in the garden, and in the dispensary. But they were all seized in a few minutes and massacred. The rage of these madmen makes one hope that their death was instantaneous.¹ Their bodies were literally torn to pieces, and thrown into the flames. Some strips of roasted flesh and calcined bones heaped up in the courtyard of the hospital was all that remained of these noble, devoted, and holy women.² Their remains, sent by the taotai to the English consul, were not enough for five complete bodies. What had become of the remainder? The most careful researches made by Père Favier and Dr. Frazer amidst the ruins of the house and church produced no result. One cannot attribute the disappearance of so many corpses to calcination, for in that case some of the bones would have been found. Probably the bloody limbs were carried off as charms and distributed among the people. According to the deposition of one of the children in the hospital, a man struck her on the cheek with the hand of one of the Sisters,

This is according to the opinion of Père Favier. My pen refuses to reproduce the details of the horrible outrages committed upon them, as they are described in the reports to Mr. Lay. (Blue-Book, pp. 24 and 28.) Père Favier is persuaded that considering the fearful excitement of the mob, the Sisters were killed on the spot, and that the murderers only wreaked their vengeance on their lifeless bodies. In spite of the most careful inquiries made by the ecclesiastical and consular authorities on the death of the Sisters, the information obtained is most obscure and unsatisfactory. This is easily explained. The Chinese Christians had fled, and the Pagan neighbours of the Sisters, who were all more or less compromised in the massacre, took care not to talk, and especially not to tell the truth.

² "The Pious and Good Sisters of Charity: The Tien-tsin Massacre," p. 52. By George Thin, M.D., Vice-President of the "Northern China" Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. English people residing at Tien-tsin and at Shanghai, Protestants who have known them and seen their works, have spoken to me of these good Sisters with tears in their eyes.

which had been cut off, exclaiming brutally, "Here is thy mother" (the name given by the orphans to the Sisters) "who is punishing thee!" One of the Chinese witnesses, quoted in the Blue-Book (page 75), asserts that a hundred children belonging to the orphanage were stifled in a cave where they had taken refuge. This assertion, happily, was not confirmed. The children, half dead with fright, hid themselves in every direction. They were seized, thrown into prison, and questioned. As they would not say anything against the Sisters they had much to suffer; but at the end of six weeks they were given up by the Chinese authorities to the missionaries who were sent from Peking for that purpose.

A good many native Christians lost their lives at the entrance of the convent. The others, tracked by the murderers, fled in every direction, and tried to hide in friends' houses, or to leave the town. One woman was thrown into the river, and dragged out only on condition that she would promise to denounce the Sisters (who were already murdered), and declare that she had been bewitched by them. They took her off to the yamen to be interrogated, which is a curious fact and worth noticing, because it is one of the numerous proofs that the assassins proceeded with method and were directed by men who felt the necessity of being furnished beforehand with some legal justification.*

M. de Chalmaison, a merchant established in the Chinese city, was massacred at the moment when he was going out of his house. A French lady, who lived under the same roof, ran down a little back street and was saved by a poor woman who hid her in her house. In the dead of night, disguised as a Chinese, she went back to her residence, but, finding it abandoned, she retraced her steps, but could not find again the home which had previously sheltered her, and knocked at a wrong door. Recognized as a foreigner by her accent, she was instantly killed. An Englishman, living in the same quarter, owed his life entirely to the fidelity of his *comprador*. This last, after having hid his master on the roof of the house between two chimneys, shut the doors and windows, and, quietly smoking his pipe, presented the key of the house to the leader of the band of assassins. "Come in," he said to

* Blue-Book. Evidence of a native, p. 37.

him, "the owner is gone to the concessions." The two Swiss merchants, MM. de Borel, were miraculously saved. From mid-day till evening they remained blocked up in their house. The mob appeared from time to time, but, thanks to the entreaties of their *comprador*, they always ended by going away. During the night Chung had them conducted to the English concession.

A M. Bassow, and a young couple, married only during the few previous days, M. Protopopoff¹ and his wife, the sister of Mde. Starzoff, all three settled in the European concessions, had gone that very morning to the Chinese town to breakfast with some merchants of their own nation who lived in the eastern quarter of the city. Not attaching any importance to the gathering crowds in the streets, they had quietly sat down to breakfast about twelve o'clock, when a Chinese servant came running in to say "that the Catholic church had been thrown into the water." They resolved to go back to the concessions as quickly as possible. The bridge being crowded, they took the road of Hé-doune (salt road), that is to say, the left bank of the river. As they had come in the morning in sedan-chairs, the young couple and M. Bassow started to return home in the same way. The three other Russians followed on foot, but meeting troops of armed men, they hid themselves in the sentry-box of one of the guards. They were questioned, and after having proved their Russian nationality, they were allowed to proceed. M. and Mde. Protopopoff and their friend were rapidly crossing the streets of the northern quarter of the town, when, to the cry of: "There go some foreigners: kill them! kill them!" they were set upon by a band of murderers. In vain they asserted that they were not French—that they were English. They answered, "Never mind; we mean to kill all the foreigners!" They had not time to get out of their chairs, which were broken to pieces at the top of them. The two men who tried to defend the young lady were despatched with swords. The unfortunate Mde. Protopopoff was massacred also, and the bodies, stripped naked, were buried in a field, and during the night thrown into the stream. Four Protestant chapels (English and American) were destroyed

¹ Blue-Book, pp. 105-139, and from the verbal communications of M. Starzoff.

or badly damaged. At half-past five o'clock the tum-tum beat the retreat on all sides. The different brigades of firemen, considering their work done, formed themselves into columns and returned to their homes in perfect order. The crowd dispersed. The darkness and silence of night followed the horrible orgies of the day.

Whilst blood was thus flowing in the Chinese city the greatest consternation prevailed in the concessions. Being without any means of defence, deprived even of the feeble help of the gunboats, separated from the scene of the massacres only by a flat piece of ground where nothing could stop the invasion of hostile bands, the residents considered themselves as fated to die. A heavy rain which fell towards evening probably saved them. However, they armed themselves in haste. But what could such a handful of men do if attacked by thousands of wretches drunk with blood and all armed with pikes or knives? The English and American missionaries, with their wives and children, took refuge on board a merchant steamer anchored in the Pei-ho.¹ The next morning Chung made his appearance very early at the concessions, and demanded to see the consuls. His proposal to send troops for the protection of the Europeans was declined. Mr. Lay answered him very justly when he said that his soldiers were more to be feared than the people. Chung gave his own account of the events of the day before, and especially of the visit and death of M. Fontanier. "This last," he declared, "after having fired two pistol-shots at him, had been killed at his side. He had taken care of the body, which was at his yamen, and would be sent to the concessions with the remains of the other victims."

Throughout the day bad news from Tien-tsin followed rapidly. The fears of an attack were renewed. "Our position," writes Mr. Lay to the Queen's representative at Peking, "is really terrible. Every man in the community mounts guard. But, consider, how few are our numbers!"

Before their windows, floating on the river, were the muti-

¹ In mentioning this fact to Mr. Wade, Mr. Lay added: "And although this is against my wish as an appearance of danger, yet I have no power to stay them." Blue-Book, p. 23.

lated corpses of their friends. The first body taken out of the water was that of the unfortunate French consul. Chung's account, therefore, was proved to be a deliberate lie. His Excellency had simply invented the whole thing. The taotai sent the remains of the Sisters. The male portion of the white population being occupied in watching over the general safety, and the coolies positively refusing to touch a dead body, it fell to the lot of the English consul and his subordinate to place them in their coffins. This painful task accomplished, Mr. Lay had to reassure the ladies, to answer the thousand questions asked him by the men, and to take all possible measures of precaution, all the while striving to allay the panic which had naturally invaded the little community.

In the Chinese city, also, the agitation continued. Those who had anything to lose, fearing reprisals from the Europeans, and the pillage of the people, hastily left the town. The merchants turned all the ready money they possessed into goods; for thieves carry off money more easily than cumbrous articles. The "literates" continued to cry, and caused to be cried, "Death to the foreigners!" Mr. Lay was very much afraid that the French minister at Peking would strive to punish the assassins with an insufficient force. "If they attempt," he writes to Mr. Wade, "a *coup de main* with two or three gunboats, not one of us will survive to give an account of the defeat or of the fresh massacres which will ensue." The women and children were embarked on board different merchant vessels.

In the Chinese town they sold fans and pictures representing the murder of MM. Fontanier and Simon. The Chinese authorities seized these atrocious prints, which have in consequence become rare. I possess two on this subject. With some few varieties, you see Chung's yamen, and in the middle, the cathedral, very correctly represented; the consul's house and the Lazarist mission in flames; the consul and chancellor knocked down; four assassins striking them with lances and swords; a man stooping down to tie his shoes, and holding his sword in his mouth meanwhile, turns his head towards the scene, which seems to amuse him; this is the clown of the band; further on, a functionary, and, according to the saying of the Tien-tsin public, the chih-hüen himself, standing near

his chair, and surrounded by mandarins, is quietly looking on at the murders ; on both sides of the river, and on the bridge, men are seen running towards the scene of action, armed with pikes ; others are coming in boats ; a curious crowd assist by agitating their fans ; further on, are two men on horseback, probably meant for General Chên-how-shuai and the military mandarin of the district, both of them deserving, by their conduct, the honour of figuring in these infamous pictures. Although coarsely done, they breathe blood and carnage, and are striking from the strange contrast they present between the agitation of the murderers, and the Olympic quiet of the spectators.

But at last, English gunboats arrived from Che-fu and Shanghai. Chung addressed the people in a proclamation, which brought instant calm. This was a fresh proof that the mandarins, if they had only chosen to do so, could easily have kept back the people, and restored tranquillity.

Later on, towards the beginning of winter, alarms were again felt. What would be the fate of the residents at the settlement after the departure of the gunboats, which could not be exposed to the risk of being taken prisoners by the ice, and which had, in consequence, received orders to return to Che-fu as soon as the first frosts set in ? The English government suggested the idea of facilitating the departure of the residents from the concessions during the winter season. At Peking, also, the question was mooted of the departure of the Legations. Mr. Wade, however, in accordance with the views of his colleagues, opposed such a measure ; "not justified," he writes, "by circumstances, contrary to the general opinion of the other factories in China, and prejudicial to English *prestige* in that part of the world." But at Tien-tsin the state of things became more and more critical.

"I am no coward," writes Mr. Lay to Mr. Wade ; "and I shall stick to my post as long as they don't drive me out of it. If they attack us, I hope we shall give them a warm reception. But I cannot expose the lives of my wife and child ; yet, if I remove them from hence, it will be the signal of a general flight. What am I to do ?" "Do nothing," was Mr. Wade's answer. "You have been on the *qui-vive* for the last three months. You have become nervous. There is more fear than

danger now at Tien-tsin." Do you understand a position like this? The consul quite ready to sacrifice his own person, but trembling for the lives of those dear to him—the minister taking upon him to reassure him by pleading public interests.

Really, diplomatic service in China is no sinecure. Let us give due homage to the devotion, coolness, and imperturbable courage of these worthy representatives of a great country. We must own that subsequent facts have justified the opinion of the Queen's representative. Order has not again been disturbed at Tien-tsin. Chung and the governor-general of the province, Tsêng, who was sent expressly to the spot to direct the inquiry, knew how to overawe the mob, keep the "literates" in order, and protect the few European travellers who, on the way to Peking, or returning from that town, were obliged to traverse Tien-tsin.

We have now come to the time when we should look back and examine the conduct of the principal actors in this dismal tragedy.

They have accused the missionaries and the Sisters of having, by their imprudence, and by an indiscreet zeal in proselytizing, brought about the events of which they became the victims. The very day of the massacres, the 21st of June, in the morning, Mr. Lay writes to Mr. Wade: "The Sisters of Charity have been stupid enough to buy children," &c.¹ Now, it has been fully proved that this assertion was entirely false; and Mr. Wade, who had at first believed it, hastened, with that loyalty for which he is distinguished, to rectify his error.² A deputation of English merchants engaged in the Chinese trade waited on Lord Granville to present a memorial. We there read: "The community to which these Sisters belonged has existed for upwards of three hundred years; and we believe that in this long space of time no complaint has ever been made or

¹ "The Sisters of Charity have been very stupid in buying children," and so on. Blue-Book, p. 19. This passage has been universally blamed by the English residing in the trade ports.

² "My impression, that the original cause of the excitement was the belief that children received by the hapless Sisters of Charity were taken into the orphanage for unholy uses, remains unshaken; but I am assured that it is incorrect to assert that any of these infants were, as I had thought, purchased by the Sisters." Blue-Book, p. 68.

proved against them. Everyone was perfectly cognizant of their works and way of proceeding. It is maintained, in a most categorical manner, that they never gave any money for children, even for those who were brought to them when they had been abandoned.”¹

The vague accusation of “indiscretion” raised against the Lazarist Fathers of Tien-tsin, seems to me to have just as little foundation in truth. Those who were so anxious to prove that the anger of the people was solely directed against the Catholic priests and Sisters, and that both one and the other were mainly French, would certainly not have neglected any opportunity of justifying their accusations if they could have produced the smallest fact in support of their hypothesis. Now, nothing of the sort can be found in the brief regarding this case. The absurd depositions of the miserable Wa-lan-chên, evidently paid by the “literates,” were afterwards withdrawn by him, and the Chinese functionaries admitted their entire falsehood.² Besides, these accusations were made against all Catholic missionaries and Sisters of Charity in general. I shall come back to this point when dealing with the question of missionaries. Here I will confine myself to stating the fact, that the only wrong which could be imputed to the good Sisters of Tien-tsin was that of having received the sick in their hospital, and the children in their orphanage. An epidemic disease had broken out amongst them, and a few cases of death had occurred. The instigators of the massacre took advantage of this to hound on the people. How is it possible to make the Sisters responsible for this epidemic? Remember too, in their defence, if defence be needed, and as they cannot defend themselves, death having closed their lips,—remember, then, the facts, warmly affirmed by a great number of Protestants, and by all the residents of Tien-tsin, that during the space of eight years, and, in fact, till the middle of May, that is, till one month before the massacres took place, these very Sisters were universally beloved and respected by the natives; that, as regards the admission of children into their house, they had never changed their way of proceeding; that several times

¹ Blue-Book, p. 51.

² Chung-hou to the Yamen of Foreign Affairs, 21st June, 1870. Blue-Book, p. 21.

before, when illness had broken out in the place, the mortality in the orphanage had been greater than during the few days preceding the massacre; but that until then, the ill-natured rumours occasionally spread against the Sisters and priests of the mission, had always promptly evaporated—and you will, I think, come to the conclusion that by no possibility could these disastrous events be laid at the door of the Sisters with any shadow of truth.

The unfortunate French consul, the victim of a strange blindness, and who would neither listen to the advice nor the warnings of his neighbour, Père Chévrier, nor to those of the Russian consul, his colleague—of a violent temperament, over-excited by the presence of a danger which he had neither foreseen nor tried to avert—this unhappy man did, in fact, nothing to prevent and everything to accelerate the catastrophe. He was himself one of the first victims. His faults, expiated by a noble death, were faults of judgment and character; the most pardonable in a public man, although, unhappily, the most pregnant with unhappy and sometimes fatal consequences. If the consul had judged rightly of the state of affairs he would have warned his colleagues in time, and tried by a united movement to reanimate Chung's courage, who feared the violence of the mob, but who ought to have been made to fear a good deal more the complaints of the diplomatic corps at Peking, and his consequently impending disgrace with Prince Kung. It would have been easy to send the Sisters to a place of comparative safety; and to insist, on the morning of the massacres, when he saw the angry groups gathering round the Consulate, that the bridge of boats should be opened and the communication between the two banks of the river consequently stopped. After a reiterated and careful examination of the localities, and an attentive study of the Blue-Book, with the help of all the information I could obtain both at the concessions and in Peking, I am bound to say that my opinion entirely coincides with that of almost the whole of the residents who at that time were living in the concessions. Their conviction is, that had M. Fontanier only followed the line of conduct we have just indicated, these terrible misfortunes would have been averted; that he might not, perhaps, have been able to prevent the destruction of the establishments in

the Chinese city ; but that he would have saved the Sisters ; probably all the Europeans, and without neglecting his duty, himself also. One is exposed to being taxed with harshness for thus severely judging the conduct of a brave man whose own life was so cruelly sacrificed. I have done full justice to the noble feeling which induced him to overlook his personal safety and meet death at his post, but I could not be silent as to his faults. The first and often the painful duty of a historian is the search for, the respect and worship of, truth. Mr. Lay, also, although in a less degree than the French consul, was deceived as to the serious nature of the position. I judge exclusively from the correspondence signed by his own hand. Seven days after the event, he writes to Mr. Wade :^{*} " I had not an idea that the affair would be so serious." In fact, he evidently had not. His conduct proves it. He wrote twice to Chung, it is true : but when ? His first letter is dated the 20th June ; his second on the morning of the 21st ! That is to say, on the eve and on the very day of the massacres. In one, he begs the high commissioner to exhort the people to be civil towards foreigners, and to respect the chapels and hospital. In the other, complaining of the insult offered to Dr. Frazer, he requests Chung to explain to the Chinese, by a proclamation from the chi-fu, that they were not to molest the Queen's subjects.² This proves how little Mr. Lay attributed the effervescence in the Chinese city to any cause of real importance. In his excuse one may say that he was not on the very spot ; that the Sisters who came to pay a visit to Mrs. Lay only a week before their murder, did not seem to think they were in any danger ; and that the little Russian colony shared in this melancholy delusion. If it had been otherwise, how could the unhappy young couple, Protopopoff, have ventured to go to the Chinese city on the very morning of the massacre ? Their Russian friends who lived there, and with whom they went to breakfast, did not seem to have been better informed. On the other hand, it is certain that this ill-founded security was not general. The Russian consul, Dr. Frazer, and many other notabilities, insisted on precautions being taken, and especially that the commandant of the naval station of Che-fu

^{*} Blue-Book, p. 32.

² *Ibid.* : Mr. Lay to Mr. Wade, quoted above.

should be intreated to send the gunboats without delay. After the catastrophe Mr. Lay's conduct was admirable.

As to the Chinese functionaries, the one in the highest position, Chung, is with justice accused of negligence and irresolution. Unpopular among the "literates," by the very fact that his functions obliged him to hold personal intercourse with the foreigners, he saw himself surrounded by a soldiery who were unwilling to obey his orders, and who, moreover, were excited to rebellion by the infamous Chên-kwo-shuai. Chung exercised no jurisdiction and no direct action on the taotai and the two magistrates of the town. His situation was false, and his action impeded. To have conducted himself differently he should have possessed the two qualities in which he was most deficient—courage and energy.

That the chi-fu and the chih-hüen should have indirectly both encouraged and favoured the murderers is a fact which has not only been abundantly proved, but which has been tacitly recognized by the imperial government. It is well known, and recent experience has abundantly proved, that in ordinary times the mandarins, by their proclamations, can always prevent serious troubles. Numerous and quite recent facts confirm this. To mention only two: the temporary Superior of the Lazarist mission at Peking—the vicar apostolic being at that moment in Europe—was alarmed for the safety of the Sisters at Peitang, and resolved to send them to Shanghai, for which purpose he demanded an escort. The Tsungli-yamen hastened to reassure him by promising to answer for the security of the Catholic establishments in the capital.

At Tung-chow, on the Blue River, there are some American missionaries. Frightened at the menacing attitude of the lower orders, they had taken to flight with their wives and children. The taotai sent them a message, begging them to return, answering for their lives and property. In both cases the Chinese authorities knew perfectly well how to restrain the population. But the conduct of the two magistrates of Tientsin was entirely different; and if there be no actual proof of their having taken an active part in the murders, the proclamations of the chi-fu and the chih-hüen would alone suffice to establish their complicity in the crimes.

There is positive proof that General Chên-kwo-shuai openly

encouraged and directed the assassins in their bloody work ; and that the military mandarin seconded him, though in an underhand manner. After all, it does not much matter inquiring now what part in this horrible business was taken by each one of these wretches. What would have a really practical interest for Europeans would be to find out the secret authors of these crimes, and the motives of their action.

From whence did the blow come? And against whom was it really directed? Unfortunately, these capital questions remain shrouded in obscurity. A mass of depositions have been taken, but with no positive result. In spite of the insistence of the diplomatic corps, the imperial government has constantly refused to make any serious inquiry into the origin and cause of that general rising among the people which produced the massacres.

Among the Europeans two distinct opinions were formed. According to some, the imprudence of the missionaries and Sisters aroused, first the suspicions, and then the anger of the people. A spontaneous explosion was the consequence ; but the attack was directed solely against the French (the Sisters and priests belonging mainly to that nation), and not against other foreigners. Among those who maintain this thesis—and their number, I must say, is very limited—Mr. Wade stands first. A long residence in the country, personal relations with great dignitaries, “literates,” and rich merchants, a profound knowledge of the men, things, history, and literature of China, the wide horizon given him by his exalted position—all these advantages, added to a proverbial loyalty, give to the opinions expressed by the honourable representative of Queen Victoria a great value, and make him in such matters a real authority. He founds his theory on a general appreciation of the state of the country, and on the facts reported in the relation we have just read. The murderers were heard to cry out : “Kill the French !” The three Russian merchants were spared when their nationality was proved. Mr. Wade’s great argument seems to be the excitement produced by the imprudence of the Sisters. “I think it my duty,”¹ he writes to Mr. Lay, “to express my conviction that, without the suspicion conceived by the Chinese that children had been kidnapped, no serious agitation would

¹ Blue-Book, p. 45.

have taken place among the people, and that the excitement produced by this suspicion would have had no serious result, if the habit of the Sisters of admitting into their hospital a large number of children had not been considered by the Chinese, in their ignorance, as a proof of the guilt of these unhappy ladies. The anger of the people once roused against them, their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists were naturally included in the same sentence of death. I learn that even native Catholics were arrested and ill-treated, while they set Chinese Protestants at liberty."

Now, let us listen to an opinion directly contrary to the one we have just mentioned. Here it is. The blow had been for a long while preparing by the "literates." The fury of the people, it is true, was directed first against the Sisters and the Catholic establishments; but the real object of the instigators of the movement was the expulsion and destruction of all foreigners. Mr. Lay, who is also a great authority—for he, too, knows China well, and has resided here for years, besides having been himself close to the scene of the massacres—Mr. Lay writes to Mr. Wade: ¹ "The cry (of the mob) was not 'Kill the Sisters,' but 'Kill the French,' and then 'Kill all the other foreigners.'" Mr. Wade replies: "I cannot admit your version, according to which the origin of the outbreak was hatred against foreigners in general." ²

If there be two men in China whose opinions on the events of the 21st of June may be considered as authoritative, they are, I repeat, Mr. Wade and Mr. Lay; and yet, as we see, their ways of thinking are diametrically opposed to each other. If three Russians were spared because they could prove their nationality, three other Russians were massacred, although they said to the assassins: "We are not French; we are English." (They would probably have done better had they said they were Russians.) These two facts were proved, according to the Blue-Book, by the depositions of the natives, and confirmed to me by M. Starzoff, the brother-in-law of one of the victims, who made every possible inquiry on the spot.

Lastly, the opinion that the massacres were only a partial realization of a vast programme having for its object the exter-

¹ Blue-Book, p. 32. Mr. Lay to Mr. Wade.

² *Ibid.*: despatch quoted above.

mination of foreigners in general, is shared by the immense majority, I should almost say, by the totality of European and American residents. I have already done justice to the honourable character of this class: and no one can deny to many of the foreign merchants a long, exact, and intimate acquaintance with both men and things in this country. Their opinion of the matter, therefore, is equally entitled to great weight.

I ought not to pass over in silence a third version, widely spread among the natives, and accredited specially by the rich Chinese merchants. They think that the events of Tien-tsin the first results of a great conspiracy, plotted by the patriots in the centre of the empire, with the object of provoking a war against the Europeans, and in consequence, the downfall of the Prime Minister, Kung, if not the upsetting of the Mandjou dynasty.

In the face of such conflicting opinions, each resting on such high authority, it would not become me as a simple tourist, to pronounce judgment. I will only venture once more to observe that the most minute inquiries made on the spot by the consular and ecclesiastical authorities, the depositions of several natives, and the unanimous testimony of the European residents at Tien-tsin (both in the Chinese city and at the concessions), have concurred in asserting the utter falsehood of the accusations of imprudence and indiscreet zeal launched against the Fathers and Sisters of the mission. These devoted priests, these good and holy women were the victims, but were certainly *not the cause* of the massacres.

The news of the events of the 21st of June spread like wild-fire in the interior and all along the shores of the empire. At Wu-ching, not far from Kiu-kiung, the mob burnt a Catholic church, the priest of which was fortunately absent. At Hankow the agitation of the lower orders gave some alarm to the small factory there. The English consul offered an asylum to the Sisters of Charity who were there; but these courageous ladies, who were all Italians, preferred remaining at their post, and happily were not molested. Even Canton, in spite of the 1,500 miles which separates it from the banks of the Pei-ho, felt the rebound of the catastrophe of Tien-tsin. The French consul, fearing for the Sisters of Charity, forced them, in spite of their protestations, to take refuge at Hong Kong.

At Peking the events of the 21st of June gave rise to long

negotiations between the heads of all the foreign Legations and Prince Kung. The most active part naturally reverted to M. le Comte de Rochechouart, the French minister. Mr. Wade had also to intervene specially, in consequence of the murder of the Irish Sister who was a British subject. The Blue-Book gives several diplomatic reports and a good many letters exchanged between them and the Chinese authorities.

On the 3rd of August a solemn funeral service for the victims took place at the Tien-tsin cemetery. The representatives of France and England, admirals Dupré and Kellett, commanding the English and French squadrons in the Chinese seas, all the consuls, the captains of the gunboats anchored in the Pei-ho, and all the European and American residents, followed the coffins to their last resting-place. Chung himself received the procession. The vicar-apostolic of Peking performed the religious service. After the ceremony, the bishop, the two diplomats, and Admiral Dupré, pronounced the funeral orations. The ordinary garrison of Tien-tsin had been reinforced by the troops of Prince Kung and of the governor-general of the province. No incident or any symptom of a hostile demonstration troubled the funeral solemnity.

Immediately after these events Chung was named Ambassador Extraordinary to France, with the mission to explain the conduct of the Chinese government.¹ Tseng-kwo-fan received orders to go to Tien-tsin to make the necessary inquiries on the spot, and to give instructions for the individuals accused of complicity in the massacres to be brought to trial. He came late and did nothing. A visit from M. de Rochechouart, and the news, which came from Che-fu, that Admiral Dupré was on the point of coming up the Pei-ho with his gunboats, at last stimulated the zeal of this mighty personage.

After four months of negotiations and delays, the final sentence was given under the form of an imperial decree.² It was declared that the chi-fu, Chang-kuang-tsao, and the chih-hüen, Lin, on the occasion of the conflict which had occurred between the people and the Christians, had neglected, before

¹ Circular of the Count de Rochechouart to the French consuls in China. Blue-Book, p. 230.

² Communicated by Prince Kung to the diplomatic corps. Blue-Book, p. 194.

the event, to take the necessary precautions, and after the event, to proceed promptly in arresting and punishing the guilty. "In consequence," continues the decree, "we (the Emperor) have deprived them of their official position and sent them to the Hsing-pu (literally, 'punishment department'), to receive the reward of their deeds." After having been interrogated by Tseng-kwo-fan, they were again remanded—he having proposed that in addition to the dismissal which had been inflicted upon them, in conformity with the law relating to such servants of the state as had proved themselves incapable of restraining the people in case of disorders, these two functionaries should be sent to serve at the frontier stations (to be reduced to the ranks and serve as private soldiers). "Their fault," continues the decree, "was already serious enough; but they have aggravated it by going away of their own accord and stopping according to their good pleasure, one at Shun-te and the other at Mih-yun, which was mocking the authorities." In consequence "an *extreme punishment* shall be inflicted on Chang and Lin. The place of their exile shall be changed. They will be sent to Hei-lung-chiang (in the province of Tsituhar on the banks of the Amour). And in expiation of their crimes, and as a warning to others, they shall be employed in forced labour."

This decree needs no comment. It shows the clear-sighted and yet Chinese mind of Prince Kung. He regretted the massacres, and felt that satisfaction must be given; but at the same time he tried to humour the national susceptibilities. As they were compelled to make an example of the guilty, at least let them be punished according to the regular forms of justice of the country, and not with the appearance of any pressure from without.

The condemnation of the two magistrates to military service on the frontier having appeared insufficient to the diplomatic corps they were compelled to go a little further; but to mask this fresh concession they inculcated the guilty in a fresh crime—they had gone away without the permission of the authorities—therefore, they had been wanting in respect, and consequently they were condemned to forced labour. M. de Rochechouart had insisted that their lives should be forfeited. But on this point Prince Kung was inexorable. Twenty of the wretches

who had owned their participation in the massacres were executed, and thirteen others exiled for ten or five years. But General Chêng-kwo-shuai, who on the 21st of June had actually directed and ordered the massacres, was only brought before the Hsing-pu as a matter of form and released. Thanks to his rank as a Mandjou and a general officer, he escaped all punishment.¹ As to the military mandarin of the district, who was guilty likewise, I had the honour of making his acquaintance when I visited the little serpent-god, in whose court he officiated as chamberlain. Two hundred and fifty thousand *taëls* were granted as indemnity.

Knowing the importance of imperial proclamations and the effect they produce on the masses, the diplomatic corps exacted and obtained, though not without great difficulty, that a proclamation should be issued and spread in every part of this vast empire.

This proclamation briefly relates the events we have been describing: the credulity of the people; their suspicions; their anger; the massacre of a large number of foreigners,—“acts evidently criminal and committed in defiance of the laws.” Then follows an enumeration of the punishments inflicted on the guilty. The two functionaries have been punished with “unusual” severity. “They wished to make an example.” The most important passage, however, reminds the higher classes, the military, and the people generally, that “since the conclusion of the treaties, foreign merchants may trade and missionaries preach freely, the object of their sermons being to make men virtuous, and trade being as advantageous to the natives as to foreigners. . . . No one, therefore, has the right, on any pretext whatever, to gather a mob together and commit acts of violence. Whoever, then, chooses to misunderstand the express will of the Emperor in this respect will act contrary to the laws, and will be punished with the greatest severity. The functionaries and people of Tien-tsin will be to the offenders the mirror of Yin.² Let each man tremble

¹ Heaven did not leave him unpunished: for he has since been executed in prison for a crime which had nothing to do with the Tien-tsin massacres.

² That is to say, the punishment inflicted on the two functionaries and the people compromised in the massacres of Tien-tsin, will be for those who disregard the decree—the mirror of the Yin dynasty,—in other words, they will see the punishment that awaits them.

and obey! Let no one dare to resist! Special proclamation."¹

Follow me to the cemetery. In the vast inclosure which formerly contained the houses of the consul and of the Lazarist mission, rise, arranged in two groups, thirteen large stone tombs, ending, according to Chinese custom, in a half-cylinder. Here repose M. Fontanier at the head and the other lay victims; there, the Fathers Chévrier and Ou, the ten Sisters (that is, the little that remains of them), and some Christian servants of the house, killed at the same time as the Fathers. Inscriptions will be placed on all these tombs by the care of the Chinese authorities, who are to erect, besides, an expiatory monument where a proclamation is to be engraved, which will be more or less satisfactory.

Let us mount up on the eminence formed by the ruins. Close to us, the spire of the cathedral rises to heaven still surmounted by the cross. The stream, furrowed with ships, flows majestically onwards, and disappears in the horizon between a forest of masts. In front is the town, sombre, barbarous, and terrible. Its confused noises reach up to us even here. All around us is the calm and sleep of death, the sadness of which is transfigured by the glories of martyrdom.

¹ *Annexe* to the report of Mr. Wade to Lord Granville, of the 24th October, 1870. Blue-Book, p. 222 and 223. To complete the account given above, I have only to borrow from the *Journal Officiel*, of Paris, of the 25th November, 1871, the following note:—"The President of the Republic received at Versailles the Chinese Ambassador, Han-Tchiou (Chung-hou) who presented the regrets and excuses of the Chinese Government for the Tien-tsin massacres." The same paper and number contains the list of the reparations offered, *i.e.*, degradation and exile of the prefect and sub-prefect of Tien-tsin, condemnation to death and execution of twenty-one murderers, and exile of twenty-five others found guilty. Indemnity of 3,450,000 francs for the families of the victims, both lay and religious, as well as for the loss of merchandise and destruction of buildings, &c. The *Journal Officiel* of the 15th March, 1872, contains a decree naming the commission to divide the indemnity. I do not know what reparation has been made to the Russian victims. Whilst I was at Pekin the negotiations were drawing to a close, which had been conducted by General Vlangali with as much firmness as prudence, and especially with a perfect knowledge of the Chinese spirit.

CHAPTER IV.

HONG-KONG.—FROM THE 7th TO THE 25th OF NOVEMBER.

The amenities of the Yellow River.—Appearance of Hong-Kong.—Its commerce.—Its political and military importance.

November 7 to 19.—Shall we have to pass the winter at Tien-tsin? That becomes more and more probable; for the cold, which is already intense, goes on increasing; very soon we shall be fast bound in the ice. Flight alone can save us. But how to fly when the west wind is continually driving the water from the bar, and preventing the ships detained before Taku from entering the Pei-ho? There is not a single steamer in Tien-tsin, and if there were, they could not get out. The captain of the *Maison Neuve* has solved the difficulty. He has had the great good-nature to carry us to the mouth of the Pei-ho in the *Scorpion*, commanded by M. Sallandrouze. Arriving that same day at Taku, we cross the bar in the captain's gig. Half an hour after we are safe and sound on board the *Sinan-Sing* a magnificent steamer of the house of Jardine & Co.

Then came the pleasures of the Yellow Sea: gusts of wind; the skylights stove in by the waves; great douches of frozen water pouring in upon us from above in the middle of dinner; two pleasant days' respite at Shanghai, where winter is set in already; then fresh storms; Chinese junks well-nigh wrecked; and all under a metallic sky, without clouds, and in a temperature which even now makes me shiver to think of. The Amoy Canal behaves itself as ill as it well can. It is the *bouquet*. Really these Chinese seas deserve their detestable

reputation ! But one fine morning we wake and find ourselves in the tropics. The sky smiles upon us. The sun warms us. The coast, with its steep rocks, and its triple band of little islands, reminds one of Norway ; balsamic scents reach us in soft puffs. On the 19th of November we cast anchor in the roadstead of Hong-Kong.

Fancy to yourself the Rock of Gibraltar, on a large scale, looking to the north. There facing us is *terra firma*. Let us scramble up to the flag-staff, proudly standing on the highest peak of the mountain. The sun, which is already low, bathes sky, earth, and sea, in crude, fantastic, exaggerated lights. Woe be to the painter who should dare reproduce such effects ! happy would he be if he could succeed.

Towards the south, the sun and the fogs are fighting over the islands, which at this moment stand out in black groups on a liquid gold ground, framed in silver. Towards the north, we look over the town, officially called Victoria, and vulgarly, Hong-Kong. It is stretched out at our feet, but we only perceive the roofs, the courts, and the streets ; further on, the roadstead is crowded with frigates, corvettes, gunboats, steamers belonging to the great companies, and an infinity of smaller steam and sailing vessels of less tonnage. In front of us, at three or four miles' distance, is a high chain of rocks, bare and rugged, but coloured by the setting sun with tints of rose colour and crimson, resembling a huge coral bracelet. That is the continent. Towards the west are the two passages which lead to Canton and Macao ; to the north-east is a third passage by which we ourselves have come. The sea here is like a lake, bordered on one side by the rocks of *terra firma*, and on the other by the peaks and summits of the Hong-Kong cliffs. I have seen in many other lands softer and more harmonious effects of light, but I never saw any so strange.

Victoria is charming, sympathetic, and imposing ; English, and yet tropical—a mixture of cottages and palaces. Nowhere can be found a happier combination between the poetry of nature and prose of commercial life ; between English comfort and the intoxicating exuberance of the south. The streets, which are well macadamized, well kept, and beautifully clean,

run in a serpentine fashion along the rock, sometimes between houses of which the rather pretentious façades are coquettishly veiled by the verandas, sometimes between gardens, bamboo hedges, or stone balustrades. It is like Ventnor or Shanklin, seen through a magnifying glass and under a jet of electric light. Everywhere there are fine trees—banians, bamboos, and pines. One may go on foot from one end of Hong-Kong to the other, and yet always be in the shade. Only, no one dreams of walking. Nothing is to be seen but chairs. The coolies, their heads sheltered by enormous straw hats, carry you at a rattling pace. Nothing can be more delicious than a night promenade in an open sedan-chair. In the lower part of the town the scene is most animated and busy: officers and soldiers in red uniforms and with swarthy complexions (sepoys), Parsees, Hindoos, Chinese, Malays, European ladies in elegant toilets, and men and women with yellowish skins, dressed like Europeans (half-caste Portuguese). The higher you climb the quieter you find it. Insensibly the town turns into country. Scramble up still a little higher, and you are in the middle of rocks bare of trees, but covered with odoriferous shrubs, and traversed by a fine macadamized road, with glimpses of views here and there of marvellous beauty.

General Whitfeild, military commander, and the temporary civil governor, Mr. Austin, the colonial secretary, Mr. Caswick, of the house of Jardine, the judge Mr. Ball, the representatives of the house of Russell,—in fact, all the persons whose acquaintance I have made, overwhelm me with civilities. Dinners, pic-nics, excursions in carriages and in boats, succeed one another without intermission. It is English hospitality on a large and princely scale. The official and high commercial world live on an excellent footing with each other; but civil functionaries and the military and naval elements seem to predominate. Everywhere you find that solid luxury which already struck me at Shanghai and in the other ports. I am enjoying the hospitality of the Austrian consul-general, M. d'Overbeck, one of the most considerable merchants of Hong-Kong. His house, which is partly a villa and partly a *château*, combines all the agreeableness of an English country-house with the splendour of the tropics; the whole, however, subdued by a fine and chastened taste.

We have spent the afternoon at East Cliff, and we have come back in a carriage by the Happy Valley—"happy," because there is a little more shade, a little more breeze, and greater freshness here than elsewhere.

We follow the line of the sea-coast: the sun has already disappeared behind the rock on which the flag-staff is perched. Again one of those magnificent and startling effects of light! The sky orange and pearly grey; the ships at anchor riding out like black spectres against the silvery haze; the granite rocks, dark violet colour, speckled with yellow.

The trade of Hong-Kong has not only shared the fate of all the other European commercial establishments in China, but in these last few years it has changed its nature. When this rock was seized by the English government (in 1841) and transformed into a second Gibraltar, Canton seemed to be about to become the great centre of the commercial operations between the mother-country and China. This prevision has not been realized. Shanghai has replaced Canton. The great artery of the Yang-tse-kiang attracts the exports of the centre and even of the south of the empire. Canton is now only a shadow of its former greatness. Nevertheless, Hong-Kong will always be a commercial port of the first order. Here are stored the treasures of the great foreign houses established at Shanghai and other open ports. Politically and militarily, one cannot exaggerate the importance acquired by this little island since it has fallen into the hands of its actual possessors. I think no Englishman can visit it without feeling a legitimate pride in his country. Hong-Kong is the hand; the colonies on the Straits of Malacca, Ceylon, Aden, and Malta, the arm; England the head and heart of that great British giant, which holds in its grasp the south of Asia and the extreme East.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENTS OF SE-NON.—FROM THE 25th TO THE 27th OF NOVEMBER.

The villages of Si-kung, San-ting-say, and Ting-kok.—History of the Christian settlements of the district of Se-non.

WE have just come out from tiffin. Sitting in M. d'Overbeck's veranda, we are enjoying the freshness of the afternoon, for although it is hardly three o'clock the sun has already disappeared behind the peak of the Hong-Kong mountain. In front of us, on the other side of this arm of the sea, the rocks of the continent are bathed in light. Every crevice is visible. "That white line," says some one to me, "which looks almost vertical, is the road which leads to Kao-lung in the interior, and to several villages inhabited by the A-ka." "Let us go there," I exclaim. "Impossible," answers one of the guests of the consul. "Difficult," says another. "It is a perfect nest of pirates. When we go there, which is very rarely, for a shooting party, we are very numerous and armed to the teeth. This winter again an English gunboat has tried to purge those inner seas. The only result was the capture of a junk which had been purposely wrecked and abandoned by the pirates. Nothing can be so easy as to escape from justice in a country where all the inhabitants are alternately agriculturists and brigands. They are as clever with their oars as with their spades. Pedlars and little tradesmen abound. They have only to stretch out their hands to pillage them. The occasion is too

favourable a one, and it is the occasion which makes the thief. Give up the idea of visiting the Se-non district." At these words the Père Raimondi, procurator of the Propagation of the Faith for the Chinese Missions, and charged with that of Hong-Kong, smiled and said to me: "I will take you there, and I will answer for your safety."

The day before yesterday accordingly, in the morning, we started for Se-non, Father Raimondi, a Chinese Father who speaks Latin fluently, and I. In fifty minutes we had crossed the channel which separates Hong-Kong from *terra firma*. Then we escalated, by a little pathway, partly paved, this great granite wall, which forms a band round the Chinese continent. From the summit, the view of Hong-Kong was superb.

During three days we lived and travelled with an apostolic simplicity in that wild country, and in the midst of a population of pirates, who, nevertheless, begin to improve, inasmuch as the Christians have all renounced brigandage.

We passed the first night in the Christian village of Si-kung; and the next day on a little island called San-ting-say, all the inhabitants of which have received baptism. In the evening we arrived at Ting-kok, the most important point in the Se-non mission. The Fathers possess a comparatively spacious house there, of which the salubrity would be perfect without a curtain of trees which prevents the western breeze from bringing a little freshness to it. The superstition of such of the inhabitants as have remained pagan would not allow of their making gaps in the wood. It would displease the spirits. The new Christians already laugh at the alarms and ignorance of their unbaptized brethren. This little trait struck me. The greatest obstacle which one meets with in China to the work of civilization is superstition. Remember that conversation which I quoted of the Peking diplomat with his friend, a man of learning, enlightenment, and education; civilized, therefore, to a great degree in some things, and yet mortally afraid of disturbing the evil spirits, and in this respect more benighted and less civilized than the poorest Christian villager of Ting-kok.

The other Christian villages each have a little chapel, ornamented or not with a cross according to the favourable or hostile disposition of the population, and flanked by a miser-

able little room which serves as a shelter to the priest during his numerous visits.

Here the configuration of the country, saving the sky and the vegetation, remind one of the shores of Norway. It is a labyrinth of granite mountains and arms of the sea, which partly resemble rivers and partly lakes. Towards the south the rocks are completely bare, but on their northern flanks they are clothed with pines and dwarf palms with indented leaves. Every little corner of earth is worked and cultivated. But generally we walk through ravines full of scattered blocks of black granite, of which the sharp peaks glisten in the sun of the torrid zone. The island of San-ting-say looks like a black ewer filled to the edge with flowers and exotic plants. These two colours, black and green, the green in every variety of shade, marry one another most harmoniously. The Christian community of this island is not very numerous ; but what good faces ! Here, as in all the other Christian settlements we have visited, our arrival produced a certain sensation. People flocked round us from all quarters. The men went into the missionary's room ; the women, many of them mothers with babies slung on their backs, passed in file before the door without crossing the threshold. All knelt and asked for a blessing. Now I understand the influence and moral ascendancy of the Fathers. They live amongst their people, know, share, and console them in their sufferings.

The Se-non district reckons above 600,000 inhabitants. It is part of the Apostolic Mission of Hong-Kong, founded after the English had taken possession of this island ; and it was from thence that missionaries were sent to explore this territory, which was then completely pagan. Father Borghinoli, of Verona, was the first to establish himself here in 1863. To-day there are above 600 Christians. In this number I do not include the children of the *Sainte Enfance*, that is, the babies picked up in the streets or brought to the orphanages.

Of late years they reckon annually about 100 conversions, which is considered a very good result ; only all these converts belong to the lower orders. There is not an example of a "literate" having been baptized. Two European Fathers of the Hong-Kong mission reside alternately in the thirteen Christian villages, which constitute the mission of Se-non.

The taotai of the district resides at Nam-tao. Without favouring the missionaries, he condescends to ignore their presence. On a recent occasion he has even indirectly acknowledged their merit by exhorting his subjects in a proclamation to give their children to the Fathers rather than to kill or expose them.

At Ting-kok I took leave of the Father-procurator, who, followed by Don Andrea, the Chinese priest, continued his tour of inspection. A young missionary, Don Luigi de Bergamo, accompanied me on my return. He has hardly seen twenty-four summers, but has been here for two years. The sun of the tropics, and the fatigues and privations of his wandering existence, have not yet extinguished, on his fine, manly face, the beauty and freshness of youth. He has the tall, straight figure of the children of his native soil—just such as old Marshal Radetzky delighted in. “I love those *Bergamasques*,” that great captain exclaimed one day; “they are all *born* grenadiers.” This excellent Don Luigi—this valiant grenadier, fighting for the faith—marches before me with a bright, quick, elastic step. The stifling heat, which half kills me, does not appear to affect him in the least. It seems as if he scarcely felt it, so accustomed is he to go along these very paths under the self-same sun, though a far more cruel one, in the height of summer. He tells us about his labours, his difficulties, his deceptions, his consolations,—a good conscience, I think is, after all, the best investment,—the vicissitudes of his apostolic life, the sufferings of his parishioners, their clever *ruses* to withdraw themselves from the vigilant hatred and denunciation of the “literates,” their weaknesses, which are rare, their sublime devotion, their heroic courage and constancy—epic poems, animated Chinese pictures, exotic fruits gathered from the stem!

CHAPTER VI.

CANTON.—FROM THE 28th NOVEMBER TO THE 2nd OF DECEMBER.

The Canton River.—Shamien.—Elegant shops.—A bonze's head.—The Temple and Convent of the Ocean Banner.—Eng and his house.—Procession of the God of War.—The Great Prison —The Pretorium.—Visit to the Viceroy.—Fati.—City of the Dead.—The Place of Executions. Departure for Macao.

WE are going up the Pearl River. Here is Bocca-Tigris, known also under the name of Bogue; then Wampoa, the port where foreign sailing ships are to discharge their cargoes when destined for Canton. The British flag floats over the cellular prison of the British consul, the only European established in this little town. Further on, two spires rise up towards heaven. The English call them first-bar and second-bar pagodas. We are on the spot where the first intercourse was established between the Red Whiskers and the Black Tails. Here the prologue of the great drama, in several acts, was played, entitled, "Opening of China." These first acts were startling. The curtain has fallen on Canton, Nankin, Taku, Palikao, the summer palace, Tien-tsin. The sequel will soon appear. The unravelling of the tale is the secret of Providence.

Seated on the foot-bridge, I let the soft breeze caress my cheeks. The magnificent river rolls its calm and abundant waters between flat banks, covered with rice-fields, sugar-canes, and groups of gigantic trees. Here and there we see villages, with towers rather resembling Gothic spires or crenellated

castles. But they are neither churches nor feudal habitations; they are simply the depots of pawnbrokers. Why have they dispelled my illusions? I fancied myself going up the Rhine—that is, an ideal Rhine,—transfigured by the tropical sun.

We have a Chinese prisoner on board. On the route to Kao-lung—precisely the same which I followed yesterday—he robbed and murdered a merchant who was passing by. Arrested at Hong-Kong, where he had taken refuge, an English policeman will give him over to the authorities of Canton, which is his native country. In the night he tried to break his head against the wall. The captain of our steamer, when pointing him out to me, had the delicacy to describe, in expressive pantomime, the fate which awaits him. A shudder and a look of utter despair passed over the poor wretch's face. And yet this malefactor, who knows that to-morrow, if not this evening, he will be either beheaded or crucified, or slowly cut in pieces, is walking about the deck, dragging his heavy chains after him, his head bound up with bandages and plasters, and admiring, with open mouth, the wonders of civilization.

It is twelve o'clock. Before us a green curtain still hides from us the view of the capital; but already the dome is to be seen of the French cathedral. Behind it, at a great distance, are seen the outlines of the "White Cloud" Mountains. They deserve their name. Very soon, masses of houses appear on both sides of the river and on the island of Honan. The details of the picture are the same as we see in other Chinese towns, but the whole *ensemble* is imposing. We cast anchor in the entrance to this quarter, which is composed entirely of boats, taking the place of houses. To arrive at the quay, we cross a whole street of hotels in a rowing-boat. Besides the boat-hotels, there are in this floating Canton, tea-boats, flower-boats, furnished boats, and so on. It is in these that native travellers, arriving in the morning in their junks, and about to start again the next morning, pass the night, the doors of the town being shut at sunset. Both on land and water the scene is as busy as possible.

I land at a house belonging to Mr. Russell of Shanghai. It is built on the spot formerly occupied by the old English factory, which has been entirely destroyed. The new settle-

ment, which only dates a few years back, is called Shamien. There are only a few houses as yet: but these are all elegant and well kept, with a fine episcopal church served by Archdeacon Gray, a club-house, and a good deal of land to sell, or rather to resell. A magnificent granite quay, some great trees, and a fine view over the island of Honan, form the glory of this quarter, which more resembles a country-seat than a great commercial centre.*

Archdeacon Gray comes to fetch me: he has the good-nature to be my guide. No one knows this town as well as he does, and no one is better known or more appreciated. As all foreigners who come here try to see him, and as all those who have once seen him can never forget him, he cannot think it amiss if his numerous friends spread his photograph. He is, besides, a public character.

The Rev. John Henry Gray was born on the Scotch border. He is, I should think, about fifty, and has exercised his ministry here for nineteen years. The most busy time of his life coincides with the occupation of Canton by the English, when war and sickness, even more than Chinese balls, cut short so many young lives. It was then that the Cantonese became accustomed to see this good man in his cylindrical hat, white cravat, and long black greatcoat, rushing from hospital to hospital, and from port to port, tending the sick, consoling the dying, and burying the dead. It was from that moment that dates the reverend gentleman's great popularity. A fine and noble face, an intelligent look, whiskers white as the driven snow, a tall figure, square shoulders, vigorous arms—the *ensemble* thoroughly sympathetic. After having seen him for a quarter of an hour, you feel as if you had known him from childhood, and you regret not to have some terrible secret on your conscience. What a relief it would be to be able to confide it to him! In the meantime it is he who is to let me into the mysteries of Canton.

We are in the western suburbs, which is the rich, populous,

* Everyone knows the history of the old factory of the East India Company at Canton, the events which led to its destruction, and later, the creation of this comparatively second-rate establishment. Canton, which since the war, has been open to foreigners, has been so often described that I shall here only give some fragments of my journal.

commercial part of the town. The narrow streets are sheltered from the sun by matting. Under this tent glide a multitude of human beings. At Canton carriages are both unknown and impossible. I did not see a single horse. It is a town of foot-passengers and sedan-chairs. At every step one is pushed, but gently; the Cantonese seem made of cotton-wool. A dim half-light gives a magical effect to these picturesque streets. Here, as everywhere else in China, the signs, which are long lacquered or gilt boards, are hung perpendicularly before the shops like the sides-scenes of a theatre. The twilight mitigates and harmonizes colours which otherwise might be too glaring. It is like a symphony for the eyes.

Every two minutes my guide stops, jumps out of his chair, draws close to mine, and explains to me in a stentorian voice the objects most worthy of my attention. The shops are all very high and wide open towards the street. On the threshold you see a little altar consecrated to the tutelar god of riches; at the back, another altar, in sculptured and gilt wood, is dedicated to the ancestors of the proprietor. This last, simply but elegantly dressed, smiles pleasantly at you. His two or three clerks, living images of bureaucratic decorum, bow to you profoundly. In front, and all along the pavement before the shop, the goods are exposed with a taste and skill worthy of the best decorator of a shop-front in Paris or Vienna. Seated before a little table, two or three gentlemen with a grave and pompous air are examining minutely the different articles which tempt them. The calm of this picture, the interchange of civilities between the personages concerned, the beauty of the shop, which is high, thoroughly airy, and built so as to show off all its treasures, contrast curiously with the motley, ragged crowd who pass rapidly through the street, crossing and re-crossing one another, a perfect current of human beings, who, while struggling in this narrow channel, never infringe its banks. "A striking proof," says my guide, "of the respect for property among the Cantonese." Here, they sell jade and every description of jewellery; there, a Chinese "Chevet" displays his delicacies: further on, *à la brioche économique*, the poor people find eatables at a cheap rate: rats, mice, dogs' legs, and the dorsal spines of these animals, which are much appreciated by gastronomists.

Let us go into this baker's shop. His counter is loaded with different kinds of fancy bread, macaroni, and cakes. A back-door leads us into a gallery which stretches far away out of sight. More than a hundred bullocks are employed in grinding wheat, turning in a circle. By a special contrivance, as simple as it is ingenious, the exigencies of cleanliness are provided for at the same time as the demands of the agriculturists, who come here to make their provisions of manure. In China nothing is thrown away, nothing is lost. The vilest matters have their value. We pass before a shop of which the shutters, which are closed, are all covered with hand-bills. It is the shop of a bankrupt, and these notices are put up by his creditors, who thus make known the amount of their losses.

Everywhere the archdeacon makes himself at home: he goes in and comes out without paying the smallest attention to the shopkeepers. He knows exactly where the things are which he wants to show me. He seizes them, spreads them out on the table, and explains them, just as the guardian of a museum would do. His museum is Canton; and, strange to say, no one finds fault with him. They all smile when he comes in, and let him do what he likes. Everyone knows and loves him. Besides, in China, a white beard always commands respect.

"You have never seen a bonze's head quite close, have you?" said he to me one day. "And yet it would be well worth your while." By chance, at that moment, about a dozen bonzes were passing quite close to us. They walk one by one: *Taciti, soli, senza compagna*. "The head of each one of these men," said my guide, "is marked with as many white spots as he has made vows. They are burnt in. You shall see." Saying these words, he seizes the head of one of the bonzes, draws it down to a convenient height, and begins his explanations with as much coolness as a medical professor before an audience of students. The companions of the luckless bonze whose skull we are about to examine thought it prudent to make their escape as fast as they could. "Here is the vow of chastity." . . . (Here a convulsive movement on the part of the bonze.) "Steady!" roared my guide; and he goes on. "The other white points are: a vow to abstain from wine:

a vow not to kill a pig ; a vow not to eat meat ; a vow to respect the life of the carp in the temple ponds ;" and so on. From time to time the head, the object of our study, moves uneasily ; but the archdeacon holds it tightly, repeats his "Steady !" and pursues his course of sacred anatomy. At last he sets the bonze at liberty, who, more surprised than angry, after an exchange of polite phrases and *chin-chins*, hastens to rejoin his brethren. "And the vows on the arms," exclaimed the archdeacon ; "we had forgotten them." He calls back the bonze, who good-naturedly retraces his steps, turns up the sleeve of his tunic, and lets us see, on his lean, fleshless arms, a whole heap of white burns, indicating as many vows, one more strange than the other.

We have just come back from a visit (in the island of Honan, which is in front of Canton, and forms part of the town) to the celebrated temple of the "Ocean Banner." We then paid a visit to the abbot. We went into the convent, which occupies a vast space of ground, and is full of bonzes. Through this labyrinth of houses and little streets the archdeacon has no difficulty in finding his way all alone. The abbot, a little old man with a weary face, dull eyes, but a fine smile, receives us in his bedroom. Everything is beautifully clean and well kept. A fine mosquito-net protects the bed ; the furniture is elegant ; on the mahogany tables, made in Hong-Kong, are a heap of Chinese and European nick-nacks and three or four clocks. There was no luxury, but everything that was necessary for a moderate enjoyment of the pleasant things of this world, combined with the ascetism which is obligatory on the bonzes. His room has something, I know not what, of ecclesiastical about it. In another room, alas ! we perceive the fatal flute—the opium pipe. This worthy prelate has that weakness ; and in spite of repeated efforts (always seconded and encouraged by the archdeacon) he has never been able to throw off this sad vice. Like all opium-smokers he knows that he is killing himself : there are times when he has a horror of himself : but the chain is too strong ; he cannot break through it ; and he comes back with delight to his magic pipe. This holy personage will decidedly die in final impenitence.

In one corner of the immense garden is the *crematorium*, where they burn the bodies of the dead bonzes; in another corner is the mausoleum—a granite cylinder. There are placed the urns, containing the ashes of each, carefully ticketed. The Chinese are constantly occupied with the thoughts of death; the recollection of it does not frighten them in the least; but they have a horror of a corpse. Hence in this convent there is a most barbarous custom. When the doctors despair of saving a sick monk, or when he is arrived at a great age, he is carried to a separate building, which is the abode of dying. Those who know the inside of it are perfectly aware that he will never come out of it alive.

Close by, in a sort of warehouse, there are a great number of coffins placed vertically, and provided with tickets, which contain the names of the proprietors. These coffins belong to private individuals, and are generally presents, given by affectionate children to their parents when they have accomplished their sixty-one years. These useful articles of furniture are kept, until wanted, in a holy place.

In the island of Honan is also the palatial residence of Eng, the chief of one of the most illustrious and noble families of Canton. Eng, his sons, his sons-in-law, their wives and children, their tenants, servants, and slaves, in all more than six hundred persons, occupy a group of houses surrounding a vast inclosure. Nothing outside betrays the riches hidden behind these vast walls. The annual expenses of Eng's establishment amount to £20,000 sterling. The archdeacon is the friend of the house, so that we get into this little town without any difficulty. The vestibule is a perfect arsenal. In all the corners they have heaped up pikes, lances, and bows and arrows—a necessary precaution against thieves, and I fear one which gives the lie direct to the glowing picture which my guide, who always sees the good side of humanity, is apt to draw of the virtues of the Cantonese people. We pass by a great number of drawing-rooms, smaller apartments, and studies. On our way we meet a good many children, each one accompanied by his pedagogue, who with one eye smiles graciously upon us, and with the other betrays the surprise he feels at seeing a stranger here. In his right hand he carries the sign of his employment, an instrument not much to the taste of his pupil.

The archdeacon is really wonderful. He knows all the ins and outs of this labyrinth. Except to the ladies' apartments, which he respects, he goes everywhere. One might fancy he was the lord of Eng, and not the venerable archdeacon. The persons whom we meet and surprise in their different occupations let us pass without taking any notice of us, or come forward and salute my guide with cordial eagerness.

The garden, which is finer than any I saw in the north of China, contains a lake, with banks of curious shape, which is entirely covered in summer by lotus-leaves; on the two opposite banks are two large summer-houses, one for men and one for women. Here they meet to smoke and play at different games.

In the men's summer-house we find Eng himself. He was surrounded with stewards and agents writing from his dictation; but on our entrance they retired respectfully into one corner of the room. The master of the house rose, left his pipe, and came to meet us, welcoming the archdeacon as an old friend, and bestowing upon me the civilities usual on such occasions. His manners are those of the best society. He has a consciousness of his own importance, and feels no necessity of impressing it upon others.

The most richly decorated building in the house contains only one large room, open on one side, and consecrated to the memory of the deceased chiefs of the family. Here, in the "hall of their ancestors," and before their monumental tablets, are accomplished all the great acts of Chinese self-government—the reading of wills, the distribution of property, amicable arrangements, trials in criminal cases, judgment and condemnation. Here deceived husbands plead their cause. Woe be to the guilty wife! She pays for her forgetfulness of her duties with her life. The slips of a husband, on the other hand, are expiated by a few strokes of bamboo.

This evening we had a ball at Shamien. The whole of the little colony were present. The European merchants of Canton no longer embark in great commercial speculations. Shanghai and the opening of the Yang-tse-kiang have killed Canton. But the grand style of their establishments is that of their predecessors, who were more favoured by fortune. There is

nothing of the *parvenu* about them, or of the newly-made *millionaire*. One sees that these merchant princes of old days sprang from the rank of landed gentry, and indirectly from England's old nobility. The factories founded by them have been endowed with the *comme-il-faut* and the luxurious tastes which characterized high life in the last century. I was expressing these thoughts to an old gentleman who, like me, had made his way into the ball-room. There, in a heat of 30° Réaumur—we are precisely under the tropic of Cancer—three or four young ladies, in the freshest and most irreproachable toilets, and as many young gentlemen, with white neckcloths and flowers in their button-holes, were going through the arduous labours of waltzing, with that British seriousness which seems to be considered a necessity in such cases. "Without doubt," replied my neighbour with a sigh, "all this luxury is not in proportion to our profits. But it would be impossible to reduce it. It would discourage the old, and take away from the young all confidence in the future. Live and let live."

This morning, very early indeed, in a temperature which is now that of a fine May day, but which at noon will be tropical, I am walking alone on the crenellated walls of the town. I look towards the north, where Canton, properly speaking, lies—that is, the old town ; but, as at Peking, one only sees masses of trees surmounted here and there by a pagoda. The highest tower belongs to the Mohammedan mosque. On the horizon rise the "White Cloud" Mountains. I make my way through the suburb, as my object is to reach the French church. It is a noble building, in the Gothic style. The architect was a M. Lhermite, a young Frenchman, who died too soon for his reputation ; for he was, in my opinion, the equal, if not the superior, of the most distinguished architects of his country.* Alongside of the church is the house of the missionaries ; and further still, that of the Sisters of Charity, whom the French consul, as we have already said, thought it his duty to send to Hong-Kong after the Tien-tsin massacres. The five priests of the

* The palace of the governor at Saigon, and the town-hall of Hong-Kong, the two finest buildings of this kind that I have seen in the east, are the work of Lhermite.

Foreign Missionary College at Paris received me with the greatest kindness. They fear for their brethren scattered among the Christians in the provinces of Sze-chuen and Yünan which are far distant. What on earth will be their fate if the anti-European party should happen to get possession of the young emperor, or if the dynasty itself were to disappear? From the Mongolian wall to Canton, and from Peking to the heart of the empire, the soil trembles under your feet.

In passing through the western suburbs we visited the residence of a magnate, which was almost as magnificent as that of Eng. The gardens seemed to me finer and more vast. They have built a theatre in the middle of them. A pond divides it from a kiosk destined for the spectators: the women and their friends occupy the upper story. In general, the rich go to great expense to amuse their wives and daughters, *intra muros*, of course.

The street, which is very narrow, is thronged with people. Fortunately we have had places reserved for us in the angle of a doorway. There we wait amidst thousands of other curious spectators for the passage of the "God of War." Dislodged from his temple, which certain bankers have been restoring, he is going to return solemnly to his former abode. All Canton is on foot. The street is like a channel lashed by a tempest. From the side-streets fresh arrivals pour in every moment. Hence a continual flux and reflux. In the midst of this fearful crowd fruit and bon-bon sellers balance above their heads in the palms of their hands tempting dishes coquettishly arranged on little trays. No one thinks of touching them without having first deposited his *sapèques* in the tray. Would it be the same in Europe? "Would the mob in our capitals behave as well?" my guide asks proudly.

After waiting for a long time the dull sound of the gongs and an infernal music announce the approach of the god. Police-agents armed with *rotins* (a species of knout) open the procession. How in the world is it to pass through such a dense crowd? It is a mystery; but with the help of the bamboo and the goodwill of the people themselves they are formed in line, and I see defile before me a succession of shifting pictures of an indescribably strange and fairy-like character.

The procession had lasted for two hours. The elements of which it is composed file pass with great regularity. Coolies

carrying banners, of which the highest points rest on a fork which another coolie holds with great difficulty in order to maintain its equilibrium; screens of a curious shape, richly-sculptured, lacquered, and gilt; various offerings; divers utensils; richly-brocaded parasols; children of noble family mounted on ponies representing different gods; and young girls dressed in historic or fancy costumes, fastened to iron triangles so that they seem to fly in the air. There are courtesans who, wishing to give themselves an appearance of modesty, have adopted for the moment the stupid, sad expression of women of rank. Then come the ancients of the quarter who are received with loud acclamations by the people; then a number of young men of a respectable class, dressed simply but carefully; then men armed with halberds, pikes, and old swords. Bands of music, which succeed one another at short intervals, fill up the narrow passage with a bewildering noise. The hero of the feast closes the triumphal march. This god looks like a good-natured devil. His staring eyes, open mouth, and flat colossal ears frighten no one. Mars has nothing martial about him. Although gilt from head to foot, he is a sorry gentleman. Even the coolies, who bear him on a miserable litter, are not in any way impressed with the holiness of their mission: they are smoking, chattering, and laughing. So true is it that it is not enough to be born in Olympus; one must justify by one's personal qualities the advantages of position which it has pleased Heaven to give us. The crowd which was so restless, so turbulent, so eager when waiting for the procession, seems satisfied and satiated: it disperses slowly and peaceably. The rich Cantonese, like wise men, try to win the friendship of the people. One day processions, another plays, a third distribution of rice. *Panem et circenses.*

With all due respect to these divinities, and even, to a certain point, to this false god, I own that a group of young ladies during this religious ceremony gave me many distractions. In front of us, on the other side of the street, four young ladies, or young women, occupied the hall of a house let for the occasion. To judge by the comparative whiteness of their skins, their air, their simple but elegant dress, they are ladies of high rank. My guide confirms my supposition. Their hair is beautifully dressed, and two of them, even in Europe, would

pass for great beauties. Women of their rank ought to look apathetic and bored. It is *de rigueur* when they appear in public. The rules of society exact it. But when people begin to talk and laugh with one another the mask falls. That is what took place in the hall : their faces brightened ; their little almond eyes sent forth lightning glances ; and a malicious sceptical expression replaced the conventional look which had been put on at first. A matron, very much painted and very fat, a striking likeness of Madame Thierret of the Palais Royal, seemed to have the charge of them as duenna. She is imprudent enough to be shocked at the directions of my eye-glass ; and I must own it is not always that of the procession. She accordingly places herself before the door so as to prevent these young ladies from seeing or being seen. From thence, as by an electric wire, communications are established directly with the foreign devil ; a formal order to the duenna to allow their glances to have free course and for me full liberty to contemplate this scene of Chinese *high life*. Old gentlemen approach these ladies, bow profoundly, showing their fists, obtain in return a gracious smile, order tea for them, and then retire very respectfully. The young ladies meanwhile, seated on little stools, talk, laugh, play with their fans, and enjoy the fun of teasing and plaguing the duenna.

An order from the viceroy opens to us the doors of the great prison. It is an oblong building divided into several courts and surrounded by a double gallery. The inside one is composed of cells occupied by men ; the external one, which a narrow, uncovered passage separates from the great outer wall of the inclosure, is reserved for the women.

In the courts, those who are detained before or after their sentence push against one another. The greater portion will be executed at the coming term. Save in exceptional cases, executions in China take place only twice a year, in spring and autumn. At Canton it is a real carnage. Amongst these prisoners one set were painfully dragging their heavy chains, the others wore them with revolting indifference. To judge by their countenances, which were the most impudent and abject imaginable, these poor wretches were not innocents, or alas ! they are no longer so. This infected atmosphere, this per-

manent contact with vice, must stifle the last remains of the honourable or human feelings which they may have brought with them into this cursed place. One of them said to me: "I am accused of murder, but I deny it." The warder answered by a sardonic smile, which meant to say, "Torture will make you own it." A young man comes up to us with a half-idiotic look. At fifteen he had poisoned his schoolmaster, a crime which the Chinese law ranks with parricide. His youth alone saved him from a horrible death. Every year his father, who is of good family, implores his pardon of the viceroy. The viceroy sends it to the Tsungli-yaman, who submits the question to the empress regent. The request is always rejected.

We went into a room leading out of the gallery. It is meal-time. The half-famished wretches throw themselves on their miserable pittance and devour it like wild beasts. The click of their chains replaces the music at table. To compare this scene with that in the Zoological Gardens would be doing an injustice to the beasts.

In one great room without windows, and of which the profound darkness is only relieved by a few feeble rays of light from the sombre hall, we guess rather than see, behind a massive iron grating, the men condemned to the terrible torture of the *cangue*. They groan, they cry, they sigh. Some are lying on the bare ground, others are standing, leaning against the wall. A good many are crouched down on their heels; a few are walking round in a circle. All are incessantly moving and striving to find, what they never can, poor creatures!—a little comparative ease. On seeing us, they all crowded towards the grating, cast upon us looks of hatred, vengeance, and despair—real looks of the damned! Then they crawled away again into the darkness.

There are other dungeons perfectly dark, from whence we hear the most agonizing cries and howls accompanied by the clicking of chains and the dull thud of the bamboo. In one room, which was comparatively clean and well kept, some *gentlemen* prisoners were smoking their pipes and taking their meals served by their own domestics. These are privileged mortals, condemned to death, perhaps, but who, by paying an exorbitant price, have obtained the use of a separate room. The letting of these cells is one of the perquisites of the

mandarin director of the house. Other rooms are transformed into gambling-halls,—an excellent way of making money, and getting custom out of the prisoners.

We next went into the exterior gallery, reserved to the women, and separated, as I said, by a narrow, uncovered passage from the high wall round the prison. It is the sublime of the horrible, or, rather, it is the abyss of abomination—the imagination of Dante can alone rise so high or descend so low. What he only partially imagined with the help of his genius, I have seen with my own eyes, in flesh and blood. Everywhere a fallen woman is more degraded than a man in the same position. Made of a finer and more delicate stuff, she falls from a higher pinnacle, and, therefore, falls lower. One finds oneself here face to face with all kinds of physical horrors and moral degradation. And in this infamous den are shut up as hostages, pell-mell with the condemned, honest wives and young innocent daughters, whose husbands or fathers have fled from the pursuit of justice. Let us fly from this terrible spot since flight is possible to us! Before the door a certain number of living skeletons are chained, who are compelled to keep in certain attitudes. On their breasts is placed a notice in writing that they are there exposed to “public derision!” What a subject for mirth!

At the moment we crossed the great court which precedes the prison, a touching spectacle was presented to us. About thirty men, just arrived, were resting under the shade of a sycamore. There are men in the prime of life, others quite young, some few old; several of them seem to belong to the respectable classes. They are sorcerers or recruiters: their trade has been to furnish involuntary emigrants to the *bar-rancoës* of Macao. These unhappy creatures are bound by fours, their tails being fastened to strong cords. Sitting on their heels, or lying on the ground quite close to one another, they are like a flock of sheep. Death awaits them, and before death, torture. They know it. Every Chinaman knows his code by heart. The expression of their faces tells it plainly enough: some are crying in silence; others sigh deeply; a few seem to be the prey of abject terror; no one speaks. Passing by them an hour later, we found them smoking some cigarettes, which a good Samaritan had given them. For a

moment they forget their awful fate in this quiet enjoyment. A kind of apathetic indifference had relaxed the faces which we had seen contracted and set in sheer despair.

The pretorium or judgment hall, a little oblong court, is close to the great prison. The judge is seated in an open gallery, with a table before him loaded with briefs. On his right is a clerk, and on his left an interpreter, both of whom are standing. At a few steps in front of the table is the place reserved for the accused. On both sides are five or six subaltern agents of the tribunal. The executioner and his assistants, leaning against the wall alongside of their instruments of torture, stained and rusty with blood, await the signal to make use of them. The archdeacon and I place ourselves by the side of the interpreter. Speaking in a low voice, which is the only concession he makes to the majesty of the court, my guide rapidly translates for me the essential parts of the interrogatory. The court is quite empty. There is not a single spectator save the two strangers, *i.e.*, ourselves. Neither the judge nor his assistants take the smallest notice of us; they pretend not even to perceive our presence.

The judge is a man of about forty years of age, perhaps fifty. A pale face, cat's eyes, adorned with a pair of enormous glasses, a repulsive expression, his dress simple but cared for, his nails like bird's claws, on his thumb a great jade ring—his whole person respectable, imposing, and hideous to the last degree. This Chinese Minos bends over the table, and never takes his eyes off the two sets of papers, one of which is written in black ink, and the other in red. Behind his seat stand his servants. From time to time one of them passes a long pipe over his arm, and withdraws it quickly, his master contenting himself with one or two puffs. Although the judge understands and speaks the southern dialect perfectly, he is supposed to know nothing but the mandarin, the language of the north; hence the necessity of the interpreter. He never himself takes any part in the interrogatory. That is the business of the clerk and the interpreter; but he directs them by saying a few words from time to time in a low voice. There is the most profound silence throughout the audience. Shall I own it? The look of the judge freezes me with terror. There is nothing

human in that bronze face—not a trace of mercy or of charity. I look around me, and I see the same expression on all these different countenances. I try and put myself in the place of the accused, and feel a cold perspiration mounting to my brow.

They brought in the first prisoner, or rather they carried him in in a basket. Here, on this very spot, yesterday, he was put to the torture. They broke his ankle-bones. To-day he is simply a packet of bones and flesh, incapable of answering a word. His life is ebbing fast. On a sign from the judge he is carried off.

A young man of the lower orders is now brought in, loaded with chains. He kneels in the place set apart for the accused; they always kneel before the tribunal. Fear and craft are combined on his ignoble face, where crime and vice have left indelible traces. After the usual questions as to the family of the accused, his parents and grandparents, the interpreter says to him: "You stole thirteen dollars?" The accused denies it obstinately. On a slight movement from the hand of the judge the executioner advances. At the sight of him abject terror seizes the unhappy culprit. He hastens to own it. "Yes, he stole the money, but it was from hunger, to buy rice." "In what shop? Was it in such or such a street?" (The scene, probably, of some other crime—a murder perhaps, committed by this very man.) Here the accused turns pale, hesitates, sobs, implores the mercy of the judge, and denies the crime again. The interpreter, who till now has tried to intimidate him, takes, all of a sudden, a soft, insinuating voice. "Why deny it, my child?" he says; "own it; and you will then only have to praise our tender mercies. Come along; take off his chains." This to the executioner, who obeys. "And now, my child, speak." But "my child" is not so easily taken in. Here begins a struggle between these two men of audacity, lying, and *ruse*; the one knowing that his life is at stake; the other, his reputation as inquisitor. The coaxing tone of the latter contrasts with the look of hatred and ever-growing terror which may be read on the face of the accused. At last the poor wretch persists in his denial, upon which the judge, in a low voice, speaks to the executioner, who, with his assistants, throw him down, stretch him on the ground, strip off his clothes, and then, squatted on his heels, the executioner, counting each

stroke in a loud voice, applies at least a hundred blows on his body with a long bamboo. I own I almost fainted at the horrible sight, and my excellent archdeacon was very nearly as bad. The assistants looked at us with disdainful surprise. Never, as long as I live, shall I forget the screams and howls of this poor fellow. After some minutes, however, the roars ceased. He was only an inert bleeding mass—impossible to proceed to-day with the second part of the question—that is, to break his legs. They drag him off, therefore, or rather, he is carried away.

The young thief is replaced by two gentlemen of respectable appearance—a merchant and his head clerk; the latter, a young man elegantly dressed; the former, a man of a certain age. They are accused of having passed contraband salt. After having bowed profoundly to the judge they knelt as usual. Neither the one nor the other seemed much moved. The old man began by pleading guilty; the clerk tried to defend himself. “He had only obeyed the orders given to him. He did not know that he was acting contrary to law. It was true that he had given some rice to the customhouse officers. But was it a crime to feed the hungry?” Whilst he was speaking, his master, evidently anxious as to his revelations, never took his eyes off him, and tried by signs to impose silence upon him. This scene is suddenly interrupted by the judge. He takes a huge English watch out of his pocket, consults it attentively, and then suddenly rises, and closes the sitting. They carry off the two merchants, who have evidently bribed some one in court. The judge, followed by his suite, without deigning to honour us with so much as a look, takes his solemn departure; the clerk and the interpreter shut up their ink-bottles, and fold up their briefs; the executioner and his assistants put away their horrible instruments into a recess. Everything is done in perfect silence, but with order and system. This pretorium is a real hell, but a hell which is well organized.

Mr. Hughes, the English consul *ad interim*, is good enough to accompany me to the yamen. A discharge of little cannon, arranged on steps in the court, fire a salute, and thus give notice of our arrival. The viceroy comes to meet us, and takes us into a prettily-sculptured and lacquered summer-house,

which opens into the garden. The sun, which is already low, shines through some exotic plants into the little apartment where, seated round a square table, we give ourselves up to the enjoyment of a regular Chinese meal. The viceroy never ceases loading my plate with all the tit-bits he can find in the little saucers with which the table is covered. I return the civility in a like manner. The champagne is served in tea-cups. The servants are numerous, and well dressed. The scene, as a whole, might have been borrowed from an old lacquered screen.

The personal friend of the late emperor, and for nine years in the most important government of China, as it embraces the two great provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, and also the most difficult to administer, owing to the necessary intercourse with foreigners, Yue is one of the most remarkable men in the empire, thought highly of at court, and likely very soon to form part of the ministry. Everyone praises his intelligence and sweetness. He is sixty-two, and has the exterior appearance of a statesman grown old in the management of important affairs. He has a noble and clever face; a clear, frank eye; and a fine and caustic smile. He wore his official costume, which is a dark-blue tunic, with the lining of a lighter blue, and the front above the breast richly embroidered in gold. Round his neck hung a huge rosary. A magnificent peacock's plume hung from his cap, which was ornamented with a crystal button. The conversation turned on different subjects. There was a great interchange of compliments, but few commonplace phrases.

At our departure we had to cross a variety of rooms and passages. The viceroy accompanied us to our sedan-chairs. At each door we had to *chin-chin*. There is nothing so ridiculous as to see a European perform this ceremony. You raise your two fists to the height of your forehead and give them a rotatory movement; whilst, slightly bending forward towards one another, you look at your friend fixedly between the eyes. But the viceroy acquitted himself of this grotesque duty with such grace and dignity that it gave me quite a new insight into the *chin-chin*. In fact, ever since my visit to his yamen, when I see Chinese gentlemen executing these gymnastics, I am no longer inclined to laugh. As an antidote to the too great

familiarity of manners which we have borrowed from the Americans and which is invading our own country, I would venture humbly to recommend to those who give the 'ton' to our European *salons*, that the *chin-chin* should be acclimatized.

In the village of Fati (field of flowers) we went to see the large nursery-gardens of the florists who provide Canton with these luxuries. What a strange and perverted taste they display ! The singular pleasure of metamorphosing orange-trees into vases, box-bushes into dragons with porcelain eyes, and oleanders into monsters, cypresses into junks and pheasants ! and all these plants grow and flourish and are reproduced ; painfully, it is true, and awkwardly, just as the women walk painfully and awkwardly on their mutilated feet. The principle is the same. The genius of this nation, which in everything is both cruel and subtle, delights in mutilating without killing.

While descending one of the numerous streams which throw themselves into the Pearl River, we heard the sound of a gong, mingled with piteous cries of pain. It is a thief whom they are marching through the great street of a village which has a bad reputation. The man with the tum-tum precedes the penitent ; the executioner follows, showering blows on his naked body. The villagers look on with open mouths. This sight seems to amuse them : I should doubt if it would correct them.

It is nearly night. We are in the south-east quarter of the town, in the *City of the Dead*. Fancy a whole town full of corpses ! Here are provisionally deposited the bodies of Che-kiang natives who have died at Canton, waiting for their relations, who come to fetch them and transport them into their own province. Each coffin is placed in a *chambre ardente* which is preceded by a little hall. It is the system of corporations, so essentially Chinese, applied to the dead. The greatest cleanliness reigns in this necropolis. Not the slightest smell betrays the fact of decomposition. One passes from catafalque to catafalque. A man with a lighted torch precedes us. What a melancholy walk !

We have just passed through a little street lined on one side with shops where pottery is made, and on the other by a brick

wall. Fortunately they are not *at work* on that side. But we see all along the wall the instruments which are made use of : the tables on which a man is stretched when he is to be hacked in pieces, crosses for crucifixions, little cages where the heads are exposed, vases filled with a kind of paste to take the flesh off the heads, &c., &c. All these utensils, as one sees but too plainly, have recently been used. At the time of the public executions the soil in this street is literally soaking with blood. Let us hurry our steps and pass on.

December 2.—For my voyage to Macao the viceroy has been gracious enough to place at my disposal the *Peng-chao-hoy*, a steamboat belonging to the state, used for the customhouse service. It is a magnificent steamer, commanded by an old officer of the Austrian navy, Captain Vasallo, a native of Prague. At five o'clock in the morning he comes to fetch me in his gig ; and after having woke the peaceable inhabitants of Shamien by a noisy salute of guns, the red and white Austrian flag flying, I think, for the first time alongside of the dragon of the Celestial Empire, the *Peng* descends the Pearl River, making about twelve knots an hour. M. Bowra, inspector of the imperial customhouses at Canton, and Mr. Thomas, one of the residents in that town, are good enough to accompany me.

He who has not visited Canton has not seen China. Peking is central Asia—the town of the Bible ; above all, a camp—the nomad tent during a halt. Canton represents China ; Peking, Mongolia. Canton is the centre of a huge population, civilized and yet perverted. In its crowded streets one sees the whole life of the Chinese people. At every step the eye is surprised, pleased, and disgusted.

At breakfast we meet in our amiable captain's cabin. Here we are in Austria. Furniture, curtains, carpets all come from Vienna. On the walls are portraits of the emperor and empress, of the Archduke Maximilian, and various views of our common but distant country. At our meal we are served with "Gumpoldskirchen," a wine well known and much appreciated in Vienna.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the steamer doubles the Port da Barra, on which floats the venerable flag of Portugal. A quarter of an hour later we land at Macao.

CHAPTER VII.

MACAO.¹—FROM THE 2nd TO THE 4th OF DECEMBER.

Its decay.—The question of the coolies.—Progress of the Chinese element.
Camoës.

It is a feast day. Mixed with a group of young dandies, who are dressed in that exaggerated style and bad taste which characterizes the Iberians in their "Sunday best," I see arriving in sedan-chairs on the steps of the church, which they painfully climb, a number of Macao beauties, all covered up in their black *capas*. They have dark skins, slits of eyes, and look like great packets of flesh. Followed by their duennas and Malay servants, they go into the church, and do as they do in Portugal—that is, they squat indolently on their heels, murmur a few prayers, and play with their fans. If the servants, like all the women of the lower classes, have a darker skin and eyes more slit than their mistresses, it is that they have more Chinese or Malay blood in their veins; they are not quite so fat, and wear *capas* of calico of the most brilliant colours possible. There are not a dozen families of *pur sang* left in Macao. In this number I do not include the doctors or the civil and military functionaries, whom the government sends here at certain seasons, and who, being miserably paid, when they have served their time, return to their own country. The days when Portuguese merchants came here to make their fortunes belong to history,

¹ Macao is a little peninsula formed by three little hills united in a kind of plateau which is entirely covered with houses. An isthmus connects it with the continent. In this respect the analogy with Cadiz is very striking.

or rather to the age of myths. No one prospers here except the coolie-brokers and the proprietors of the gambling-houses. Shut these up (they told me), suppress the coolie trade and you will see the grass grow in the streets of Macao. Besides the Portuguese, there are three English residents and five Germans—both one and the other merchants without any business. Sometimes, though very rarely, the governor invites them to meet one another at an evening party. This is the only place, in fact, where the Germanic and Lusitanian races meet, saving in the streets, which are always deserted, and contrast wonderfully, in this respect; with the Chinese quarter, which is full of life and activity. There you find a succession of tempting shops (full of customers), flanked by huge signboards; *restaurants* full of consumers, and gambling-houses, which are always crammed. Between a double row of low houses built in the native style, you meet porters stumbling against one another, hawking their goods in sharp cries or songs, coolies bearing heavy cases or sedan-chairs, and innumerable foot-passengers, men, women, and children. It is real China. But turn round that corner and you find yourself in a country-town in Portugal. No one is in the streets, unless it be some soldiers who are lounging about, smoking their cheroots, or, very rarely, a sedan-chair, filled to overflowing by one of those ladies with whom we made acquaintance under the church porch. The houses, which are of stone, whitewashed, or coloured red or yellow, bear the stamp of the mother-country.

One may say that not one of these is older than the year 1622, and that very few are later than 1650. Behind the houses, and on each side, above walls ornamented with vases, or crowned with massive stone balustrades, we perceive cedars, banyan-trees, and exotic shrubs with shiny leaves. The magnificent cathedral of St. Paul, built by the Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century and transformed into a barrack under the Pombal ministry, was entirely destroyed by fire a few years ago. Only the façade remains, which, though overdone with ornament, is very fine. The other churches are of strange shapes, and without any artistic pretensions. The flights of stairs and heavy balustrades remind you of Abrantes, Santarem, and Viseu. At every step one comes upon imposing buildings.

They are old convents of monks and nuns, now transformed into barracks without soldiers, museums without any of the treasures which they are destined to hold, and public offices full of clerks who are dying of hunger. The *praya grande*, or quay, is a suite of houses turned towards the sea and looking to the south—it reminds one of the Junqueira of Lisbon. By a strong hyperbole, the people of Macao compare it to the Chiaja of Naples. Here they enjoy in summer the south-western monsoon; and in all seasons a very fine view of the coast of *terra firma* and the archipelago which surrounds it. These islands, deprived of all vegetation, saving some shrubs burnt up by the sun, arrest your attention by their fantastic shapes and by the shifting effects of light which this sky, although less beautiful than that of the south of Europe, does not cease to produce.

The Chinese element gains ground continually. Nothing can be more natural. The Chinese represent life, the Portuguese, sleep, if not death. One sees in consequence the Chinese settled in some of the finest and oldest Portuguese houses. I have visited some of them. The metamorphosis is complete. The image of the Madonna, which certainly was not wanting in any one of these houses, is replaced by the altars of the ancestors. There is no longer a trace of that simplicity of furniture, that disdain for the conveniences of life which characterizes the homes of people of the Iberian race. You find, on the contrary, a thousand little useless things which are the delight of all Chinese in easy circumstances: toys, rolls of stuff or painted paper, strange pots and pans, porcelain vases, and all those little nick-nacks and china monsters which we call *Chinoiseries*. Whilst the English and German residents are leaving Macao because their business is at a standstill, and whilst the Portuguese element, by the continual infusion of Asiatic blood, becomes vitiated, and finally dies out, the Chinese, thanks to their extraordinary activity and marvellous sobriety, are accomplishing what their government tried in vain to obtain, either by force or artifice: under the very shadow of the Portuguese flag they are retaking possession of the territory which formerly was conquered by Lusitanian heroes.[†]

[†] The Chinese government would never recognize the occupation by the Portuguese of the Macao peninsula.

The increase of the Chinese element, which is so odious to the Portuguese, has given rise to a law which reminds one of those by which California tries to defend herself from the invasion of the yellow race. At Macao, the Chinese are prohibited from building houses in the native style on the *praya grande* or the adjoining streets—a measure which is as unjust as it is powerless and impolitic. The result is simply that the Chinese buy Portuguese houses. When these pass into native hands their value is doubled. I am living now in a magnificent and spacious mansion surrounded by a fine garden close to the *praya grande*. The proprietor, who has his own reasons for not selling it, has let it to a Canton merchant, whose family pass the summer here, for the ridiculously small sum of forty dollars a month! If sold to the Chinese, it would represent at least double its actual value.

The causes of the decay of trade in this place are—the competition of the Chinese, and the opening of the treaty ports.

Everything, in fact, conspires to ruin Macao. Yet it was the great emporium of the first Portuguese merchants; and since the last half of the sixteenth century, the centre of Catholic science in the extreme east. It is even to-day the link which binds this branch of the Portuguese race to faith and civilization.

I have received several visits to-day. The governor, Vice-Admiral Sergio de Souza, seems to me to deserve his popularity. The streets are clean and the roads well kept; everything which relates to the administration is perfect; that is his great merit. The coolies give him a great deal of anxiety. He told me he did all he possibly could to regulate and humanize this slave-trade of the yellow race. The foreign merchants who came to see me, spoke bitterly of the increasing stagnation of trade. "Canton," they exclaimed, "is no longer what it was; and Macao was only a kind of supplement to Canton. The vessels which had shipped their black tea at the latter port used to come here to complete their cargoes. But the tea arrives no longer either at Canton or Macao! It is sent to the ports on the Yang-tse-kiang. Consequently there are neither ships nor business. It is only the coolie trade that brings in any profits, and men who have any regard for their own reputation,

like the English and Germans, will not embark in this infamous traffic. These are the results of the pusillanimity of the English government. What we want is a more energetic policy." Thus the more they suffer, the more warlike they become. In the eyes of these merchants the only panacea for all these evils, is war!

I have visited the *barrancoës* great in detail. It is a large building painted blood-colour, and containing some good-sized halls. On the walls are placards in large Chinese characters telling the conditions on which coolies are engaged; either for Peru or the Havanas. On their landing, they are shut up in the *barrancoës*: then they collect them together, read to them the conditions of their engagement, and ask them, three or four times over, if they are really determined to start? When they have given their definitive and final assent, which is done by a formal act before a notary, they are considered bound. It often happens that at the last moment they declare that they wish to go home again. One day out of 800 coolies, 300 demanded to be sent back again. As they had not made any formal engagement, they were put back on Chinese territory. Those who are really engaged are taken on board ship. These embarkations take place three times a week. A number of fine sailing-ships, anchored in the roadstead, weigh anchor the moment their human cargo is completed. According to their destination and the season, they either double Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, and generally take three months on the voyage. At this moment they are building some large steamers to replace the sailing-ships. The duty of the governor is to see that the number of emigrants in each ship, which is fixed by certain rules and regulations, shall never be exceeded. Impartial witnesses have assured me that Admiral Souza has the best will in the world to provide for the well-being of the emigrants, and especially to prevent that any of them should be put on board contrary to their own will. He also strives to insure that they shall be well treated during the passage. For this purpose he favours a practice which gives to the captains a premium of 1*l.* sterling and the first officer a premium of 5*s.* for each coolie who shall be disembarked in good condition either at Callao or Havana. But the benevolent

efforts of the Portuguese governor, although energetically supported by the Chinese authorities, who put the recruiters to death without mercy, are very often paralysed by the venality of subaltern agents, by the connivance and cupidity of the *brokers* (Spanish or Portuguese), and by the captains themselves, who, after having taken in at Macao their complete cargo of human flesh, huddle together at the bottom of the hold many other poor creatures, who, by the contrivance of the brokers and the Chinese recruiters, have been put on board from some solitary bay or creek on the coast.

Lastly, one must bear in mind the thousand artifices which the recruiting bodies make use of to entrap their victims. Here is one which is most frequently employed: the agent goes from village to village, declaring that he is going to exchange his present miserable condition for the brilliant lot which awaits him in America. They believe him on his word; he makes dupes, leads them to Macao, and goes through all the required formalities. Then comes the moment of definitive engagement. The emigrants go in single file before the notary's table, passing through a narrow, boarded passage like those one sees before our theatres or at railway stations. The recruiter by an excess of civility, begs his victims to pass on before him. While they are signing their agreements, he takes care to make off and disappear.

To sum up all I have said, I believe the coolie slave trade to be as bad as that of the negroes. During the passage, which is always horrible, the latter perhaps suffered rather more. But once arrived at their destination, the slaves found, in the very interest of their proprietor, who was anxious to preserve his capital, a guarantee of comparative well-being. The coolies have not even this advantage; and they tell me that their fate is the more lamentable because they belong to a race which is more civilized and more intelligent than the negroes.

At Macao, Camoës composed his poem. In a garden, which is badly kept, but of an indescribable beauty, between natural rocks and fine old trees, they still point out on a hill the poet's grotto. A profound solitude reigns there; the silence

is only interrupted by the rustling of the leaves; the eye revels in an enchanting view over the town, the sea, the opposite coast, and the archipelago. Involuntarily it brought back my thoughts to Tasso's oak at St. Onofrio. A last and melancholy analogy between these two great and unhappy contemporaries!

On a stone some verses of the *Lusiadas* are inscribed: complaints of royal ingratitude. They might have chosen better. Why remind everyone of this poor gentleman's miseries? Why not rather follow the bard into those ethereal regions of Parnassus, where, surrounded by his peers, he is now celebrating his greatest triumphs? Inspiration, that necessity for singing which belongs to the nightingale, patriotism and devotion to his king, vibrated in the chords of his lyre, and not the hope of obtaining court favours, a little gold, or a ribbon! At a few steps from the grotto is a cavern, where, according to the legend, Camoës observed the stars through a fent in the rocks. Poor Camoës! thy star was then being eclipsed, but it has reappeared on the horizon, and will shine there to the end of time!

CHAPTER VIII

HOMEWARD BOUND.—FROM THE 6th OF DECEMBER TO THE 13th OF JANUARY.

Departure from Hong-Kong.—The missionary question.—State of China as regards its relations with European powers.—Arrival at Marseilles.

AT twelve o'clock precisely, the *Tigre* of the French Messageries Maritimes left the port of Hong-Kong. With the help of the north-east monsoon, which pushes us on, we may hope to arrive in thirty-eight days at Marseilles.

On leaving the extreme East I feel myself overwhelmed with pleasant recollections—with grateful ones; especially for the cordial welcome which everywhere awaited me. Would you believe it? Saving the first few days at Yokohama, and whilst I was travelling in the interior, where there are no Europeans, I have not slept in an inn one single night since I left America.

In Europe, I prefer an hotel. But here, it is a different thing. Your friends discover your itinerary, and give notice of your approaching arrival to their correspondents in the towns you are about to visit. The steamer which brings you comes into harbour. A whole fleet of *sampans*, little boats and skiffs of all kinds, surround it immediately. In a gig, rowed by men in livery, you perceive a young gentleman dressed in white from head to foot, with his hand on the rudder and a cheroot in his mouth. He jumps on board, hunts you out, guesses who you are, and carries you off. His "boys" take charge of your luggage. Here you are on shore, installed in a charming room, slightly shaded

by a veranda. Your bath is all ready, your toilet made, and dinner announced. You go into the drawing-room, where the mistress of the house, beautifully dressed, welcomes you in the most cordial manner. Generally a charming person herself, she is equally charmed to see you. Everybody is; for you are going to break the monotony—the *ennui*—which is the gnawing worm of colonial life. A European, a fresh arrival, who is come to amuse himself and not to be a rival—this *rara avis* is always welcome. I do not dwell upon material enjoyments, though they are not to be despised; I am only speaking of the intellectual and social advantages which you derive from this generous and often princely hospitality. You become, for the time, one of the family, and at the same moment you find yourself, as it were, in a new world. Every hour is rich with fresh knowledge. Count the many hours lost *vis-à-vis* to one's self in European hotels! Here, from morning till night, you only hear people talk of local affairs. Whilst your host is at his office, you chatter with his wife, you play with the babies, or you take lessons in “pigeon” English from their good Chinese nurse. In fact, you see and hear of nothing else but China and Japan. At all hours you are in the midst of it.

I am going to take advantage of this leisure time to sum up my impressions. Let us see what it is which at this moment engrosses the attention of all foreigners living in the “ports.” Two questions are uppermost in men's minds: that of the missionaries, and the future relations of China with Europe.

In spite of all the efforts which the French governments had made, through the intervention of M. de Lagrenée, to obtain an edict of toleration in favour of the Christians, our religion remained for a long time severely prohibited throughout the Celestial Empire. The missionaries who taught, and the natives who embraced that faith, were exposed to periodical persecutions and continual vexations. Their fate, their property, their very lives, depended on the good pleasure of the mandarin. The utmost and the best thing they could obtain was, that he would deign to ignore their existence

The treaties of Tien-tsin and the convention of Peking,* concluded by China with England and France, put an end to this state of things.

The eighth article of the English treaty runs as follows :—

“The Christian religion, as it is professed by the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches men that they should treat others as they wish to be treated themselves. In consequence, those who teach this religion will have an equal right to the protection of the Chinese authorities, and may not be pursued or contravened, provided that they keep to their own affairs, and are not guilty of any infraction of the laws.”

The thirteenth article of the French treaty, which is much more explicit, is thus conceived :—

“The Christian religion, having for its essential object to bring men to the knowledge and practice of virtue, members of all Christian communions shall enjoy entire security for their persons and their property, and the free exercise of their religious practices ; and an efficacious protection shall be given to all missionaries who desire to enter peaceably into the interior of the kingdom, furnished with regular passports. No hindrance shall be placed by the authorities of the Chinese Empire to the right, which is recognized in China, of every individual to embrace, if he wishes it, the Christian faith and to follow its practices, and he shall not be subject to any pains or penalties for such an act.”

The sixth article of the supplementary convention concluded with France, at Peking, adds an important clause :—

“The religious and charitable establishments which were confiscated and taken from the Christians during the recent persecutions, shall be restored to their owners, with the cemeteries and all other edifices belonging to them.”

The total number of Catholic Chinese Christians is reckoned (though somewhat arbitrarily) at 500,000 by some people ; by others, at 1,000,000 or 2,000,000. The largest Christian missions are in the provinces of Sze-chuen, Kiang-su, Ngan-hwei,

* The English treaty was signed at Tien-tsin, on the 26th of June, 1858, and an additional convention at Peking, on the 24th of October, 1860. The French treaty of Tien-tsin is dated 27th June, 1858, and the convention, or treaty of peace of Peking, on the 25th October, 1860.

and Chi-li. In this vast empire, about 500 European missionaries, three parts of whom are French, and from 160 to 200 Chinese priests, divide among one another the cure of souls.

Here is the detail :—

French priests from the Paris "*Missions Étrangères*," in the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si (they can hardly yet be said to have a regular footing in Kwang-si), in Sze-chuen, Yunnan and Kwei-chow ; also in Mandjouria, in the Corea (from whence they have lately been expelled), and in Thibet.

The Dominicans (Spanish) : in Fuh-kien, Hunan, and the Island of Formosa.

The priests (French) of the congregation of the Lazarist mission : in Che-kiang, Chi-li (the northern part, Pekin), Western Chi-li, and Kiang-si.

The Jesuits (French, and some few Italians), in Kiang-su, Southern Chi-li, and Ngan-hwei.

The Franciscans (Italians), in Shan-si, Shen si, Kang-su, and Hu-peh.

The priests (Italians) of the Propagation of the Faith at Rome : in Honan, where the hostile spirit of the population is such that they have hardly been able to go into it, in the island of Hong-Kong, and in the district of Se-non (Kwang-tung).

The priests of the Belgian congregation (for the Foreign Missions of China), in Mongolia.

The Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul (Sisters of Charity, French) : at Pekin, Ning-po, Shanghai, Hang-chow (Che-kiang), and in the islands of Chusan.

The Carmelites, at Shanghai.

The Sisters "*Auxiliatrices des Âmes du Purgatoire*," (French), at Sü-kiawei.

The Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres (French), at Canton, and since the Tien-tsin massacres of the Sisters of Charity), at Hong-Kong.

The Sisters (Italian) of the Milanese community, called of Canossa, at Hong-Kong.

In each province there is a vicar-general. Sze-chuen and Chi-li reckon three. Each vicariate is subdivided into districts, according to the number of priests and missions in each.

The congregation of the Propagation of the Faith at Rome

is the link between the Holy See and the missions. His procurator-general, who is to-day the Very Rev. P. Raimondi, and who resides at Hong-Kong, is his organ and mouthpiece to the various apostolic vicariates. It is he who by circulars makes known to them the Pope's orders and wishes ; and this service is so well organized, that the letters of the procurator-general arrive at the most distant vicariates in less than two months and a half.

The Chinese priests all belong to families converted for the last two or three centuries. No recent convert or neophyte is admitted to the priesthood except with a special dispensation, which is rarely asked for, and still more rarely granted. The native priests are firm believers, studious, and zealous ; but they are not energetic ; they are timid and incapable of direction. They eagerly seek theological discussions ; but more subtle than profound, they rarely go beyond a certain point in science. *Vis-à-vis* European missionaries, they feel and sometimes resent their inferiority ; but if treated with gentleness and discernment, they become excellent fellow-labourers. With regard to morals, they leave nothing to be desired. They have never yet been promoted to the higher grades of the hierarchy.

The native Sisters are very holy, and do a great deal of good, but they need constant direction.

To enable a mission really to flourish, the missionaries ought to be able to have frequent and regular communications with each other. But in many of the provinces the enormous distances place an insurmountable obstacle to this continual and personal intercourse which is nevertheless so desirable among the members of the same mission. But in the creation of fresh ones they always strive so to arrange the stations as that they might touch ; and that the priests might be able to see one another once or twice a month. The pioneers of Christianity are the catechumens. Going from village to village, they awaken curiosity, answer all the questions which may be addressed to them, and often leave behind them the seeds of conversion. Then the native priests come ; and it is only after the ground has been duly prepared that the European missionaries arrive to complete the work by opening a mission. As regards the women, the first duties or the apostolate are confided to the native Sisters. They proceed like the catechumens,

gathering together the women and young girls in some friendly house, explaining to them the fundamental dogmas of our faith, and awakening in their minds a desire for conversion. That is the moment for the missionary to step in to complete the instruction and confer baptism. The Chinese neophytes are rarely fervent; but they remain faithful, especially as long as they stay in their native villages. Those who travel a great deal, and remain a long time absent from home or settled in pagan towns, lose their faith very often, without, however, publicly apostatizing.

The old Chinese Christians are devoted to their religion. In Sze-chuen, where they are very numerous, they have a sense of their own strength and importance, and defend themselves vigorously, sometimes with arms in their hands, against the persecutions of the "literates."

The inherent dangers of the apostolate in China are well known. The miserable existence of the Sisters and missionaries is less so. The ranks of these noble and devoted men and women are thinned, in consequence, with fearful rapidity. "We left Europe ten years ago," said one missionary to me. "Counting the six Sisters, we were twenty-four in all. With the exception of four, including myself, all the rest have died. The diplomats and consuls," he continued, "bear their residence in China well enough. The great mortality among the missionaries cannot, therefore, be attributed to the climate. It is to be explained by the very hard lives we are compelled to live; especially from the Chinese food, the want of medical help, and the privations of every kind to which we are necessarily exposed."

During my journey in China the question of the missionaries was a constant subject of conversation. The memorandum of Prince Kung^{*} and the massacres of Tien-tsin had brought the topic prominently forward. Everyone was discussing the "missionary question." Let us listen to the foreigners established in the ports, to the Chinese government, to the missionaries themselves, and lastly, to the representatives of the Christian powers in China.

I cannot better reproduce the opinion of the trade ports than

^{*} Annexed to the circular of the Tsungli-yamen, of the 9th February, 1871.

by borrowing again from the book of the English consul at Shanghai.¹ Mr. Medhurst is both English and Protestant:—

“It is the fashion now,” he writes, “to complain of the Protestant missionaries, and to compare them in an unfavourable manner with their Roman colleagues. . . . I shall avoid this kind of parallel, and content myself with considering both one and the other as regards their missionary activity in China. . . . One sees very little of the Catholic missionaries, although their number, compared to the Protestants, is legion. Their system is, from the first moment of their arrival, to advance as far as possible into the interior, carefully to avoid all contact with European merchants, to disguise themselves as Chinese, and to work in the dark and with indefatigable ardour in the different stations occupied by their brethren for many years’ if not for centuries. Their devotion is remarkable—their success astonishing; and I am among those who think that they have done, and are doing, a great deal of good. They strive to gain proselytes by means of education, a process necessarily slow, but of which the result, as regards the number and the solid nature of the conversions, is all the more satisfactory. In any town or village where there is a Catholic mission one is sure to find a kernel of Christian families, in whom the faith has been transmitted from generation to generation; and I have been often struck by the peace and look of respectability which one sees in these communities, especially when compared with the pagan inhabitants around them; as also at the obedience and attachment which the converts show to their ‘spiritual father,’ by which name they habitually call the priests.”²

Mr. Medhurst, however, regrets the clauses which have been inserted in the French treaty. According to his view, the Catholic priests, who had hitherto been obliged to live hidden lives, have been emboldened, in consequence of these concessions, to demand a restitution of their property, which had been confiscated from political motives, and lately to arrogate

¹ “The Foreigner in Far Cathay.” My reader must forgive the anachronism which I am committing by inserting in the text of my journal of 1871 passages from a book only published in 1872.

² I have not the book in question: so that Mr. Medhurst must excuse the translation if it be not altogether an accurate one. (Note of Translator.)

to themselves a kind of jurisdiction over the native members of their Church, which may infringe on their duties as Chinese subjects. He also thinks that the Catholic and Protestant missionaries commit a fault in erecting magnificent churches with spires, without the least deference for Chinese prejudices.

Lastly, the author blames the Sisters of Charity for admitting children into their orphanages, thereby, as he imagines, furnishing their enemies with a pretext for spreading calumnious reports.

Others, less moderate than Mr. Medhurst, lift up their voices against missions in general, and dispute their practical utility. Like all the world, however, or, at any rate, like all those who have spoken to me on this matter, they admit the superiority of the Catholic missionaries over the Protestant ones.

The Catholic missions date back 200 or 300 years. The teaching and propagation of the faith have never been interrupted, and among the numerous Christian missions scattered over the surface of this great country, there are some of considerable importance. The Roman Catholic missionaries know China better than anyone; and it is from them that the diplomatic bodies receive the best and most certain information as to what is going on in the most distant, and most inaccessible points of the empire.* All this they are willing to allow; but they are afraid that the missionaries may become too exacting, and, by exciting the opposition of the mandarins, thereby hinder their trade.

“What is the use,” these men say, “of preaching the Gospel? The Chinese do not understand it. They are not yet ripe for the dogmas and truths of Christianity. Allow the action of time, and you will see. Civilize men first before you convert them. Already the great wall which surrounded China may be said to have ceased to exist. Our cannons have made breaches in it, and a new element has been introduced into this country, formerly so hermetically closed, and to-day opening more and more. This new element is ourselves. We bring them new ideas, give them a feeling of security, of cleanliness,

* When transmitting to Lord Granville Prince Kung's proclamation on the massacres of Tien-tsin, Mr. Wade adds:—“We shall learn from the Roman missionaries how far this proclamation will have been spread in the interior.” *Blue-Book, China, I. p. 222.*

of well-cleaned, well-swept, well-lit streets, railroads, and telegraphs. Add to this the influence of those Chinese who return from America, Australia, and the Straits of Malacca. They have adopted, to a certain degree, the tastes, ideas, and habits of Europeans. These are the real missionaries. When the Chinese shall be sufficiently enlightened to laugh at their superstitions, they will perhaps become Christians. If the Catholic priests, instead of preaching, if the English, German, and American parsons, instead of selling bibles, were to spread little pamphlets on useful knowledge, or illustrated newspapers, or popular treatises on physics and mechanics, they would bring about the transformation of this country."

When you answer, "But the emigrants come back from California, Australia, and Singapore, more Chinese and more hostile to foreigners than they were when they went," they only smile and hold their tongues. However, everyone does not share in these illusions:—

"I have constantly found," writes Mr. Medhurst,¹ "that the Chinese do not improve by contact with foreigners. . . . The dominant classes tolerate us; but they would welcome the day when they saw the last factory demolished and the last ship leave their shores. The emigrants, when they return, fall instinctively back into their old grooves, and look upon their sojourn among foreigners as a trial which has had to be borne, but which is happily over. Even Chinese of a certain rank, who have lately visited the West with a quasi-diplomatic character, do not appear to have been in the least touched or impressed by what they have seen, and are in no way disposed to second the progress of civilization."

The author cites Chung-how as an example, the commissioner of the three ports at Tien-tsin. He saw him when he embarked for Europe on board a magnificent steamer of the Messageries Françaises, and he visited him in London at the fashionable Grosvenor Hotel. On both these occasions the luxury which surrounded him seemed in no way to awaken the attention of this great personage, or to strike him more than if he had been miserably installed in a junk, or in a dirty Chinese inn. Mr. Medhurst thinks that the spirit of this nation is incapable of ridding itself of its traditional ideas and customs.

¹ "The Foreigner in Far Cathay," p. 176.

Thus the public of the ports wishes for the civilization of China, but doubts the efficacy of any missions. It has a very high opinion of the personal qualities of the Catholic missionaries, but considers them rather as a source of embarrassment. As to the Sisters, they blame what they call their "imprudence," but they speak of them with immense admiration. Such is, in China, saving some rare exceptions, the state of feeling as regards the Catholic missions in the European factories.

The Protestant missionaries are even less popular than their Catholic brethren. They are accused of being traders; of occupying themselves too much with the goods and affairs of this world, and of their families; and of troubling the consuls incessantly by their reclamations: as, for example, they cite that after the massacres of last year, they insisted not only on indemnities for the reparation of their chapels, but for the profits which they derived from the sale of their bibles, which was necessarily interrupted by the Tien-tsin troubles.

Let us listen again to Mr. Medhurst, who is less prejudiced against them than the greater part of the European residents:—

"The Protestant missionaries are almost all married, settle in the open ports, build for themselves comfortable houses in the European style in the concessions, and live almost entirely in the society of foreigners. Although they profess to abstain from all commercial transactions, the natives think that they take part in them. I have said that they are married. Certainly, I have nothing to say against the conjugal state, and I do not wish to plead that of celibacy; all the less because I know more than one devoted couple whose united efforts have done a great deal of good. Nevertheless, I think that, as regards China, men and women who are unmarried are more able to fulfil the duties of missionaries. Their time and attention should be consecrated to the work of the apostolate; and it would be then far easier for them to avoid contact with a European *entourage* and to live quietly amidst the native population. They would thus more easily gain the respect and benevolence of the Chinese, who look upon celibacy as the principal element of real self-sacrifice."

The author recognizes the success, which is only relatively

important, obtained by the members of the different bible societies. As for me, I have met very few Protestant missionaries. Those I have seen seemed to me to deserve the consideration which they enjoy among their co-religionists. The number of native conversions to Protestantism, however, seems to be infinitesimally small. But, if the English, American, and German missionaries bring but few sheep into the fold, they have, during the last four years, contributed a good deal to spread the knowledge of China in Europe.

I think I have in the preceding pages given an exact, or, at any rate, a conscientious summary of the judgment of the factories on the missions of the different Christian communions. The merchants come here to make their fortunes; the priests and Sisters, to save souls. They live in totally different worlds, and cannot understand each other. That is the simple fact.

Now we come to the complaints of the Chinese government, as they have been drawn up in their famous memorandum.*

The result of the treaties as regards trade, they say, has been very satisfactory. The stipulations regarding the missionaries, on the other hand, have missed their aim, and compromised the good relations with foreigners. The missionaries have conferred baptism on good and bad alike—even on rebels. They support the petitions of bad men. Hence the unpopularity of the Christian religion. The nation makes no distinction between Catholics and Protestants, nor between one foreigner and another. Vainly has the government tried to enlighten the public mind! China is a vast empire.

Already, before the Tien-tsin massacres, the growing animosity against the propagation of the Christian faith had fixed the attention of the government. At the conclusion of those events mandarins have been sent into exile, murderers executed, and indemnities paid. But if explosions of this nature should be repeated, the employment of measures of repression would be more difficult.

In past times, the functionaries of China and the representatives of foreign nations committed the fault of employing palliatives. Foreigners demanded, and China conceded the

* Of the 9th February, 1871. Already on the 26th of June, 1869, the Tsungli-yamen had addressed a note to Sir R. Alcock on the same subject, then English minister at Peking.

adoption of measures intended to smooth down the difficulties of the moment. The exigencies of foreigners are often inadmissible, and seem to be put forward in order to place China in a false position. The Chinese government desires that the missionaries should submit to the same rules as in other countries ; that they should observe the laws of the state ; and that it should be forbidden them to arrogate to themselves rights and authority which do not belong to them ; or to give scandal and surround their works with mystery—(this is an allusion to the orphanages). In all respects their conduct should be in conformity with their teaching. So far from that, they oppress the non-Christians and exasperate the people by despising Confucius. They encourage the Christians to escape from their obligations as subjects of the empire, and to refuse payment of the taxes ; they plead the cause of the refractory before the courts, annul promises of marriage, and consequently provoke dissensions in families. They importune the authorities, demanding in certain cases exorbitant indemnities, and do not hesitate to shelter Christians from the action of justice. Some of them, likewise, in their correspondence, have made use of titles and seals to which they have no right. Lastly, they abuse the sixth article of the convention with France, in demanding the restitution of the property of the Church, without having respect to the sympathies and prejudices of the people, or to the increased value of the ground they claim.

To-day they constitute a distinct power within the state. Seeing with what severity the men implicated in the Tien-tsin massacres were punished, they will become more and more bold. The result will be a rising among the people which the authorities will find themselves powerless to restrain. Grave would be the responsibility of the European governments if they hesitated to take, in concert with China, measures of precaution against such eventualities.

In consequence, the Tsungli-yamen propose :—

1. The entire suppression of the orphanages ; or, if that be impossible, the exclusion of all non-Christian children. In every case a registration to be made of the children, and a free admission for all persons belonging to their families who wish to visit them. The secrecy at present maintained gives rise to suspicions. The poor people are persuaded that the

Sisters tear out the eyes and the hearts of the children. Besides, similar institutions abound in China, so that Christian orphanages have no need to exist at all.

2. It should be forbidden to women to frequent the same churches as men. Women cannot be missionaries.

3. The Christians known as bad people should be expelled. It is also required that lists, periodically revised, should be sent in, containing the names of all the members of each Christian community. Likewise new regulations as to the passports of the missionaries.

Finally, the missionaries are accused, especially those living in the interior, of claiming a semi-official position equal to that of the mandarin of the province; of contesting the authority of the latter with regard to the native Christians; of sheltering these from the operations of justice, and consequently attracting evil-livers to their community, and of recruiting children for their orphanages, contrary to the wish of their parents. In this latter accusation the Legations and Consulates of France are indirectly included, as they are suspected of supporting secretly, if not openly, the pretensions of the Catholic priests.

In answer to these accusations, the missionaries do not attempt to deny the popularity they enjoy, nor the moral authority which they exercise in the Christian districts. The mandarins are few. There are some districts of 2,000,000 of inhabitants administered by only two or three mandarins. These last are very often ignorant of what passes in the bosom of these populations, and care very little. Personally they are not always hostile to Christianity. Some of them throw no obstacle whatever in the way of the propagation of the faith. They administer justice with tolerable impartiality and receive the taxes. There are both good and bad mandarins; but as a rule, people avoid them as much as they can. The governor of the province, the taotai of the district, and the chi-fu, are personages the very sight of whom makes the people shudder. The villages have a very free municipal constitution. They govern themselves. Wherever Christianity takes root, the missionaries, whether they will or no, have a great ascendancy. The Chinese like to be directed. They love authority, for they feel the want of it; and prefer that of the missionary, who has never done them anything but good, to that of the mandarin,

who never shows himself but with followers whose only object is to extort and carry off as much money as possible.

The missionaries deny that they ever excite any subjects to rebellion ; but they allow that they encourage them not to take part in pagan ceremonies, and not to contribute to the expenses of such rites.

They own that they often plead with the mandarins the cause of Christians who are being persecuted for their religion ; and they declare that they cannot refuse to admit into the bosom of the Church men who may be considered bad by the mandarins, provided their conversion be sincere ; the object of the Christian religion being to save souls, and consequently to correct the bad.

The treaty between France and China having expressly stipulated the restitution of the former property of the Church, the missionaries are only making use of their undoubted right in claiming such restitution through the intervention of the consuls or minister of France. If these latter consider the demand inadmissible or inopportune, they either abandon or adjourn their claim. In all ways, if anyone had a right to complain of their importunity, it would be the diplomatic and consular authorities of France, and not the mandarins.

As to what concerns the fact of having assumed titles and seals to which they had no right, that is simply a question of individual appreciation and obedience to superior authority. The missionary is bound above everything to give an example of humility. But the vicars-apostolic are bishops, princes of the Church, and in making use of their seals as bishops they in no way whatever infringe upon the jurisdiction of the mandarins. In China, a seal is a symbol of official authority exercised by those holding high offices in the state. The seal of the vicar-apostolic or bishop constitutes, in the eyes of the native Christians, the proof of his position as chief pastor or bishop. Long before the treaties, even the vicars-general always made use of their seals. Besides which, as the Tsungli-yamen is well aware, contests on questions of etiquette or precedence are extremely rare.

As to the orphanages, everyone knows how things really are. On no occasion have either priests or Sisters purchased children. The moment an orphanage is begun, the children flock from all

parts. They are brought either by their parents, or by Christian or pagan travellers to whom their parents have intrusted them for this purpose. They never expose male children, unless utter misery or the absolute impossibility of feeding them compels the father to abandon them. The girls, on the other hand, being only considered as a burden, are thrown into the street or into the river, or else buried alive. There are even some people in good circumstances who get rid of their girls in this way. But when they know that there is an orphanage in the neighbourhood the voice of nature makes itself heard, and the parents bring their children to the missionaries. The mortality among the young boys is very great, from the reason that their parents cannot bear to part with them till reduced to the last extremity; the children have then suffered terribly from hunger. When admitted into the orphanages, they get fat and appear to be in good health; but after a few months they fall away suddenly and a very large number of them perish and die. Among the young girls, the mortality, although also very great, is less than with the boys; because they have been exposed or carried to the sisters immediately or a few days after their birth. They have not had time to contract the diseases which arise from want and privation. It is true that many, even of these children, die; but many, on the other hand, become healthy and strong. All these poor little abandoned creatures would have perished miserably but for the intervention of the missionaries and the nuns. In the "treaty ports" they accuse the Sisters of imprudence. They say to them: "The number of children whom you save is too few to make up for the harm you do to yourselves and indirectly to us all, by giving rise to suspicions and calumnious rumours against all Europeans." To this reproach we, missionaries and Sisters, answer, That, in the first place, we deny the fact. The sisters everywhere are surrounded by the affectionate veneration of the people. At Ning-po, for instance, natives of all classes salute them respectfully wherever they appear, and the poor boatmen at the great ferry refuse to accept money from them.¹ We might quote hundreds of such proofs. It is only in these last times that the literates have succeeded in setting the people

¹ This fact was confirmed to me by a Protestant English resident at Ning-po.

against us. And do not forget that we are missionaries: that we wish to save not only the lives of these poor little ones, but their souls. As soon as they are brought to us, if they have not attained to the age of reason, we baptize them; those who are above seven years old are first instructed and then baptized, You smile? Very well, everyone from his own point of view. Let each man do his duty according to his conscience. As long as no grave inconvenience results for others, no one has a right to complain of us. You remind us of Tien-tsin. We do not admit that the mortality among our orphans was the cause of the massacres. It was only the pretext and an arm in the hands of those who provoked, prepared, and directed the movement. The object of these men was and is, the extermination or expulsion not only of the missionaries but of all foreigners.

As to the complaints of the Tsungli-yamen, they are not sincere. They bring them forward only to strive to deprive us of our extritorial rights; to subject us to the laws of the country, that is, to torture and the bamboo; to come back to the state of things which existed previous to the war and the treaties: and that with the consent of the very powers with whom they concluded them.

A good many of these arguments may be found in the answers which the English and United States ministers made to the circular of the Tsungli-yamen and which have been communicated to the English Parliament. The note of the French *Chargé d'Affaires*, inspired by his government, has not been officially published; but one knows the context of it.

"If the ideas which dictated the memorandum were to prevail," writes M. le Comte de Rochechouart to the Tsungli-yamen,¹ "our relations with the Celestial Empire would be profoundly troubled, if not altogether broken." The eight articles are then repeated one by one in energetic language. "Not one of them," the note says, in conclusion, "is acceptable to the French government, and not one appears to have been seriously proposed. If the French government thinks that the Christians cause any anxiety to the Chinese government, they believe still more strongly that the Chinese

¹ Peking, 14th November, 1871.

only make use of them as a pretext." It would be superfluous to reproduce the notes of the English and United States ministers. I will allude to only one or two passages. Mr. Wade takes occasion to recommend anew the creation of an international code applicable to *mixed cases*, and to exhort the Chinese government to admit loyally the principle of official relations with foreign powers; in other words, to establish permanent Legations at the different foreign courts. "It is not a panacea for all ills," he says, "but it would be the means of preventing frequent wars, and be the sole efficacious guarantee against a renewal of international differences. In this way they would put an end to those incessant recriminations between the yamen and the Foreign Legations, which makes life at Peking so hard to diplomatic agents. China ought to make herself heard, and to know what passes beyond her own frontiers."

Mr. Low dwells upon the fact, that almost all the complaints of the Chinese government relate to Christians and priests living in the Sze-chuen and Kwei-chow provinces, that is to say, very far from the spots inhabited by the consuls, merchants, and foreigners in general. Hence the impossibility of obtaining impartial witnesses. The best way to prevent these troubles would be, according to the American representative, to establish consulships in the interior and to open these same provinces to foreign trade.

Lord Granville in his despatch to Mr. Wade, which was an answer to the Chinese memorandum, recommends, like Mr. Low, the opening of the interior of China to foreign commerce.

The real interest of this diplomatic correspondence is centred in the reports sent by Messrs. Wade and Low to their respective governments.

"The Chinese memorandum," writes Mr. Wade, "is badly written. It contains, alongside of some affirmations which are easily refuted, accusations which they know cannot be maintained. But looking at them as a whole, and comparing them with what I have learned in conversation during these last eight years, these articles confirm me in my conviction that, to protect the missionaries against the hostility of the literate classes, we must have one of two things: either the protecting powers must, sword in hand, support the missionaries out and out; or else, the latter must be subject to certain restrictions. These

restrictions, on the one hand, should leave to the missionaries all that latitude of action which they can desire, if their object be simply to Christianize China ; and on the other hand, to furnish the Chinese government with the means of declaring to the native conservatives, who are wounded by the pretensions of the missionaries, that these pretensions are not authorized by the protecting powers. . . .

“It is but just to add, that, according to the unanimous testimony of the Roman missionaries, the government does what it can to prevent collisions with the Christians. Three parts of the Catholic missionaries, in all 400 or 500, are French ; and the non-Christian Chinese call the Roman Catholic religion, the ‘French religion,’ or ‘the religion of the Saviour of Heaven.’ I have very often heard them express a dread here on the subject of the ascendancy of Romanism.* Also, I think, that the fear of seeing the Romanists recruited from among their enemies, and by degrees exceeding in numbers their well-disposed subjects, or of seeing the Christian missions throw themselves completely into the arms of France, this fear, though they would not own it, is, I believe, what really inspired the memorandum.”

Mr. Lowe, United States minister, says in his despatch to Mr. Fish :—“I do not believe that the complaints against the Catholic missionaries are either true, reasonable, or just ; but I fancy that some few of the complaints against them are not altogether destitute of foundation. And although I am perfectly aware of their difficulties and dangers, candour compels me to say that I do not think the remedy lies in diplomacy, but is beyond its action. A healthy policy, as much as the religious and moral duties of Christian nations, precludes one’s retracing one’s steps, however great might be the advantage which such a conduct would insure to trade or commerce. Considerations of humanity likewise necessitate the assertion of the right that all foreigners should be governed and punished according to the laws of their respective countries. On the other hand, the governments must watch that their officers, agents, and subjects should not infringe on Chinese rights, and

* Mr. Wade constantly makes use of the words *Romanising* and *Romanist* in his despatches—words used by English Protestant missionaries in a hostile sense, but not usual in diplomatic correspondence.

that the stipulations of the treaties should be equally observed. That a rigorous abstention from all intervention between native Christians and the Chinese authorities would entail sufferings and persecutions on the former is more than probable; but perhaps such conduct would result in helping the cause of the missionaries. . . . The remedy, if remedy there be, France alone is called upon to employ. It is to this power, in her own interest as well as in that of all the foreign residents, that we must look for removing all just cause of complaint from the Chinese government."

To sum up the whole, Mr. Wade and Mr. Low are agreed in their conviction that diplomacy is powerless to solve what is called the "missionary question." Only, they arrive at opposite conclusions. The English minister insinuates, indirectly, that the missionaries should be left to their fate. This advice is not necessarily inspired by a hostile feeling or a want of sympathy for the work of the apostolate. I am far from accusing him of this. A certain number even of fervent Catholics share in Mr. Wade's opinion, and beg for the cessation of the whole protectorate. By and by I will examine this theory. Mr. Low, on the other hand, with a liberality of spirit and an elevation of feeling which are equally remarkable, claims for the priests the maintenance of all those rights and privileges which the treaties guarantee to all foreign residents in China.

In Europe, the Chinese memorandum gave rise to an exchange of ideas between the great powers.¹ The French cabinet had expressed the wish that the answer to the Tsungli-yamen should be a collective one. The British government declined this proposal, basing their refusal on the difference which existed between the French and English treaties relating to the Catholic and Protestant missionaries in China. In consequence, each of the envoys presented his note separately, but each answered in the same sense as to their non-acceptance of the proposed conditions. For the moment things remain as they were.²

The tragedy of Tien-tsin and the recent reverses in France

¹ In June and July, 1871.

² In November, 1871, the incident of the memorandum was considered at an end. "We made certain proposals to you," said Prince Kung to the ministers; "you don't like them. Well, don't let us speak of them again."

for a moment compromised the protectorate exercised by her over the missionaries and the native Christians. Suggestions were made for a new kind of arrangement, which at first sight recommends itself by its simplicity. "The Catholic missionaries," people said, "are simple foreigners, like the merchants residing in the ports. These priests should then be under the protection of the ministers and consuls of their respective nations; the French priests, of the French agents, the Spanish Dominicans, of the Spanish government; the Italians (Franciscans and priests from the Propagation of the Faith at Rome), of the minister and consuls of the king of Italy, and so on; or else, if the Holy See objected to this solution of the difficulty, could not all the missionaries be placed under the collective protectorate of the powers represented at Pekin? A council might be formed, consisting of the Russian, English, German, and Italian ministers, as well as of the representative of Catholic France, and this council should be the judge and the last resort of all questions concerning the missions."

This plan was seriously discussed at Pekin, and communicated confidentially to the Chinese ministers, who entertained it favourably. It was not, however, the same with the missionaries. All—French, Spanish, Italian, and Belgian—unanimously rejected the proposal, and declared that they infinitely preferred to remain under the protectorate of France.¹

Other voices have been raised in favour of the cessation of all protectorates. The flourishing state of the Church in China under the great emperors of the present dynasty would seem to recommend a return to the old state of things. The protectorate entails endless inconveniences: first (and it is not the least among them), the intermeddling of those who exercise it, in the name of France, in purely ecclesiastical affairs. The envoy at Pekin and the consuls in the ports—obliged to watch over the interests of the Church, responsible, within certain limits, for the safety of the missionaries, and called upon likewise to support their demands—have they not the right to exact in return that their *protégés* should keep them informed of

¹ I have learnt, since my return to Europe, that the Holy See had forbidden the Dominicans and Franciscans, under pain of excommunication, to have any relations, whether private or official, with the representatives of the Spanish and Italian governments.

their proceedings? And in those delicate cases where spiritual and temporal interests meet, or in critical moments, should they not listen to the advice of the official representatives of the protecting powers? Theoretically, this pretension is both logical and just. But in practice it results in grave inconveniences, inextricable difficulties, and a painful clashing of the interests of both parties, which become scandalous if rumoured abroad, and sometimes extremely compromising. Remember the misfortunes of Tien-tsin: a consul who meddles in the affairs of a mission; who will settle everything and direct everything, even to the orphanage of the Sisters; who shuts his doors on the Fathers because they venture to make remonstrances; who, from a spirit of opposition, entirely mistakes the gravity of the situation, and that precisely because the Fathers try to make him understand it. In the time of China's grandeur, the Jesuits protected themselves—that is, they knew how to obtain the sole efficacious protection, that of the emperors. Doubtless bad days are come—the days of trouble and persecution. So much the worse for the missionaries; or rather so much the better. It is an opportunity for them to gain the crown of martyrdom. And after all what was the protection of France worth at Tien-tsin?

This kind of reasoning—which, after all, I have heard from no missionary, but from certain of the laity—seems to me altogether untenable. One cannot compare the China of to-day with the China of K'anghi. The arrival and establishment of Europeans in the ports and of the Legations at Peking has entirely changed the face of affairs. The Jesuits of former days knew how to conciliate the favour of the court, and that during nearly two centuries. Nobody then suspected them of political after-thoughts. To-day every single Catholic missionary passes for being a French agent, and in consequence, is suspected. As to the doctrines professed by the priests and Sisters in their schools and orphanages, the Chinese ministers do not trouble their heads about them. What does displease them, and what irritates public opinion, is the presence of the missionaries in the interior of the empire; their want of respect for Confucius; and the introduction of foreign rites. To this we must add the enormous increase of conversions. Persons whose veracity on this point cannot be questioned have

assured me that since 1860 the number of Catholic Christians in China is enormously increased. Hence the increase of hatred and dread on the part of the literates, and the obligation, on the part of the Chinese government, to take restrictive measures, or at least to have the appearance of so doing. Some of the most enlightened members of the Chinese apostolate have said to me : "To withdraw all diplomatic protection from the missionaries would be to annul the benefits of the French treaty ; to put them beyond the pale of the law ; to give them up to the persecutions and hatred of the mandarins ; to compromise, and that gravely, the very existence of the Christian missions. Doubtless, conflicts will sometimes arise between the protectors and the protected. No legislator has yet succeeded in drawing the line of demarcation between the spiritual and temporal power ; for the separation of church and state is a chimera, or else it is the divorce between the church and the state ; and in its last stage, the dissolution of Christian society. One must, then, give up the hope of finding a solution as a general rule. But in all the difficulties which may arise, priests and diplomats or consuls ought to try and act together. Besides, when have such conflicts arisen ? We do not know a single instance in which the missionaries have not yielded to the opinion or decision of the French minister at Peking. If our demands seem to him just and not inopportune, he supports them ; in a contrary case, he refuses or adjourns his consent, and all is said and done.

"To-day we see, residing in Peking, the representatives of great countries who are not Catholic—Russia, England, and the United States. We have only to praise their conduct and thank them for their sympathy. But we must have, alongside of these anti-Catholic powers, an advocate who will defend the interests of our holy religion ; and who, thanks to the treaties, shall have authority to speak in our favour. Now, such a mission as this, Austria being absent, can only be fulfilled officially by very-Catholic France—at least in China."

What is the interior position of the empire ? What happens at the court, in the bosom of the Tsungli-yamen, in the heads and hearts of those innumerable "literates" who exercise so great an influence on the destinies of their country ? One can

understand how difficult it is, even for diplomats, living at the very seat of the central government, to penetrate through the veil which shrouds all these mysteries. Now the following is what I have been able to gather from different sources on this head:—

Whilst the foreign powers are resolved, I am told, to maintain their acquired positions, to ensure to their fellow-countrymen all the advantage guaranteed to them by the treaties, and to watch that the imperial government should fulfil her engagements to the letter, the Chinese, on the contrary, have but one wish, and that is to withdraw themselves as much as possible from the obligations imposed upon them by the treaties, and to work in the dark so as to bring about, if possible, the expulsion of the foreigners. This vow, or determination, more or less ardent according to individual character, lies deep in the heart of every Chinaman. It is specially the dream of that very influential class of literates or little mandarins. The masses, absorbed by the miseries of daily life, have not the time to occupy themselves with political questions. But antipathies against foreigners do not the less exist in the heart of this people; and the literates take good care to feed it by sinister rumours, carefully-spread calumnies, innumerable libels, and constant prophecies of massacres and pillages.

Now what is the conduct of the central government in the face of these dispositions?

The reigning dynasty is undergoing the fate of those which have preceded it; it is degenerating: a natural consequence of the omnipotence with which the sons of heaven are invested, and of the cloistered life they are compelled to lead. The founder of this dynasty and his immediate successors were men of note—men of action; but hardly had they arrived at the summit of their power than they began to deteriorate. These races of despots become very quickly enervated and enfeebled. After a childhood surrounded with too much care, a precocious youth, [thanks to the courtesans] *blasé* before their time, comes the age of manhood which, with them, is the age of decay, of imbecility, and of moral and physical powerlessness. Now the Chinese government is eminently a personal government. All the wheels of the administration revolve round the emperor and are set in motion by him. When this will is wanting or

weak, the machinery stops. China, therefore, cannot stand the existence of a slothful or idiotic sovereign. This explains the fall of the dynasty and the precarious state of the reigning royal family.

As to Tung-chi, the present emperor, he has not yet had the opportunity of showing what he can do. All that is known is, that he is impatient to escape from the tutelage and somewhat pedantic authority of the empress-regent, and to seize the reins of government. Also, that he is surrounded by ambitious confidants. These men, who are equally anxious to have their share of the supreme power, hope to arrive at it by hoisting the national flag of hatred against the foreigners.

The most influential personages in this *camarilla* are the empress-mother and the *seventh* prince, the younger brother of Kung, who is the *sixth*. In this coterie they are persuaded, and they try to persuade the emperor, that the defeats suffered by the Chinese had no other cause than the inferiority of the Chinese arms and ammunition ; that to-day the imperial troops are equipped and armed in a manner to be able to repel all aggressors and defeat the enemy ; that a word from his majesty would suffice to bring into the field an innumerable and irresistible force. Unfortunately, the members of the present ministry (they add) are incapable cowards ; or rather, they are traitors ; they are the authors of these humiliating treaties ; of the installation of foreigners in the trade ports ; of all the evils, in fact, which for the last twelve years have fallen upon China. The attitude of these courtiers, who lean on the authority of the mother of the emperor, on a close alliance with the literates and little mandarins and on the patriotic feelings of the country, fill the Tsungli-yamen with consternation. And this may be easily understood : for in China, statesmen, on losing their places, lose likewise their lives. The conduct of ministers proves their trouble of mind. Instead of accepting the struggle and proving to the young emperor the falsehood of the accusations heaped upon them, the folly of the dreams with which the court is deceived, and the powerlessness of China to come out victoriously from a second war with one or more of the great European powers, Prince Kung, the most enlightened and courageous member of the great council, and his colleagues, fall into the trap prepared

for them. They accept the position of accused persons, protest their innocence, and give in to the measures proposed by the war party. Thus they have consented to send away the greater part of the naval instructors and foreign commanders of the Chinese navy ; with their knowledge, if not with their concurrence, the troops are systematically excited against foreigners ; and the fortifications and building of men-of-war are vigorously pushed forward. As to the obligations imposed by the treaties, the ministry, in the vain hope of disarming their adversaries and yielding to public opinion, study to restrain as much as possible the application of the stipulations, to throw every difficulty in the way of the just demands of the diplomatic corps, and to make inadmissible proposals to the foreign powers. The famous memorandum on the missionaries (of the 9th February, 1871) had no other object but to try and stop the mouths of the anti-foreign cabal.

The carnage of Tien-tsin and the indignation it roused in the European concessions aggravated the position. The polemic of the English newspapers, published in the ports, and the abuse which they constantly pour on the Chinese government, are no secret to the great mandarins, who see in these articles and pamphlets a determination on the part of the foreign merchants to bring about a fresh war. Thanks to the pamphlets which the English and American missionaries publish in the Chinese language, the camarilla, the Tsungli-yamen, the literates, and the little mandarins have a tolerably correct notion of the state of Europe, of the late French disasters, of the increase of the power of Germany, and of the difficulties of England with America and Russia.

There is consequently a struggle between the two parties in the highest government circles ; a dangerous, but explainable, hesitation on the part of the ministry, and throughout the country a deep but silent agitation, the result of the active propaganda carried on against the foreigners. From north to south, from the borders of the Yellow Sea to the frontiers of Thibet, combustible elements are accumulating with the patient activity which distinguishes the Chinese. The ministers do their best to maintain tranquillity. Instructions in this sense, and an order to stifle difficulties and avoid conflicts with foreigners, have been duly given to the governors of the

different provinces ; but in the actual state of public opinion a spark would be sufficient to bring about an explosion.

Such is the position of China as regards its interior state and policy. Let us cast a glance on its relations with foreign powers.

All the great powers, in the last eleven years, have concluded treaties with China ; but Russia and England alone in this empire have to protect and save the permanent interests of their countrymen ; and in that sense, it does not depend on the will of these governments to sacrifice them to other considerations. A grave reverse at Peking would destroy the *prestige* of Russia in Central Asia ; and a similar disaster to England would compromise her dominion in India.

France protects the missionaries and ensures to the native Christians, within the limits of the treaties and of her power, the free exercise of Catholic worship. It is a grand and noble mission which she has undertaken ; but were she compelled to give it up—which God forbid !—she might abandon it without losing her position as one of the great powers of Europe. In a commercial point of view, the French government asks very little of China. All French articles of consumption for foreigners in the treaty ports, saving silk, enter free of dues. Some of their productions—perfumery, for instance—begin to be highly appreciated by the Chinese, and on this head the importation has greatly increased during the last few years.

The United States draw nearer in proportion as their steam communications with California are multiplied. Nevertheless, the number of American merchants established in China is very small, and some of these employ Chinese capital. Steam navigation, and the interests attached to it, form, then, the only link which unites the Celestial Empire with North America. The principal object of the latter is to discover some coal mines, and to work them for the profit of their steamers. In a military point of view, their basis of operations—their Atlantic arsenals—are further off even than Portsmouth or Cherbourg. It is also well known that her war navy is not in proportion to the vastness of her territory, and that public opinion in the United States is not in favour of distant expeditions. The merchant-ships of Germany, which are always numerous, have

rather diminished in the last few years. The vessels bearing the flag of the North German Confederation were during the war, blockaded in the Chinese and Japanese ports by the ships of the French naval station, which were very strong at that time. But the Chinese, in consequence, acquired the habit of making use of the English and American steamers, which do the coasting trade ; and it will be some time before the German flag will regain the importance it formerly possessed. The merchants of this nation, established in the far East, claim, then, from their government a more efficacious protection : the creation of a navy strong enough to defend them in case of war : and the seizure of a portion of Chinese territory, to which part of the emigration stream from the "Vaterland" might be directed, and which might become a kind of German Australia. They first thought of Formosa, but the unhealthy climate of this island made them give up the idea. During my stay there they were talking of the Corea. Such are the aspirations of the German colony in the trade ports, who are few in number, it is true, but active and enterprising. Austria, at the present moment, has no motive for sending men-of-war to the extreme East. No political or serious commercial interest calls upon her to take such a step. Its flourishing trade, which provides for the wants of the empire, and in certain articles enters into competition with foreign industry in the markets of Europe and the Levant, is not yet in a condition or obliged to seek an outlet in the antipodes. In signing, in concert with all the other great powers, a treaty with China, the Austrian government has assured for herself a place in Asia for any future eventualities. She has established a Consulate in the most important port of the Celestial Empire ; and in order to enable her consul to proceed with an exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, she has conferred upon him a diplomatic character. This temporary mission, which has, I think, answered its end, will, I suppose, be suppressed. Complications on questions foreign to the monarchy may arise on distant shores. To refuse all concurrence with her allies, as long as she is represented there, would be impossible ; to co-operate on a great scale for the defence of interests which are not her own, would appear, from the point of view of a healthy policy, absolutely inadmissible. To limit herself, as Spain does, for instance, to hoisting her flag

in the suite of the Anglo-French fleet, would be unworthy of her position as one of the first powers in Europe. The absence of any diplomatic representative would seem then to be pointed out to her.

Russia touches the Celestial Empire on points extending over many thousands of miles. All fresh progress made by her towards the centre of this vast continent brings her nearer to China, and indirectly adds to the ascendancy she enjoys. Her first relations with the Celestial Empire, of which the motives were mainly based on religious grounds, and consequently were not of a strictly official character, go back to the reign of Peter the Great. Some Russian prisoners, brought to Peking towards the end of the seventeenth century, had formed a kind of colony there. Although married to Chinese women, they had preserved and transmitted the Christian faith to their children. In virtue of a convention between the two courts, priests of the Greek rite came to settle in Peking. They were the curates of the Russian colony. This *ecclesiastical mission*, directed by an archimandrite, and renewed every ten years, exists to this day. It has always abstained from attempting any propagation of the faith, and on several important occasions has acted as interpreter between the two governments. The official relations of the Chinese empire with England and France, which were the consequence of the late disastrous war, only date from the year 1860. The Russian mission, on the other hand, goes back more than two centuries.

The Russian residents are few. Established at Tien-tsin, and near Hankow, on the Yang-tse-kiang, their principal trade is tea. Almost all are from Siberia. The chief among them were born at Kiachta, that is, on the frontiers of China. They learn and speak Chinese. The Tartar blood which flows in their veins establishes a certain affinity between them and the mandarins, who, in Chian, are the dominant race. They have known one another, therefore, for some time, and understand each other easily. Also, the Chinese people always make a distinction between "Russians" and other "foreigners." Under the latter denomination they include all other nations represented in the open ports.

The position of the Russian minister towards his fellow-countrymen is that of a father of a family. In cases of differ-

ences between Russian subjects, or discussions between Russian and Chinese, he succeeds easily in making his counsels followed. He supports their claims, but he chooses his own time, and, if necessary, without any commotion, he subordinates the interests of individuals to the interests of the country he represents. He has not got to deal with the passionate public opinion of the "ports," or with the Shanghai and other factory newspapers, with the pamphlets of the American missionaries, or with the interpellations of the English parliament and the *Times'* articles. But as all that he does is known to everyone, his conduct is sufficiently controlled; only he is at liberty to act according to the instructions of his court and the dictates of reason and of his own conscience. The result is, that his position is a far less difficult one than that of his principal colleagues; and that his relations with the Chinese government are courteous and almost cordial.

The Russian consular body, which is reduced to what is strictly necessary, is composed of a consul-general, established at Tien-tsin, who holds the *exequatur* for all the Chinese ports; an agent at Shanghai, and another at Hankow, both of whom are merchants. The Chinese are a sceptical race, and only believe what they see; and they see Russia: they see her, because they meet her on their frontiers: to the north, north-east, north-west, they touch her, as it were, with their finger. They believe, then, in Russia. They cannot doubt, either, of the existence of England and France. The painful reminiscences attached to the way in which they first made their acquaintance are too recent to be already or easily effaced. As to other states, they only know them by hearsay. "Austria," I was asked one day by the viceroy of Canton, a great scholar, and one of the most remarkable of Chinese statesmen, "Austria: is it to the north or the south of Russia? England, I know, is to the west." To him also, as one sees, Russia was his point of departure for all knowledge of the globe.

Such are the advantages of this power in China. They rest mainly on her geographical position, on a certain affinity of race, and on the force of circumstances—that is, on the decrees of Providence, which no statesman, unless he be blind, can do otherwise than admit, even if he should be unable to understand its designs. Russia, I need not say, is closely

watched. On both sides of the Pacific, clear-sighted eyes are fixed upon her. As for her steady progress in the interior of this continent, it is she herself who makes it known. The St. Petersburg papers, and the communications of the Russian *savans*, give information from time to time of the march and success of the forces which are operating in the centre of Asia. I do not fancy that the government seeks to withdraw such knowledge from the world. The news arrives late in consequence of the distance and the absence of rapid communications. But, sooner or later, the truth is known. Everyone is aware that, with regard to the territory and ports of the Amour, which are frozen up during six months of the year, Russia entertains no chimerical projects: that she does not dream of establishing a naval antagonism with the other powers. But everyone sees and knows that on the high levels which divide Siberia from India and China from the basin of the Aral and the Caspian Sea, Russia is continually marching onwards; obeying, like the English in India, imperious necessities, and fulfilling, like her, a mission which cannot be otherwise than beneficial to a large portion of the human race. I was struck to find in the United States, and in Japan and China, among the English residents, a large number of serious-minded men, who, although foreseeing complications, if the Russian armies draw too near to the Indies, yet judge that nation with fairness and impartiality.

At Peking, the task of Russian diplomacy is reduced to watching over the interests which I have just pointed out. Commercially speaking, Russia asks nothing of China. Politically, the frontier question having been settled, all she asks is, that they should not raise difficulties to her occupation of Central Asia.

The position of England is entirely different. Enormous commercial interests claim her care and protection. Her annual exchanges with the Celestial Empire mount up to the prodigious sum of forty-two millions of pounds sterling. They would assume still larger proportions if the whole empire were opened to British manufactures, which are now only admitted at the sixteen ports, and hampered—contrary to the spirit of the treaties, the English say; legally and regularly, according to the Chinese—by transit dues, which are received by the

custom-houses of the interior. Thus, the opening of the whole empire to the productions of European industry, the admission of foreign trading-ships into the rivers, the establishment of free and direct communications between the provinces of the west, Sze-chuen, Yûnan, and the Indies (by Irawaddy), the abolition of customhouse duties, or the free transit of European goods : these are the conquests aimed at by England. I say England : Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool,—all those great manufacturing centres of the mother-country, which I distinguish here from her children established at Hong-Kong, Shanghai, and the other open ports of China. English commerce, then, exacts the opening of the empire, and a free transit for their manufactures ; and the Queen's government could not, if it would, refuse to follow any other course. To attain this end, she employs all the means of persuasion at her disposal ; and will redouble her efforts on the occasion of the revision of the treaties. But from financial and political considerations, from motives of humanity, and a thousand other reasons, she will draw back as long as possible from employing force. She knows also that, if commercial necessities exacted a second Chinese war, she could hardly reckon on the armed concurrence of the other great powers, looking to the immense disproportion of the interests at stake. And here let me touch, in passing, on a subject which I have frequently heard discussed. It is the question of the solidarity between the powers represented at Peking, in the event of grave complications arising, which might trouble the relations of one or other of these powers with China. This solidarity, so much wished and hoped for, is the great argument brought to bear against the obstinacy of the Chinese authorities. "You find yourselves," they say, "confronted, not by England alone, nor by Russia, nor by France, nor by the United States, but by us all." It is this argument which Mr. Hart uses several times over in his memorandum. Is it necessary to prove its fallacy? Can one seriously expect that the powers who take little or no interest in the commercial movements of the open ports should draw their swords to support the pretensions of England? That England, on the other hand, should fight for the political interests of Russia in Central Asia? or for a more efficient protection of the Catholic missionaries? That Russia should

break with China to maintain the English *prestige* in India? And yet these illusions exist. So true it is that man is always inclined to believe what he wishes. Without a doubt there is community of interests; and in defence of these interests, it will perhaps be possible to establish an accordance between the powers, and an analogous and even identical language between their representatives at Peking. But from this *entente cordiale* to a common military action—that is, war—there is a long way. The foreign governments are well aware of this, and so is the Tsungli-yamen. It is only in the foreign concessions that this delusion exists.

I have already spoken of the position, less prosperous than formerly, though still satisfactory, of the European merchants in the trade ports. We have seen that individual profits have diminished, although the importation of English goods has increased. I have given the explanation of this state of things. The result is in the “settlements,” or “concessions,” I will not say universal discontent, but a moral uneasiness, and, in consequence, a certain agitation, a disposition to criticize the English government and her principal agents in China, a growing animosity against the Tsungli-yamen and the mandarins in general: in a word, the very natural wish to come to a crisis and by that crisis to return to the “good old times” with its great and rapid profits. Two different currents consequently flow through the Legation and Consulates of her Britannic Majesty: that which comes from the mother-country; which wishes for a gradual and peaceful development of her commercial relations with China for the profit of all; and that which emanates from the ports, and which consists of individual complaints, interpretations of the treaty in the sense of each one’s pretensions, menaces, acts of reprisal, and, if necessary, cannon-balls. The English government is accused of weakness, the minister at Peking of yielding to, and almost sympathizing with, the Chinese. The imperial authorities are reproached with falseness and insolence; they demand of the consuls and commanders of the men-of-war the immediate punishment of the offenders. Many examples and good reasons may be alleged in favour of this method recommended by the factories. It is by acting in this way, that is, by his direct and spontaneous consular intervention, supported by a naval force, that Mr.

Medhurst, in 1868, squared accounts with the viceroy of Nankin, and Consul Gibson with the mandarins of Formosa. The trade ports were loud in their praises ; but a disavowal of this policy came from London. "It does not belong to consuls," wrote the Foreign Office, "to proceed to acts of reprisal, nor to the captains of men-of-war to give them a helping-hand. It is to the central government, through its organ at the Peking Legation, that complaints and demands must be addressed." The Shanghai consul was blamed, the consul of Formosa was sent away, and the officers severely reprimanded. The English community responded by a fruitless outbreak of anger. On all sides they protested against what they called an entire abandonment of British interests. A deputation of merchants of the city of London engaged in the China trade waited upon Lord Granville and thus expressed themselves :—

"The anxiety of our friends, which we fully share, has been not a little augmented, we cannot hide it from your Excellency, by the policy of concession and complaisance which her Majesty's government has recently adopted towards the Chinese authorities ; while we, on the contrary, consider it more necessary than ever to insist on the observance of the treaty, and to hold ourselves ready to demand satisfaction in case of injustice and injury. We cannot forget the prompt settlement of the difficulties which arose in the island of Formosa, thanks to the energetic intervention of Consul Gibson. Instead of rewarding and thanking him for the signal service rendered to us on that occasion, this functionary has been severely blamed, and deprived of his post. We learn also, to our great regret, that the Admiralty has forbidden the officers at the Chinese naval stations to disembark their men in any case, even if it were a question of protecting and saving the lives of British subjects, &c."

I quote these words of the China merchants in the City because they are the faithful, though temperate, echo of the complaints of their Chinese friends.

The imperial government and its principal mandarins give occasion for other complaints. Mr. Hart has summed them all up in his memorial. Accused of Chinese sympathies, the inspector-general of the custom-house enjoyed a doubtful popularity in the European community. He atoned for his fault, if fault there were, by laying at the feet of the Chinese emperor

a petition, or rather a lecture, drawn up with a sincerity and, seeing the position of the author, who is in the pay of the Chinese government, with a boldness, or I should rather say, a temerity, which is without example. To this courageous act on the part of Mr. Hart, Prince Kung and his colleagues replied by a longanimity, or rather a proud disdain, which was equally remarkable. In Europe, in the freest states, the dismissal of the author would have followed closely on the heels of the presentation of a similar memorandum.

In the Celestial Empire things go on differently. On the receipt of the bitter criticisms which their subordinate addressed to them in the face of China and the whole world, the emperor's ministers quickly passed on to the order of the day. Mr. Hart kept his place and China her abuses. The *status quo* was maintained. Certainly no European is more capable than Mr. Hart of knowing all the wheels within wheels of the imperial government, its vices and virtues ; and on this ground alone, if on no other, the memorandum of this high English functionary in the service of the Celestial Empire would deserve our serious attention.

"In China," he says, "the western races have found an abyss of weakness. What is the use of an admirable code when the laws are not observed? The administration, excellent in principle, is become a miserable machine. The functionaries retain their places a very short time. The result is the number of agents who act rightly is very limited, and the number of those who have recourse to dishonest practices is legion.

"The war taxes are enormous ; but the payments of the troops is always in arrears of several months ; sometimes even of more than a year. On paper the soldiers may be reckoned by millions ; but in reality the army is a collection of valetudinarians or ignorant fools, who, in time of peace, instead of being drilled, gain their livelihood as coolies. When it comes to fighting a battle, a *razzia* is made on the people who have come to market, and they are armed with spades suddenly transformed into sabres and lances. The Tartar troops that one sees, in times of peace, practising at bows and arrows or slings and stones, only do it for form's sake. They are worthless as troops, and only clever in taming birds. As to the apparition of the rebels, they succeeded happily in avoiding

an encounter ; but a man will kill himself with his whole family to obtain a claim on imperial compassion. Fancy the two forces in position against each other ! If the rebels retire the others will advance in a mass ; but if the rebels do not retire at once, the emperor's soldiers will be the first to run away. The officers will naturally represent the whole affair as a victory, and in confirmation of their statement will kill one or two peaceable individuals ; or if some wretched villager, who has not had his head shaved, falls into their hands, they will kill him, on the pretext that he is one of the *long-haired* rebels. This will be a fine opportunity for the officers to ask for a reward of merit.

"The study of books is, in theory, a means of acquiring knowledge, and the literates, nowadays, know how to make verses and to write essays. In this way the door is opened to them for official employments. But of useful or practical knowledge they have not the remotest idea. How is it possible with such administrators to remedy evils, root out abuses, or make regulations which shall inspire respect ? The people are only subjected by them to incessant exactions. Thus, laws which are good in themselves, produce incalculable evils and to such a degree that even men, who by nature are submissive and excellent, are driven to desperation, and throw themselves into opposition and every kind of disorder.

"Everything, both in civil and military administration, is founded on a lie. Those whose business it is to see to the execution of the laws only look to their own profit. The guardians of the public purse think of nothing but of making their fortunes, and the men in power make believe to shut their eyes. The real interests and condition of the lower orders cannot therefore come to the knowledge of those in high position ; and the orders of the government do not reach the people. How, then, can one answer for the latter ? or how prevent their contempt of the governing classes from breaking out some day into open rebellion ?"

The author then goes on to speak of foreign affairs. The treaties have settled the frontier question with Russia, the question of the Catholic missionaries with France, and the questions of foreign trade with all three powers, but especially with England. What would happen if China were to violate her engagements with Russia ? Mr. Hart is silent on that

point. If China is wanting in her engagements with regard to the missionaries, all the Catholic powers would (according to Mr. Hart) defend this, to them, common cause. If, again, the Chinese government were guilty of an infraction of the privileges granted to commerce, this would be an offence which would implicate her with *all* the foreign powers. If the emperor persists in refusing audiences to foreign ministers, it will not be the cause of immediate war ; but it is to be feared that they will pick a quarrel with him on some other pretext. Finally, the author of the memorandum claims the establishment of permanent Legations in Europe ; and the permission for foreign merchants to associate with the Chinese for the construction of railroads and steamers, and the laying down of telegraphic wires.

I will sum up the English position in China. The enormous importance of the British trade in this part of the world, and the hope of seeing it attain a still greater development, would not allow the English government, even if it wished it, to abandon its position in the East. But if it be impossible to abandon this position, it is equally difficult to maintain the *status quo*. We have seen why. On the one hand, the residents, dissatisfied with their position, willingly identify their individual interests with the public interests of England, multiply, in consequence, irritating discussions with the Chinese government, take a high tone and demand of the mother-country a "firm and energetic policy," which in plain terms means a policy of threats and war. On the other hand, the Queen's government, obeying the inspirations of a healthy policy, and consequently not being willing or able to follow such a line of conduct, has, in hopes of diminishing the danger of unexpected complications, withdrawn from her consuls and officers at the naval stations the power of making reprisals, on their own responsibility, against the local authorities. But in insisting that all demands should be addressed through diplomatic channels to the central governments at Peking, has she not given herself up to dangerous illusions? Does she not picture to herself (I have heard it said at Tien-tsin, Shanghai, and Canton) an imaginary China—a civilized country, in fact—very different from what exists in reality? In the Celestial Empire all is different to what it is with us—ideas, belief, laws, traditions, usages, and notions of right and wrong, or honour.

The relations of China with foreign powers need the common basis of international right. Its interior organization is opposed to that which governs civilized states in Europe: or rather, this organization is entirely wanting. If the European States resemble a human body, each portion of which exercises certain functions, of which the blood circulates according to fixed rules, and the muscles obey the will, China is an immense polypus, or rather, an agglomeration of different bodies having nothing in common between them but the origin of race, the hatred of the foreigner, pride and presumption, those two fatal enemies of all amelioration, the strength of *inertia* and the arms of cunning and treachery.

How, to give an example, could one ask of the central government the free transit of European goods? as that would suppose the abolition (at least, a partial one) of the lines of custom-houses which surround each province, and the produce of which furnishes in a large measure to the provincial government the means of carrying on the working of it, and of yielding to the imperial treasure the annual tribute, which is the sole moral link existing between the heart and the rest of this polypus. How recommend the creation of an international code—so indispensable in trials between Chinese and foreigners, and for what are called *mixed cases*—when the ideas of justice in China are so different from ours? How delude oneself with the idea that it will be possible to arrive at a *modus vivendi* which shall be, at least, tolerable? It would be wiser, then, to renounce such vain attempts, which only serve to expose our entire powerlessness. Let us have the courage to look at the position as it really is. Let us own frankly that we are placed in this dilemma: either to leave China, or to take a portion of it—other powers can do the same—and govern the country so occupied according to the laws and principles of civilized states. In fact, in a logical point of view, this is the only radical solution possible. Only, politics will not always bear such solutions, and the English government is too enlightened to second such projects.

There is, in the life of individuals as of nations, moments when one must learn to temporize, to live from day to day, all the while preparing the means of attaining the desired end when the propitious moment shall present itself. This is the case of the foreign governments in China. In the actual state

of things it would be better, it seems to me, to give up the hope of settling, by any general principles, the differences which are every day arising. Each case must be judged of, and treated separately, within the limits of what is possible, and according to given circumstances, and to the men with whom one has to deal. If the central government be powerless to impose upon its distant satraps the strict observance of its international engagements, it is evident that foreign powers should take it upon themselves to open the obtuse understandings of these prevaricating functionaries; or should they be wanting in goodwill, to inflict upon them that chastisement which their own government is powerless to apply; only these acts of intervention can only be justified by an imperious necessity; and the diplomatic representative at Peking should be the judge as to when such intervention is necessary, and not the consular agents of the trade ports. Not that I doubt the least in the world the intelligence of the distinguished and honourable men whose business it is to watch over the commerce, and, in many cases, the lives and properties of British subjects. But every one of us has only the horizon of his own position, and that of the consuls is necessarily more limited than the horizon of the minister at Peking. It is for him, therefore, in each given case, to weigh the different elements, to decide if coercive measures be necessary, if the political situation in China and Europe will bear them, and in what measure and at what moment it would be better to proceed to carry out active operations.

This reference to Peking, considering the great distance, and during winter the extreme difficulty of communication, is, of course, open to grave inconveniences; but for the consuls to act on their own responsibility would be a still more serious matter. It would expose England to see herself suddenly, and, as it were, without her knowledge, plunged into a regular Chinese war. It is probably on this account, and not under the erroneous supposition that China could be treated on the footing of a civilized state, that the late Lord Clarendon withdrew from the consuls and centred in the hands of the Peking representative the necessary powers to employ, in case of danger, coercive measures. If that be so, all impartial minds must acknowledge the wisdom of this precaution.

A last word on the efforts which are being made or attempted

to spread the benefits of civilization in China. It is a grand and noble feeling; and if foreign travellers feel the wish, at their own peril and risk, to preach to the Chinese the gospel of useful knowledge—telegraphs, railroads, and the like—no one can say anything against it. But I would venture to submit that this is neither the task of the diplomats nor the consuls. What Mr. Low said on the subject of the missionaries and the native Christians applies, it appears to me, still more strongly to the propagandism of civilization. This work is placed, to repeat the wise words of the envoy of the United States, beyond the pale or mission of diplomacy. The task of both missionaries and consuls is to guard the interests of their country, and not to mix themselves up with the interior affairs of the empire in which they have to exercise their functions. The wisest counsels they might offer would be received with distrust if it were thought that they had therein ulterior or interested motives. I have always seen that ambassadors who take too keen an interest in the country where they reside, end by coming to grief, and, what is worse, compromise the interests of their own country. Besides, the Chinese are not so obtuse as people choose to imagine. If they will not hear of railroads or telegraphs, it is not that they undervalue the advantage accruing from this conquest over space and time, but probably because, far from wishing to multiply and accelerate their relations with Europe, their intention is, on the contrary, to isolate themselves as far as possible from it, and to render communications difficult, or, better still, impossible. The proof that they appreciate thoroughly the progress made by us in certain sciences (wherever it suits them), is the work going on in their arsenals, which they have reorganized on the European system, the war-steamers they are building in these arsenals, their anxiety for improving their arms and ammunition, and the European forts they are building, not in the interior or on their northern frontiers, but on the Bar of Taku and in the open ports, in front of the European concessions.

To persuade the Chinese to accept our civilization, we must act on their hearts more than on their minds, which are far more open than people generally think. We must know how to influence their wills.

The Chinese are not like the Japanese—those charming

children, governed by *enfants terribles*. They are serious-thinking men. They will adopt our civilization when they begin to understand it ; but they will not understand it till the day arrives when they choose to do so.

Alas ! My dear Journal ! I have many things still which I should like to inscribe on your pages ; but you would swell to an unreasonable size. Let us be modest and not presume too much on the patience of our readers. Already, will not people say : “ How can this tourist dare to lift up his voice on matters which he has not had the time to study thoroughly ? ” To this we will answer : “ The extreme East is still an unknown land. We leave to masters in science the glory of great discoveries ; to us, humble workmen, the minor merit of having shared in the work in proportion to our powers.”

Happy those, who, in fine weather, have the good luck to take their passage on board the *Tigre*, to have Captain Boilève for a commander and such charming fellow-voyagers as my daily companions at table ! These have been really six weeks of *villégiatura*. The monotony of the passage is relieved by those bright pictures which we come across in the ocean : Saïgon, Singapore, Ceylon, the rocks of Scotora, Aden ; and further on, or to speak more correctly, nearer to our dear home, the Isthmus of Suez, the summit of Mount Ida covered with snow, Etna, Corsica, and the coasts of Italy.

January 13, 1872.—We are before Marseilles. Twilight bathes us in its pale, mysterious light. The land is hidden from our gaze under a white curtain : but its confused noises reach our ears, as in a theatre one sometimes hears the noise of the actors in the scene before the curtain rises. Now the first rays of the sun, the pale sun of winter, rend the mist, and amid a sudden gleam of light, on the peak of her rock, glitters the spire of Notre Dame de la Garde.

APPENDIX.

Summary of the events which happened in Japan from the month of September 1871, to the month of September 1872.

AT the end of September 1871, a plan was put into execution which had been secretly fostered for a number of years by the political reformers. This was the publication of a decree changing the *han* into *ken*. Henceforward the *han*—that is to say the semi-independent territories under the administration of hereditary governors as were the *daimios*—are incorporated with the *ken*, or imperial domains, the governors of which are nominated by the central government, and chosen from amongst the *samurais*, two-sworded warriors, and from the *kuazokus*, or noblemen.

All the hereditary governors were dismissed the same day. Their subordinates were ordered to fulfil their respective functions as usual until new arrangements concerning them should be made. Another decree commanded the nobles to return to Yedo in the course of the month of October, under the false pretext that they had originally been sent from the capital into the different provinces ;—a measure which naturally met with resistance in various parts of the empire. In some of the provinces, the people, urged on by leaders belonging to the two-sworded class of men, who were irritated at the loss of their own power and importance, rose up on the day fixed for the departure of the *ex-daimios*, and proceeded even to threats in order to prevent them from leaving.

The movement was, however, so badly organized that nowhere had it the slightest chance of success. It was soon put down by the troops belonging to the party commissioned to carry out the new reforms.

At the end of December all the *ex-daimios* had returned to Yedo, and since that time they have no longer any political importance.

In consequence of the transformation of the daimiats into imperial domains the government was necessarily obliged to take upon itself the pecuniary obligations of the princes. The latter were in the habit of circulating great quantities of inconvertible paper-money only current in their own domains. In several provinces this paper had fallen 9 per cent. To meet this difficulty the government decided that the paper-money of the daimiats should be exchanged according to the rate of August 29th. *In addition to this, the princes were in debt to the foreign and native merchants. The latter could be compelled to wait, but amongst the foreign merchants there were some to whom this sudden interruption of mercantile transactions was a serious loss. Demands for redress poured in daily from the various seaports. Attention was paid to most of them, and before the end of the month of January 1872 the imperial treasury had spent more than two millions and a half of dollars in their liquidation. A trifling portion only of these debts had been contracted at Yokohama, the largest open port, and the one where there is the most commercial activity.

This is a curious fact to note, as it proves that the merchants of that town are less disposed than the inhabitants of more recent establishments to abandon the tea and silk and what is called the "importation" trade, to devote themselves to that of guns and steamboats, in the hopes of more rapid gains.

The administrative system has also undergone some important changes. Towards the end of April the office of censorship and that for the infliction of penalties were united in one. At the commencement of September the whole of the interior administration (which until then had been divided between the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Finance) was given over to the latter. It is he alone who has now the management of the receipts and accounts of the State, the encouragement of manufactures, the publication of the acts of the government, the coinage, the posts, and the census of the population. The council of state will henceforth undertake the superintendence of all the affairs formerly under the cognizance of the legislative council and of the eight departments, to be called in future the left and right chambers. The ancient council of state is to bear the name of the principal chamber. The right chamber was to be composed of the ministers and of the vice-ministers of the eight departments. Its members were to assemble six times a month. Little by little, however, this project was given up, and at present it exists only on paper.

The duties of the legislative council are but slightly defined ; but this is, in point of fact, in perfect accordance with the turn of mind of its members, who are, for the most part, political theorists. It

is said to be charged with the preparation of legislative measures ; but it can neither vote nor promulgate them ; this being the office of the principal chamber, composed of the first minister and of the four councillors of state. The latter are chosen out of the powerful clans of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Hizen, and Tosa. In the budget, the nomination of one or two under-secretaries of state is moreover provided for. This is what would be called in Europe the government of H.M. the Mikado. Of all absolute sovereigns he possesses the least authority. Hence the origin of the report that the time may perhaps not be far distant when he may find himself compelled to abdicate in order to give place to the president of a republic. At all events, he has been more and more despoiled of his pretended divine claims. The first step in this downward course was the decree of the 27th September, 1871, enjoining the functionaries no longer to appear before his Majesty in the national court costume, except on occasions of grand official solemnities. This costume was finally abolished in the month of February, 1872, to be replaced by a European dress according to individual taste. Now as the Japanese tailors, shoemakers, and hatters are incapable of manufacturing clothes bearing the remotest resemblance to our own, the only habiliments to be seen are such as would put a Sandwich Islander to the blush.

On the 1st October, 1871, another decree announced that in future the Mikado would go out frequently, either in a carriage or on horseback ; and that the public must, on these occasions, abstain from the demonstrations of respect which had hitherto prevailed (!). Accordingly, the following day, the Mikado proceeded to the private residences of the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs, Iwákura, and gave a breakfast in the palace of Hamagotén to all the great officers of state.

On the 1st of January, 1872, he went to inspect the arsenal at Yokosuka, some miles from Yokohama. It is related by eye-witnesses that his suite wore European costumes of the most extraordinary description, and that the people were allowed to approach his Majesty during the whole course of the visit. Hitherto, in writing, when certain Chinese signs were used which express a portion of the names of the Mikado, or of his father and grandfather, it had been obligatory, as a mark of respect, to omit one of these signs ; but this usage was abolished by a declaration of the month of March 1872. It deserves to be made mention of here, inasmuch as it shows the political tone of the men who are actually in power. The Mikado was also taken to visit the offices of the different departments and the civil and naval schools, under the pretext of making him acquainted with the working of the administration and with the means employed for the intellectual development of his people. At the end of June 1872 he left Yedo

to make a cruise along the western coast of Japan. The squadron was composed of eight men-of-war. He returned the beginning of July. During the whole voyage he wore a European costume made by a native tailor of Yedo. The coat was so overloaded with gold and embroidery that the cloth could hardly be seen. The grotesque appearance which this garb gave to his Majesty was no doubt the cause of the remonstrances of Shimadzu Saburô at Kagoshima, against the rapid progress of *denationalisation*.

But it is not the sovereign alone who has suffered from the levelling spirit which animates his ministers. The two-sworded warriors have been authorized or rather ordered to give up the wearing of arms. Happily, they take advantage of this permission—which is a great gain for the public safety. As a compensation, they have been deprived of the right of passing the toll-bars without paying ! In future, the *samurais* are to abstain from murdering persons belonging to inferior classes, unless there be some serious provocation ; hitherto they might indulge in similar feats without undergoing the smallest punishment. Henceforth marriages are permitted between the three classes, *i.e.* of the nobles, the *samurais*, and the people. The latter may, in future, wear trousers and cloaks, a privilege hitherto confined to the *samurais*—they may also ride on horseback. In order to destroy all distinction of class, a semi-official journal published, in May last, the project of a decree abolishing nobles and gentlemen ! Let us complete this picture by adding that beggars and workers in leather, who, from time immemorial, were *pariahs*, were last year enfranchised from every civil disability and put on an equality with the people. It will, however, be difficult to do away with the prejudices existing against them.

In addition to the administrative changes mentioned above, there were also others during the past year (1871). The department charged with the propagation of the state religion, called Shintô, formerly held the same rank as the State Council, and a superior rank to all the other departments of the administration. By a decree of the month of September it was assimilated with the others. From the nature of its functions it was especially calculated to aid the attacks recently made on Buddhism, which were considered necessary to secure the stability of the Mikado's authority. These measure gave great dissatisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 26th March, 1872, ten Buddhist fanatics tried to force their way into the palace, with the intention—such is the official version—of laying a petition at the feet of the Mikado. They were all massacred on the spot. If these unhappy people had really no other design than that of presenting a request, the manner of rejecting it might be considered somewhat severe. But possibly they came with other intentions known to the

government, but of which its organs do not choose to inform us. However this may be, shortly afterwards, in order to conciliate the feelings of the Buddhists, the Shintô office was abolished, and in its place a department of religious instruction was instituted, charged equally with the interests of Shintô and of Buddhism. New grades and new titles were created and conferred indiscriminately on priests of every creed—the greater portion of them even falling to the share of the Buddhists. Great attention is paid to religious questions. Many of the Japanese are of opinion that their only possible solution is in the liberty of all religions, including the Christian. At the end of last year a remarkable pamphlet appeared in this sense. It was written in Chinese, and endeavoured to prove that the civilization of the west—the one thing coveted by the whole of Japan—was everywhere the result of the Christian religion; and that consequently it was egregious folly to admire the fruit and condemn the tree.

The author had even the boldness to advise the Mikado to be baptized and to place himself at the head of the Church of Japan, Christianity becoming thus, if one may so say, the director of Japanese progress. Japan might, under its shield, become by degrees a little Europe in Asia. The effect which this pamphlet is likely to produce on native statesmen is difficult to foresee; but it must at any rate be better than the cowardly invectives put forth in the anti-Christian pamphlet published four or five years ago. The whole nation appears to have become more tolerant, and one has a right to hope that the time of persecution is at an end (?).

In October 1871, the division of the country into prefectures of equal dimensions was begun. The difference in extent of the districts governed by the *daimios* varied to any amount. The largest had a hundred times more cultivated and taxed land than the smaller, whilst each district had an equal number of officials; besides which several of the *daimios* were in possession of estates lying out of their provinces and far distant from their seat of government. Four or five months were spent in completing this new organization. An official list was then published containing the names of the new prefectures, the towns, the taxed estates, the provinces and the departments, as well as those of the former daimiats and of the imperial domains recently amalgamated. There are three towns: Tôkai (Yedo), Kiyôto, and Osaka. There are seventy-two prefectures, each of which is in proportion rather smaller than a province.

The principal island, called by the Europeans Nippon, Kiushiu, and Shikoku, contains sixty-eight. The island of Yezo, being called a colony, is not comprised in the new administrative circumscription; but the name of Hokkaidô has been given to it. It is important to observe that hardly any change has been made in the districts

formerly governed by the independent *daimios* (*kokushi*), even when it was in opposition to the newly-established principle, *i.e.* that a prefecture shall not extend beyond the limits of a province.

The most difficult problem for the government to solve at the present moment is the question as to the extent to which (without danger) the *samurais* may be deprived of the hereditary pension they have enjoyed for nearly three centuries. From a European point of view, they have as much a right to retain these pensions as a merchant has to keep a fortune made in commerce. But in a country where the word "right" does not even exist, everything is decided by the law of the greatest strength, "*le droit du plus fort*." The *samurais* are descendants of peasants who more than eight hundred years ago were taken from the plough in order to form a distinct class. The lands which had hitherto been cultivated by them were given up to men who were less robust and who from that time had to do double work and pay double taxes. The *samurais*, the greater number of them at least, are indolent; but at the same time they are the most intelligent class in the country, and if they be deprived of their hereditary pensions, it is thought that by means of commerce and agriculture they will be able to keep themselves in the same position: on the other hand, not having been brought up to trade, it is probable that many of these men will fall into misery. To meet this difficulty various projects have been suggested and partly carried out. One is, that the state should pay down out of its funds a round sum, equivalent to five years' income, to all who ask permission to return to the merchant and farmer class. The government has not succeeded in inducing the body of *samurais* to agree to this arrangement, and probably the want of funds prevented its being made compulsory. It is believed that the recent mission of the assistant vice-minister of finance to Europe had for its aim the effecting of a loan for this purpose, and that the project will shortly be put into execution. It is difficult to understand the benefit which the nation will derive from it; for there is no question of diminishing the burdens of the peasants, although the hereditary pensions, now to be abolished, were the original cause of the over-taxation with which they are oppressed.

But the government spends a great deal and its wants are many. This is also the cause of the enormous and hitherto unlimited issue of non-convertible bank-notes. Without mentioning the facility of imitating bank-notes printed in Japan, there are numbers in circulation which were manufactured in Frankfort, and latterly fresh orders have been issued there. The mint has been in great requisition since the month of April 1871; but coin is, at present, only to be seen within the precincts of the exchange.

The government is much occupied with foreign politics. Last

year a mission was sent to Peking to negotiate a treaty with China after the model of those which the Celestial Empire concluded with the Western Powers. The Chinese government, although apparently indifferent to these overtures, did not reject them; and succeeded, by means of a clever change in the wording, in essentially modifying the sense of an article on mediation, in order that this article should be identical with a clause inserted in the treaty with China and the United States. No sooner did the cabinet of the Mikado hear of this, than a messenger was despatched in all haste to Tien-tsin to desire the Japanese envoy to return at once. The order arrived too late. The treaty had just been signed. On his return to Yedo, the negotiator was disgraced, and the Chinese government indignant at such proceedings, showed its displeasure by refusing to resume the negotiations.

The Japanese government was not happier in its negotiations with the Corea. It despatched thither letters and messengers extolling the advantages of European civilization; but without ever receiving any answer. More recently, a clerk from the Foreign Office was sent in a man-of-war to make a last attempt; but the success of his mission appears to be very doubtful. Corea seems in short resolved to retain her ancient institutions.

All the treaties of Japan with foreign countries contain a clause by virtue of which these treaties can be revised, on the demand made by one of the contracting parties to this effect, a year in advance, dating from July 1st, 1872. And the near approach of this date was indeed a subject of great anxiety to the Japanese government. Their fear was, that liberty of religious worship should be demanded, in favour of Europeans, as well as the permission of travelling over the whole extent of the empire. It was under the influence of this fear that the idea was conceived of sending an embassy to all the courts of Europe which had treaties with Japan.

This embassy, composed of Iwâkura, vice-minister of state; Kidô, councillor of state; Okubô, minister of finance; Itô, vice-minister of public works; and Yamaguchi, assistant vice-minister of foreign affairs, embarked at the end of December 1871 on board an American packet-boat bound for San Francisco. It was at Washington that Iwâkura formed the project of revising the treaties in Europe; whereas the revision was not to have taken place until after the return of the embassy to Japan.

Consequently three of the ambassadors remained in the United States, whilst Okubô and Itô were sent to Yedo to ask for plenary powers. The request did not, however, meet with the approbation of the minister and vice-minister of foreign affairs. Both of them opposed it, hoping themselves to negotiate the revision after the return of the ambassadors, and having no desire to give up to

others the rewards which they expected to obtain from it. The minister even went so far as to send in his resignation ; but as the vice-minister did not follow his example he soon recalled it. The post of resident minister in London was then offered to the latter, and he was given to understand that if the treaties were revised in Europe he would be appointed one of the ministers plenipotentiary. Upon this, plenary powers were granted ; and at the end of June, Okubô and Itô started again for Washington.

The telegraphic line from Nagasaki to Yedo is finished, and the positive opening of the railway from Yedo to Yokohama is announced for the 11th October.

The greater part of this line had been open for traffic, or at least for the transport of travellers, at the beginning of June. In the month of August the average number of passengers was at the rate of 2,300 a day. This number will probably be doubled when the whole line is finished, and when the more timid portion of the population have become accustomed to this new mode of locomotion. Besides this line, another one is actually in construction between Kiyôto and Osaka. Other railways are also projected : one is to go from Osaka by Kiyôto and Tsûruga, along the western coast ; a second from Kiyôto to Yedo interlaced with a branch for Nûgata by Shinano ; another again from Yedo to the straits of Tsuguru, opposite the port of Hakodaté. It will, of course, be years before this network of railways can be completed, as European engineers and workmen have to be engaged at an enormous expense, to say nothing of the rolling stock, which cannot be manufactured in the country.

Extract from a letter from Yokohama, dated April 29, 1872.

“If you were here I do not think that the actual state of affairs would give you much hope for the future of this country. Those who are in power seem but to have one aim : to *denationalize* Japan as quickly as possible and make it like a European state. They press forward matters too much, and it is impossible to foresee what will be the result. The first probable consequence of such a policy will be the ruin of the public funds. The inevitable impoverishment of the country will bring on a reaction. The great panacea of those in power is the confiscation of estates ; thus they have taken possession of all the estates belonging to the religious establishments of the Buddhists and the Shintôites, and recently compelled all the landowners of Yedo to buy title-deeds

to their estates, thus paying over again the price of their own property.

"The rations of rice allowed to the two-sworded warriors have been reduced to a mere nothing, without, however, the taxes of the peasants being lightened. The *samurais* have been forced to give up their swords, and the last project of the most advanced among the reformers is that of abolishing entirely the class of nobles. They pretend that all these things are done for the benefit of the Mikado, but his whole establishment is as insignificant as ever. There are still to be found some good old Japanese; but I must confess that the more I see of this nation the less I like it. Notwithstanding their mania for imitating the Europeans and the ostentation with which they seek for information of every kind, I am convinced that, in reality, they look upon us with the same contempt and insolence as they ever did. The soldiers, for instance, although dressed and exercised like the French, have no greater pleasure than that of insulting foreigners. It is the same with the sailors, who affect to be turned out after the English fashion. Those who are foremost in the government seem even to think themselves strong and wise enough to set on one side the principle of *exterritoriality* (*exterritorialité*), and I should not be surprised if, when the treaties come to be revised, they were to propose to us to put Europeans under their jurisdiction, offering us in exchange permission to travel in the interior of the country.

"This idea is entertained also by some Europeans in the Japanese service, and by a petty little newspaper edited by a European lawyer. Who will undertake to bring these presumptuous reformers to reason?"

Extract of a Letter from Yokohama, dated October 3, 1872.

"There is no important news to send you, except a slight revolt at Kiushiu, situated at about a hundred English miles from Yedo. It was caused by a decree of the finance department raising the measure (which had been in use for three centuries) by which the taxes on rice were calculated. It is said that the *samurais*, driven to desperation by the loss of their hereditary pensions, have joined the insurgents."

